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THE
AMERICAN
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THE AMERICAN NATION

ITS EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, POLITICAL, FINANCIAL, JUDICIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY: EMBRACING SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF ITS CHIEF MAGISTRATES, ITS EMINENT STATESMEN, FINANCIERS, SOLDIERS AND JURISTS, WITH MONOGRAPHS ON SUBJECTS OF PECULIAR HISTORICAL INTEREST. BY BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D., J. K. UPTON, HON. A. G. RIDDLE, HON. THOMAS M. COOLEY, HON. J. V. CAMPBELL, COL. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, RT. REV. C. F. ROBERTSON, D. D., AND MANY OTHER DISTINGUISHED WRITERS. EDITED BY J. H. KENNEDY.

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LOAN STACK

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AMERICAN POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

WHILE the words Tory and Whig were used in the colonies of England upon this side of the sea, at a period long anterior to the War of the Revolution, they expressed diverse shades of opinion as to questions in issue in the mother country, rather than a fixed relation of sentiment towards such matters of local government as the crown permitted to its American subjects. But as the long-gathering contest gained in intensity, and the popular voice was raised in more earnest protest against the aggressions of the king and parliament, the party names that had been borne so lightly gained a deeper meaning, and the party lines that had been so loosely drawn became walls of division, showing where the patriot stood in defence of his people, and where the supporter of the crown remained steadfast to the ancient order of things. The passage of the Stamp act in 1765 widened the breach between the two parties, and made the Whigs even more pronounced than before in their defence of the rights of the people; while the Tories were almost limited to that class who held office under the crown, or were in expectation of benefit or advancement by its favor. The name "American Whig" made its appearance in New York as early as 1768; and as the tide set in with more resistless force toward the crowning declaration of July 4, 1776, this name became synonymous with that of patriot, while that of Tory took on an odium only to be measured by the fierce and rebellious spirit of the times. As the Tory could be only an enemy to the revolution while denouncing it at a time when the questions in issue were being tried by the supreme appeal to arms, he was treated as such when the new flag was recognized among the nations. The leaders in his party were banished and their estates confiscated, and the Whigs

remained in undisputed control until questions of internal policy and the permanent preservation of the new-born Nation began to beget differences of opinion, and led men to array themselves along new lines of party division.

In this critical period of American history—critical because no man was so filled with the spirit of prophecy that he could forecast the evolution of a strong and united government, or of a loose Confederacy of states held together by ties that caprice or the advantage of the moment might at any season sunder—the majority of men saw the necessity of a central government; but there was a wide diversity of opinion as to where its powers should commence and end. Many believed that the state should be supreme in all things, and that the general government should not be empowered to coerce it or compel it to remain in the government against its will. And to this class the name, politically, of Particularists was applied, while to those who saw the danger of this weak method and believed in a union in fact as in name, the appellation of Strong Government Whigs was given. It was by the efforts of this faction that steps were taken to replace the insecure Confederacy by a more compact form of government, and that the convention which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, went beyond its designated task and prepared a constitution for submission to the various states. When that instrument was submitted to congress and the legislatures, the Strong Government Whigs, led by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, used their most earnest endeavors for its ratification; and as a result of their emphatic support of the Federal plan, the old political appellation was gradually replaced by that of Federal, while those who stood in opposition were no longer Particularists, but Anti-Federal. The Federals were in the advantage as to numbers, success and the argument. "They showed the deplorable condition of the country, and their opponents had to bear the burdens of denial at a time when nearly all public and private obligations were dishonored; when labor was poorly paid, workmen getting but twenty-five cents a day, with little to do at that; when even the rich in lands were poor in purse, and when commerce on the seas was checked by the coldness of foreign nations and restricted by the action of the states themselves; when manufacturers were without protection of any kind, and when the people thought their struggle for freedom was about to end in National poverty."* These facts led to the change so eloquently urged by Hamilton and Jay, and as ably op-

* 'American Politics.' Book I., page 5.

posed by Henry and Samuel Adams. And nine states gave the needed ratification, and set our Union upon the broad and firm foundation upon which it stands today. After this event was accomplished, a new term came into use to define the political opinions of the day. The Federalist became a "Broad Constructionist," because he favored a liberal construction of the powers and authority of the new government, while the Anti-Federalist became a "Close Constructionist," from his desire that the central government should exercise the minimum of power under the great National charter, and be restricted to such rights as were conceded willingly by all the states. But party animosity was stilled and party strife hushed upon an occasion that in these days calls forth the most intense feeling and loudest contention. The first President of the United States went into office by general consent—the representative of no faction, the choice of no convention, and the leader of no party. Himself a Federalist, he selected his cabinet from both parties and made his administration something above and beyond faction, applauded by all in the early years of his incumbency, and acting always for the good of all.

With the adoption of the Constitution and the successful operation of the government thereunder, there was no ground for the Anti-Federals to stand upon as such, and their position was shifted as their name was changed. The censure of the Constitution became a criticism of those who were in control in the Federal party, while the charges that had been made against it were changed into attacks upon the supposed monarchial tendencies of the Federal leaders. Under the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, the name Anti-Federal became Republican. It was at first proposed by the leaders of the last named party that the term Democratic-Republican should be employed, which idea was for the time abandoned. While the Republicans were free in their charges of monarchial tendencies and aristocratic schemes upon their opponents, the latter were by no means quiet, but affected to see in the liberal demands of their foes only another phase of that mob rule which at that time held such high carnival in France and was deluging the streets of Paris with blood. The term Democrat was applied as an opprobrious title as describing this desire for excess against the law and mob rule—but it was not long before the appellation was willingly accepted and made that of one of the great parties that afterwards found a conspicuous place in the history of our people. By the end of 1793 the lines between the two parties were plainly drawn. Washington stood aloof from and above the party discussions, while the two chief men of his cabinet—Jefferson and

Hamilton, the two great leaders of the contending sides—were at variance upon many important questions of the day. Despite his very evident desire to retire to private life, in obedience to the open wish of the people Washington consented to serve a second term, and was unanimously reëlected. John Adams was reëlected vice-president, receiving 77 votes to 50 cast for George Clinton, the Republican candidate.

The chief question of National policy then under discussion was one touching the foreign relations of the infant state. The Republic of France had appealed to that of America for aid in her conflict with Great Britain, and sent an envoy across the seas to make effective that sympathy which Americans could not but feel for another people which had razed the Bastile to the ground, had made La Fayette one of its chosen leaders, sent its king to punishment for the many crimes of his race, and blazoned a new cry for liberty across the face of the age. The Republicans of America, led by Jefferson, gave not only of their sympathy, but stood ready to pledge the two republics in a brotherhood that should make common war on kings; while the Federalists, under the lead of Washington and Hamilton, opposed intervention in any form and demanded that the new made peace with England should be kept. With a wisdom that has had much to do with the world's estimate of his character, and a promptness of action that showed the highest statesmanship in dealing with practical affairs, Washington made use of the advantage of his official power, and issued that celebrated proclamation of neutrality that has been made the basis of our foreign policy from that day to this. Genet, the French representative, made himself so obnoxious by his clamor and demands that Washington was compelled to demand his recall, and when he was supplanted by another, he remained upon American soil and formed a number of societies that advocated all he asked and arrayed themselves in opposition to the policy of the government. They were short-lived, and passed out of existence with the episode that called them into being. But out of this and other questions party spirit ran aflame with new vigor and venom, and even Washington's honorable service and fame did not save him from the censure and attack of his political opponents—"his wisdom as President, his patriotism, and indeed his character as a man were all hotly questioned by political enemies; he was even charged with corruption in expending more of the public moneys than had been appropriated—charges which were soon shown to be groundless."

In this condition of the public mind, and under these circumstances, the third Presidential election became the chief National issue, and the first political contest for that high office was inaugurated. Washington declined the third term that might have been his had he spoken the word, and departed into private life with the delivery of an address that has been a beacon light in many times of National distress, and a word of warning and advice in seasons of doubt and uncertainty. The reception accorded it by the people became an unintended aid to the Federal party, which stood upon a declaration of principles nearly allied to the sentiments it had announced, and its leaders prepared to take all possible advantage of its timely aid. The convention and modern methods of party selection had not yet been adopted, and in this case the chief candidates upon each side stood forth as a matter of common consent—John Adams of Massachusetts upon part of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson upon that of the Republicans. The former received seventy-one votes to sixty-eight cast for the latter; and as the law then demanded that the one receiving the largest number of votes in the Electoral College should become President, and the one the next largest number vice-president, Adams was declared President and Jefferson vice-president, and entered upon the discharge of their duties on March 4, 1797. As illustrating the methods of the Electoral College of those times as compared with those of the present, the total vote can be given. In addition to the votes for candidates already named, Connecticut cast four votes for Thomas Pinckney, five for John Jay; Georgia, four for George Clinton; Kentucky, four for Aaron Burr; Maryland, four for Thomas Pinckney, three for Burr and two for John Henry; Massachusetts, thirteen for Thomas Pinckney, one for O. Ellsworth, two for S. Johnson; New Hampshire, six for Ellsworth; New Jersey, seven for Thomas Pinckney; New York, twelve for Thomas Pinckney; North Carolina, one for Thomas Pinckney, six for Burr, three for James Iredell, one for George Washington, one for C. C. Pinckney; Pennsylvania, two for Thomas Pinckney, thirteen for Burr; Rhode Island, four for Ellsworth; South Carolina, eight for Thomas Pinckney; Tennessee, three for Burr; Vermont, four for Thomas Pinckney; and Virginia one for Thomas Pinckney, one for Burr, fifteen for Samuel Adams, three for Clinton and one for Washington.

In his inaugural address, President Adams made special declaration that the party to which he belonged had no friendship for England, and resolutely reaffirmed the neutrality position of Washington. The session of congress that opened in December, 1797, possessed a

strong Federalist majority in the senate and a Republican majority in the house. When the administration, in pursuance of its famous "armed neutrality" policy, attempted by force to resist the aggressions of the French upon American commerce, bitter opposition arose in the lower branch of congress, which was only removed when later developments showed the purposes of the French, and revealed the danger in which America was placed. As a measure of safety, the historic "Alien and Sedition" laws were passed by Federal support and votes, in the summer of 1798. The reasons for this action and the laws themselves have been thus briefly described:* The leading Republican journalists were mostly foreigners, Frenchmen and refugee Scotchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, who had excited the warmest hatred of the Federalists by their scurrilous and intemperate language, and by their open advocacy of the extreme violence of French Republicanism. One of the first objects of the Federalists, after providing for an increase of the army and navy, was to muzzle these aliens, and to this end the acts above mentioned were passed. There were three alien laws. The first was an amendment of the naturalization laws, extending the necessary previous residence to fourteen years instead of five, and requiring five years previous declaration of intention to become a citizen, instead of three. Alien enemies could not become citizens at all. A register was to be kept of all aliens resident in the country, who were to enter their names under penalties in case of neglect; and in case of application to be naturalized, the certificate of an entry in this register was to be the only proof of residence whenever residence began after the date of this act. The second, passed June 25, was limited by its terms to two years of operation. It authorized the President to order out of the country all such aliens as he might judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or might suspect to be concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations. The third provided that, whenever any foreign nation declared war against or invaded the United States, all resident aliens, natives or citizens of the hostile nation, might, upon a proclamation to that effect, to be issued at the President's discretion, be apprehended and secured, or removed. The sedition laws were measures passed by the same congress for the more exact definition of treason and of sedition. The passage of these measures was attended by fierce political animosity, and the creation of political resentments and consequences that long outlived the occasion that had called them forth. The far-famed Kentucky and Virginia resolutions

* 'Cyclopedia of Political Science,' Volume I., page 56.

of 1798 were among the immediate results, expressing clearly and forcibly the feelings of the minority party upon an action that was considered an encroachment of the central government upon the liberty of the people. In these measures was first publicly and by authority of state legislatures, promulgated the doctrine of nullification or secession—an idea that bore fruit in later years, when the country divided upon that great question—slavery—then in the background of debate, but not without its influence even then in directing the currents of political and public events.

The immediate effect of these measures was the retirement of the Federal party from National control upon the expiration of Mr. Adams' Presidential term. When the election of 1800 was at hand for decision, John Adams and C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina were put forward respectively as the Federal candidates for President and vice-president. In the deliberations of the Republicans concerning their choice, the first congressional caucus was held for such purpose, and a new element of management thus made its appearance in American politics.* In the election which ensued, the Republicans found themselves in possession of seventy-three electors to sixty-five gained by the Federalists. As each elector voted for two persons—the one receiving the highest number of votes to be President, and the one the next highest vice-president—the Republicans, with a remarkable lack of political foresight, found themselves unable to dictate a choice, as Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received the full seventy-three votes. As no election had occurred, the matter fell constitutionally into the hands of the house of representatives. A protracted and heated contest ensued, trying to their full tension the ties that bound the states together. The Federalists had cast sixty-five votes for Adams and sixty-four for Pinckney, and when the matter was under

* "The first congressional caucus to nominate candidates for President and vice-president that we have any account of, was said to be held in Philadelphia in the year 1800. We quote from a newspaper of that day, which states that thirty-seven representatives and nine senators were present, and nominated Messrs. Jefferson and Burr. The first caucuses were more like informal meetings of a certain number of gentlemen, to express their preferences for a candidate. The first regular caucus on record was held at Washington on the nineteenth of January, 1808. The chief cause of this meeting was a dispute in Virginia as to the succession. The legislature of that state was divided between Mr. Madison, then secretary of state, and Mr. Monroe, then minister to England. The caucus then met to decide which Virginian should be President of the United States, for Mr. Jefferson went out of office in such a blaze of glory that the nomination of his party was equivalent to an election."—'Political Text-book,' page 128.

debate in congress, made a proposition that a confession of inability to agree should be declared by that body. The measure was not accepted by the Republicans. To further complicate matters, the Federalists attempted a combination with Burr, to the defeat of Jefferson—a scheme which injured both parties interested therein, and contributed finally to the success and greater popularity of Jefferson. The balloting was continued until February 17, 1801, when, upon the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson was declared the nominee, Burr was promptly made vice-president, their term of official life commencing upon March 4 of the year last named. The difficulties this contest developed as inherent in the electoral system at that time the law, led to an early change. An amendment to the Constitution was ratified by September 25, 1804, requiring the electors to ballot separately upon the two great offices it was their duty to fill.

The loss of power that accompanied the accession of the Republicans to control of the government, the mistakes of leaders in their intrigues with Burr, the dissatisfactions and disaffections that had arisen within its ranks, and the underlying fact that its chief mission had been accomplished—the creation of a central government strong enough to maintain itself against the personal demands and threatened aggressions of the states—were notes of warning to the Federal party that its day had passed, and that a new order of things was foreshadowing itself from the future. When the Seventh congress assembled, the parties in the senate were nearly evenly divided, but the administration was soon in position to command a majority. In accordance with a suggestion from the President, the alien laws were so modified as to require a uniform system of naturalization and a preliminary residence of five rather than fourteen years, and to permit the declaration to be filed at the expiration of three years.* The great question which arose at this time as a theme of political debate, was as to the acquisition of Louisiana and the international difficulties involved therein. It came to light that, in 1800 Spain had, by secret treaty, ceded that great possession to France, in face of a treaty already existing between Spain and the United States, giving to the latter the right of deposit at New Orleans—a right which the Spanish government by proclamation attempted to withdraw. The difficulties

*At this session the first law in relation to the slave trade was passed, preventing "the importation of Negroes, mulattoes and other persons of color into any part of the United States within a state which had prohibited by law the admission of any such person." The penalty was one thousand dollars and the forfeiture of the vessel. The Constitution did not at that time prohibit the slave trade, nor was the subject then one of general agitation.

thus created, and the danger of war with Spain, gave to the Federalists an excuse for censure and denunciation of Jefferson and the party of which he was chief, of which they made prompt use. When the negotiations of the administration were so crowned with success that a treaty for the purchase of that vast domain was presented to the senate in October, 1803, the Republicans gave the measure their unhesitating and earnest support, while the Federalists as vigorously opposed upon the ground that the United States had no power to acquire territory, that the new acquisition would give the south too great a power in the control of the government, and that the creation of new states west of the Mississippi river would be a crushing blow at the commercial prosperity of New England. In meeting these objections, the Republicans boldly declared that the right of such purchase lay within the Constitution—an exposition which Mr. Jefferson himself never made, although he raised no objection to its use by his followers, his excuse for such tacit acquiescence seeming to lie "in the ultra-democratic idea of the power of the people to temporarily override even the organic law in a case of extreme necessity." The opposition from any source to this advance toward America's manifest destiny was not long continued nor of much avail. The people saw their chance in Napoleon's necessities, and recognized the danger of allowing a great empire to grow within the natural limits of their own land, possessed by a hostile nation and peopled by subjects of some foreign king. When the elections for the Eighth congress were canvassed, it was found that the purchase had won the popular approval, and the administration received a larger majority than it had previously possessed. A session of that body was called at an unusually early date, when the purchase was ratified on October 20, 1803, by a vote of 24 to 7 in the senate, and 90 to 25 in the house.

The career of Mr. Jefferson was so brilliant in his first Presidential term, his course had received such general endorsement from the leaders of his party, and the people were so well satisfied with the labors of his administration, that it was a foregone conclusion that he should be nominated by the Republicans for a second term. George Clinton of New York was named for vice-president; while the Federalists put forward Charles E. Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York. The result was a most signal triumph for the Republicans, Jefferson and Clinton receiving 162 votes to 14 cast for their opponents, whose only support came from Connecticut, Delaware and a part of the electoral vote of Maryland. The first grave question confronting the new ad-

ministration, which went into power in March, 1805, grew out of the war between England and France. The nation first named had interdicted all trade with the French and their allies, while the other had retaliated by forbidding all commerce with Great Britain and her colonies. A double blow was thus indirectly aimed at America in violation of her neutral rights and to the damage of her commerce. As a measure formulated by the Republicans and endorsed by the President, the Embargo act came into existence, and when signs were apparent that the remedy sought by that bold and far-sweeping measure was not as effective as had been promised, the Federalists made it a party question, and so effectively made war upon it that in March, 1809, toward the close of Jefferson's second term, it was repealed. "If the Federals," says one writer upon the question, "could have recalled their old leaders, or retained even a considerable portion of their power, the opportunity presented by the Embargo issue could have brought them back to full political power, but lacking these leaders, the opportunity passed."

From 1805 the name Republican had become gradually supplanted or made synonymous with that of Democrat, the latter being accepted as more generally describing the principles of the party.* The new term was at first bestowed as a word of odium, meaning in the intent of those who used it but another name to designate the nob and mob rule. But as the people became better acquainted with the principles of the party and the purposes of its great leaders, and as the appellation became more honorable because of the honorable records of those to whom it was applied, the term gained in meaning, and was at last adopted as a title of honor by those upon whom it had been laid—even as the "methodist" became a Methodist, and the

* "The Democratic-Republican party, the political party whose theory has aimed at the increase of direct popular control over the government, the widening of the right of suffrage, the limitation of the powers of the Federal government, and the conservation of the powers reserved to the state government by the Constitution. It is therefore a strict construction party, and has always operated as a check upon the nationalization of the United States. It at first (in 1792-3) took the name of the Republican party, which more properly belongs to its possessors (in 1881), and was generally known by that name until about 1828-30. Upon its absorption of the French, or Democratic faction in 1793-6, it took the official title of the Democratic-Republican party, which it still claims. About 1828-30, its nationalizing portion having broken off and taken the name of "National Republicans" (see Whig party), the particularist residue assumed the name of Democrats, which has been accepted since about 1810 as equivalent to Republicans, and by which they have since been known. Some little confusion, therefore, has always been occasioned by the similarity in name between the strict constructionist Republican party of 1793 and the broad constructionist Republican party of 1856." Cyclopedia of Political Science. Vol. I., page 768.

"Yankee Doodle" of English sarcasm and satire became the Yankee, known and honored of all men. While the words Republican and Democrat were interchangeable for some years after the period now under consideration, the last named will be used hereafter in description of the organization to which it was applied.

The foreign question grew in importance and its settlement became one of greater and greater difficulty, all through Jefferson's second term, and the evils now at hand, with the legion impending, were made the text of many a letter, leader and speech by the party in opposition, which "described our agriculture as discouraged, our fisheries abandoned, our commerce restrained, our navy dismantled, our revenues destroyed," at a time when war "was at any moment probable with either France, England or Spain." It was while affairs were in this gloomy condition that the Presidential election came on, and the congressional caucus of the dominant party put forward James Madison of Virginia and George Clinton of New York as their candidates for President and vice-president. C. C. Pinckney was made the chief Federal nominee. The election resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidates, by 122 to 47, terms commencing March 4, 1809. Mr. Madison had been openly committed to the policy of Mr. Jefferson from the first, and made it his own upon his accession to the Chief Executive. War with England was declared by congress, and received the approval of the President on June 18, 1812. The Democrats and the Chief Executive received the support of a majority of the people upon this question, but the Federalists, although greatly in the minority, were spirited and bitter in their opposition, declaring it a war for political purposes only; and four of their representatives in congress even proceeded so far in their opposition as to issue an address denouncing it as needless and unjust. Meanwhile, the political contest was being carried on in another direction. A fear had arisen in congress that Virginia, which had almost had the naming of the Presidents to herself so far in the history of the Republic, was acquiring too much power and too great a patronage; and an effort was made to break her hold in that respect. The New York legislature presented De Witt Clinton as the candidate of that state for President, endorsing him by formal resolution; while that faction of the dominant party who were interested in his behalf—known as Clintonian Democrats—issued an address in August, 1812, in which their desires and purposes were set forth at length. The long continuance of any set of men in office, the monopolizing of the chief offices by any state or states, and the system of nomination by the congressional caucus

were boldly denounced. In September of this year a meeting of the parties interested in Clinton's candidacy, consisting of representatives from eleven states, was held in New York city, the first National convention ever held in America for the purpose of placing a Presidential ticket in nomination. The ticket placed in nomination upon this occasion consisted of De Witt Clinton for President and Jared Ingersoll for vice-president. The Federalists had charge of this convention, having made the movement their own. The choice of the main body of the Democratic party had been made in May of the same year, by the usual congressional caucus, although a step toward a recognition of the right of the people to make their own choice was taken when the gathering appointed a committee of correspondence, of one member from each state, who were charged to see that the recommendation of the caucus received the support of the party in all directions. President Madison was named as his own successor, and John Langdon of New Hampshire given a majority for vice-president; and upon his declining to become a candidate, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was advanced to the honor. As suggestive of the feeling of the country, it may be here stated that Mr. Madison was not assured of a renomination until after he had satisfied a committee, of which Henry Clay was chairman, that he would submit to congress a message favoring war—a condition to which he somewhat willingly assented. The election was a marked triumph for the Democrats, Madison receiving 128 electoral votes to 89 for Clinton.

A new form of political opposition to the war was developed during Madison's second term, culminating in the famous Hartford convention of 1814. The New England states were opposed to the war, in the main, as was shown by the endorsement given the Federalists in that section of the country, in the gains in the election of 1813: "Their Massachusetts majority rose from 1,370 in 1812 to 13,974; in Connecticut and Rhode Island the Democratic vote was much decreased; and even the hitherto doubtful or Democratic states, New Hampshire and Vermont, were carried by the Federalists." In the Thirteenth congress, which met in May, the house contained sixty-eight members who favored peace, to one hundred and twelve who supported the war. Overt acts were not wanting to show that New England did not sympathize with the conflict. The Massachusetts legislature declared the war "impolitic and unjust;" adding at a later date: "We believe that this war, so fertile in calamities and so threatening in its consequences, has been waged with the worst possible views

and carried on in the worst possible manner, forming a union of wickedness and weakness which defies, for a parallel, the annals of the world." The same body, on October 18, 1814, adopted a proposal of a convention of the New England states "to lay the foundation of a radical reform in the National compact by inviting to a future convention a deputation from all the other states in the Union." Events followed each other with rapidity: "The proposal was promptly adopted by the legislatures of Rhode Island and Connecticut, which last named body had just ordered its governor to call a special session for the protection of its citizens, if the Federal Conscription bill should become a law. The object was cautiously limited, in Massachusetts, to matters 'not repugnant to their duties as members of the Union,' in Connecticut to matters 'consistent with our obligations to the United States,' and in Rhode Island to 'measures which it may be in the power of said states, consistently with their obligations, to adopt.' In New Hampshire, where the council was Democratic, and in Vermont, where the successful fight at Plattsburgh had wakened a new war feeling, the Federalists did not venture any state action upon the proposal; but the Federalist counties of Cheshire, Grafton and Coos, in New Hampshire, and Windham, in Vermont, appointed delegates by town meetings. That the recent disasters of the war, the depreciation of the public credit twenty-five cent. below par, and the humiliating demands of the English commissioners as the price of peace should now be supplemented by this portentous union among the New England Federalists, who had just succeeded in carrying every congressional district in their section except three, in which there was no popular choice, brought the wrath, alarm and suspicion of the Democratic party and the administration to their highest point. Executive agents were scattered over New England to search for evidences of a secret plot to separate that section from the Union and form a grand duchy under an English prince of the blood; a regular officer was sent to Hartford, with assurances of support from the New York state troops and the 'fighting Democracy' of Connecticut, to oversee the deliberations of the twenty-six elderly gentlemen who were soon to meet there in convention; and the President, at the request of congress, appointed January 12 following, as a day of National fasting and prayer."*

The convention was held in Hartford, Connecticut, on December 15, 1814. George Cabot of Massachusetts was chosen president and

* 'Cyclopedia of Political Science,' Vol. I., page 625.

Theodore Dwight, editor of the Hartford *Union*, secretary. A session of three weeks ensued, with closed doors, and the result was the preparation of an address which was to be submitted by the members to the legislatures of their respective states. That celebrated document went straight at the heart of the matter in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That it be and is hereby recommended to the legislatures of the several states represented in this convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions or impressments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That it be and is hereby recommended to the said legislatures to authorize an immediate and an earnest application to be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said states may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said states may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the balance due said states and to the future defense of the same—the amount so paid into said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States."

The third resolution looked to a preparation upon the part of the militia of these states, to "repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy." A series of amendments to the Constitution was then proposed, embodying the following points: 1. That the southern states should be deprived of the representation given them for three-fifths of their slaves. 2. That a two-thirds vote of both houses should be requisite for the admission of new states. 3. That embargoes should be limited to sixty days. 4. That a two-thirds vote of both houses should be requisite to prohibit commercial intercourse. 5. That the same vote should be requisite to declare war or authorize hostilities, except in a case of invasion. 6. That naturalized foreigners should be debarred from membership in congress and from all civil offices under the United States. 7. That the President should not be reëligible and should not be taken from the same state two terms in succession. The address emphatically denied any present desire to dissolve the Union, and declared that, should dissolution be necessary, "by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administra-

tions, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." It closed with the recommendation that should there be no improvement in affairs another convention should be held in June, armed "with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require."

This movement, so formidable at one time, and promising such momentous results should it gain in volume and be fed upon the discontent of those who had opposed the war or supported it half-heartedly, received a sudden check and an eventual destruction in that which so often answers the criticisms of a political policy—success. When the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut formally made the work of the convention their own by a prompt adoption of its suggestions, and sent commissioners to Washington to confer with the general government, the news came that Jackson had set the National heart athrill by his glorious victory at New Orleans, the war had closed in victory, and England had consented to a peace that was far from humiliation to America and honorable to her arms. The commissioners found no room for them in this tumult of victory, and the body they had hoped to quote with such weight of authority, became, in the popular mind, a secret conspiracy and a cabal that had "deserted their country in its hour of sorest need." The recommendations they had brought were met with contempt, their mission was soon abandoned, and the second convention was never called.* The effect upon politics was immediate, and of good fortune to the party already in power. The Democrats had only to mention the Hartford convention to turn ridicule and suspicion upon the Federalists, and the blow was one from which that once great party never recovered. Its sure and rapid downfall, although presaged in events before, may be said to have commenced upon that day. The Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth congresses were all under Democratic control. The Fourteenth, which opened its first session on December 4, 1815, had in-

*"From the series of humiliations of which the Hartford convention was the close, New England learned thoroughly the necessity of carrying on struggles against the National government *within* the Union—a lesson which it had occasion to rehearse often afterward. It would have been fortunate for her sister section of the south if the same lesson had been impressed upon her attention fifty years previous to 1861. The Federalist politicians who fathered or composed the Hartford convention never escaped from the popular odium which attended it. November 16, 1819, the president, Cabot, deposited its journal with the secretary of state at Boston, that all men might see that its designs and debates were legitimate, and not treasonable. In 1833 Theodore Dwight, the secretary, published his 'History of the Hartford Convention,' but public opinion had even then become fixed, as it has since remained, against the convention." —Alexander Johnson.

creased that majority in the house to thirty. There were sixty-five Federalists in that body, but in the election for speaker only ten votes were cast for Federalists, the greater number upon that side foreseeing that their only chance for recognition or influence lay in the breaking down, for the time, of party lines.

When the question of a successor to Madison arose, the influence of the administration was thrown in favor of James Monroe of Virginia. The Democratic members of congress held their usual caucus and gave Mr. Monroe a majority of their votes, at the same time selecting Daniel Tompkins of New York for vice-president. This decision was not reached without a protest from those who did not view with favor the long dynasty of Virginians, fifty-four votes in the caucus being cast for William H. Crawford of Georgia against the sixty-five for Monroe. The influence of Burr was made effective in this contest, as his denunciation of Madison and the existing methods of nomination kept nineteen Democratic congressmen out of the caucus altogether. The Federalist choice for President was Rufus King, while their vote for vice-president was scattered. In the Electoral College Monroe was elected by 183 to 34 for King; while the vote on vice-president stood: Daniel Tompkins, 183; John E. Howard of Maryland, 22; James Ross of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall of Virginia, 4; and Robert G. Harper of Maryland, 3.

A singular season of rest from political strife followed the inauguration of Monroe, in March, 1817. The issues that had divided the old parties before and during the war had become extinct by the absolute triumph and vindication of one party and the defeat and humiliation of the other, and no new ones had yet arisen to vex and disturb the public mind. The address of the incoming President breathed only good-will and conciliation, and was accepted with good feeling by men of all classes. It seemed to have been intended to soothe the apprehensions of the Federalists, who were in such hopeless minority that they might mistrust the purposes to which the triumphant faction would put its power. It spoke with unusual warmth of their peculiar interests—commerce and the fisheries; congratulated the country upon the restoration of harmony; and promised the utmost efforts of the administration to continue that good feeling and quiet in the future. The address was soon afterward followed by a tour of the President through the disaffected states—New England—that did much to bind up old wounds and cause a forgetfulness of old enmities and ancient grudges. That season of calm has passed into history as the "Era of Good Feeling," covering the period of 1817 to

1823. Party feeling was laid aside, and the leaders of each side advocated or opposed public measures as viewed from individual or sectional opinion, and not from the platform of politics. The cabinet called by Mr. Monroe, although all of the Democratic party, was one that gave satisfaction to the people, from the high character and ability of its members—John Quincy Adams, secretary of state; William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury; John C. Calhoun, secretary of war; and William Wirt, attorney-general. The views upon this remarkable period of political fraternity held by at least two men in the forefront of events, can be gleaned from the following brief quotations. President Monroe, in response to a public address upon his northern tour, used these words:

"You are pleased to express a confident hope that a spirit of mutual conciliation may be one of the blessings which may result from my administration. This, indeed, would be an eminent blessing, and I pray it may be realized. Nothing but union is wanting to make us a great people. The present time affords the happiest presage that this union is fast consummating. It cannot be otherwise. I daily see greater proofs of it. The further I advance in my progress in the country, the more I perceive that we are all Americans; that we compose but one family; that our Republican institutions will be supported and perpetuated by the united zeal and patriotism of all. Nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to behold a perfect union among ourselves—a union which is necessary to restore to social intercourse its former charms, and to render our happiness, as a nation, unmixed and complete. To promote this desirable result requires no compromise of principle, and I promise to give it my continued attention and my best endeavors."

The feelings of even so intense a Democrat and natural partisan as Andrew Jackson were thus expressed in his advice to President Monroe:

"Now is the time to exterminate that monster called party spirit. By selecting [for cabinet officers] characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity and firmness, without regard to party, you will go far to, if not to entirely, eradicate those feelings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge always in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, bearing in mind that he acts for the whole and not a part of the community."

During this period of political quiet Illinois and Mississippi

were admitted to the Union; Alabama was authorized to form a state constitution and government, and the territory of Arkansas was erected.

Mr. Monroe was chosen his own successor, in 1820, by the most decisive vote ever given for a President. No candidate was put forward against him, and only one vote in the college was cast for another—that of an elector from New Hampshire, who voted for John Quincy Adams. Mr. Tompkins was reëlected vice-president by 218 as against 14 scattering. Their second term commenced on March 4, 1821. No nominations were made by either party upon this occasion. When the second session of the Seventh congress opened in the month and year last named, the Democratic party was in entire control of both branches, and the existing order of things promised to run on as smoothly in the future as in the past. But a great question had arisen, and the long-deferred but inevitable contest upon slavery would no longer be held in the dim region of theory, but pressed itself forward and demanded recognition in the clear light of practical political fact. Missouri stood demanding admission to the Union; and those who believed that slavery and the political power of the slave states were growing too great in the control of the Nation, demanded the adoption of restrictions upon the holding of slaves within the new state. After a long discussion and many ineffectual proposals, the territory became a state under the so-called "Missouri Compromise," which permitted the admission without conditions, but abolished slavery in certain portions of the then province of Louisiana.* The

*"The treaty by which Louisiana, including Missouri," writes Alexander Johnston, in a history of this compromise, "had been acquired, stipulated that the ceded territory should be at once incorporated into the Union, and that its inhabitants should be given *all* the rights of citizens of the United States as soon as possible. . . February 17 (1820) Thomas of Illinois (pro-southern) offered as an amendment to the bill the compromise afterward adopted. . . which consisted, in effect, of a division of the Louisiana purchase between the free states and the slave states. . . The senate passed the bill, with the Thomas amendment, by a vote of 24 to 20. February 18 the house disagreed to the senate bill as amended, the Thomas amendment having only 18 votes to 159. Both houses, by strong votes, adhered to their position, and the senate asked and was granted a conference committee, which reported: 1, that the senate should give up its union of the Maine and Missouri bills; 2, that the house should give up the Tallmadge proviso; and 3, that both houses should unite in admitting Missouri, with the Thomas amendment, as follows: 'And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited.' The whole compromise was then passed by the house. . . The bill was signed March 6, 1820."

struggle was one of the most intense to which the Union had yet been subject, and at times it seemed as though the separation between north and south—so long threatened and so long feared—must certainly take place. While the contest was largely one for political power, the principle of right and wrong was apparent, and the reflections awakened by the struggle had not a little to do with the advance of anti-slavery sentiment in the north.

The tariff became one of the great questions of the day in the congressional session of 1823-4, arising upon a proposition to so revise that already existing with a view to a better protection of home industry. As the Presidential election was pending, the matter naturally became one of politics, men dividing, as a rule, upon the line already drawn as to the power of the government to act under the Constitution. Protection of home industry "not being among the powers granted, was looked for in the incidental, and denied by the strict constructionists to be a substantive term to be exercised for the direct purpose of protection, but admitted by all, at that time and ever since the first tariff act of 1789, to be an incident to the revenue raising power, and an incident to be regarded in the exercise of that power. Revenue the object, protection the incident, had been the rule in the earlier tariffs; now that rule was sought to be reversed, and to make protection the object of the law, and revenue the incident." The bill introduced for the revision of the tariff and the advance of protection was carried by both houses. Two of the leading candidates for the Presidency, Mr. Clay and John Quincy Adams, were in open favor of the measure. When the electoral votes were cast no choice was made, the results standing as follows: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, 84; Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, 99; William H. Crawford of Georgia, 41; Henry Clay of Kentucky, 37; no choice being made, the duty devolved upon the house of representatives to choose a President from the three highest upon the list, Jackson, Adams and Crawford. The result was: Thirteen states for Adams, seven states for Jackson and four states for Crawford. Adams was declared elected, and inaugurated March 4, 1825. John C. Calhoun had been chosen vice-president by 182 to 78. Although Mr. Adams was the choice of the lower house of congress, General Jackson was that of the people, and such members as voted against the will of their constituents were repaid by retirement and oblivion at the conclusion of their terms. One result of this historic election was the breaking up of the system of Presidential nominations by congressional caucus—a form of choice that had been

tolerated heretofore by the people because in former cases their will had been expressed by its decision.

It will be necessary at this point to introduce another great political organization, which grew without premeditation and was an outcome of the peculiar condition of political affairs. The Era of Good Feeling, politically, had passed away, and the overmastering ascendency of the Democratic party was about, for a time, to receive a check. When the friends of Henry Clay, in the house of representatives, threw their votes to John Quincy Adams and made him President, there were many ready to accuse both of political conspiracy—a charge made all the more open and with a show of proof when Mr. Clay was elevated to the position of secretary of state in Adams' cabinet. In this combination of two great leaders, who had not acted together before, with their strong following, the nucleus of the Whig party that played so important a part in political affairs for many years, was in reality formed, although not at that time recognized as an independent party movement. Toward the end of Adams' term, steps toward the combination of his following into an organized form were taken, and the name National Republicans assumed by those who presented him as a candidate for reëlection—an appellation which supplanted that of the already extinct Federalist. Jackson had been put forward as a candidate in the election of 1828 as soon as his defeat by Adams in congress was announced, and it was a foregone conclusion that he would be elected. The Electoral College gave him 178 votes to 83 for Adams. The support of the latter was practically that of the old Federal party—that of the New England states, New Jersey and Delaware, sixteen of New York's thirty-six, and six of Maryland's eleven. John C. Calhoun was elected to the office of vice-president. The year following the inauguration of this new administration, on March 4, 1829, was one of political quiet. The people and press were for a time so engrossed in the affairs of material improvement, such as the newly developed railroad idea, the advance of manufactures, etc., that they had small care for political affairs; and it was not until Jackson began, in 1830, to coin his distinct and aggressive ideas into actual events, that opposition was aroused, and the party that had been placed in so marked a minority by the election gathered courage for new resistance and attack. His sentiments, averse to the bank, the protective tariff, internal improvements and the other features of administrative policy supported by his predecessor, fed the spirit of all who favored these measures, and gave

them a rallying point and support. The name National Republican grew in meaning, and a new party found formal recognition in American affairs. Adams had, meanwhile, passed to the rear, and the leadership fell upon Clay. The first National convention of this party was held in Baltimore, in 1831; but before passing thereto, the beginning and growth of still another political organization must be traced.

By 1820 the order of Free Masons had grown to considerable power and membership in America; and when one William Morgan of Batavia, New York, in 1826, announced the early publication of a book purporting to be an *exposé* of all the secrets of the order, steps were taken by the Masons of New York to prevent such publication if possible. Morgan was arrested for debt and a judgment obtained against him. Upon his release he was seized, placed in a carriage and conveyed to Niagara. No trace of him beyond that point was ever discovered; and now, after sixty years, his fate is as uncertain as in those excited September days of 1826. The most intense sensation followed his disappearance, and the charge was openly made and widely believed that the Masons had taken official action upon his proposed treason, had sentenced him to death, and by their own hands carried that sentence into execution. The immediate results have been thus described: "Charges were made that the conspiracy to abduct embraced all the leading Free Masons of that section of the state; that these had systematically thwarted all investigation; that members of the society placed their secret obligations above those of citizenship or official duty; and that they were necessarily unfit and unfaithful public servants. In town and county elections candidates who refused to resign their membership in the society soon found a strong, though unorganized, anti-Masonic vote against them; and in August, 1828, the National Republican party in New York carefully nominated state candidates who were not Free Masons. But an anti-Masonic state convention, at Utica, a few days later, nominated candidates pledged against Free Masonry, and polled 33,345 votes out of a total of 276,583. In 1830 they entirely displaced the National Republicans in New York as the opponents of the Democrats, and, as Jackson, the Democratic leader, was a Free Mason, steps were taken by his opponents to extend the anti-Masonic organization to other states, in hopes of thus gaining the small percentage of votes necessary to defeat the democrats in the National election. The attempt was a failure in one sense, since the number of National Republican Free Masons who were alienated to the Democ-

racy more than counterbalanced the anti-Masonic accession; but it resulted in the establishment of the anti-Masons as the controlling anti-Democratic organization in Pennsylvania and Vermont, and as a strong local party in Massachusetts and Ohio."

A New York state convention, held at Albany in February, 1830, had decided in favor of a National anti-Masonic nominating convention, which was confirmed by a National convention in the fall of the same year. The last named body convened at Philadelphia in September and adopted the following:

"*Resolved,* That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both houses of congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and vice-president, to be supported at the next election, and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-Masonry may require."

In accordance with the above suggestion, such National convention assembled at Baltimore in September, 1831, and placed in nomination the following ticket: William Wirt of Maryland for President and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for vice-president. As Mr. Clay was in the lead of the National Republicans, and as he was also a Mason, this movement was thus inaugurated for the purpose of forcing him out of the field as a Presidential candidate. Some weeks later, December 12, 1831, the National Republicans held their convention also at Baltimore, and despite the threat and danger of the above described movement, unanimously nominated Mr. Clay for President and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for vice-president. No platform was adopted, but an address to the party was soon sent forth that somewhat distinctly set forth the principles of the party as illustrated in its attacks upon the policy of the Jackson administration. On May 7 of the year following, a Young Men's National Republican convention met at Washington, and after endorsing the selection of Clay and Sergeant, proceeded to the adoption of ten resolutions that endorsed the protective tariff, a system of internal improvements, the decision of constitutional questions by the supreme court, and a cessation of removals from office for political reasons—a course of official strategy to which President Jackson unhesitatingly resorted upon his accession to the Presidency, despite his serious civil service reform advice to an honored predecessor some years before.

Meanwhile, the Democratic party was preparing for the contest

thus offered from several directions. In May, 1832, its first National convention was held at Baltimore. General Jackson had received the formal endorsement of a number of state legislatures, and was, without hesitation, named as his own successor. Martin Van Buren of New York, who had supplanted Mr. Calhoun in the confidence of both the party and its leader, was the nominee for vice-president. No formal platform was adopted upon that occasion.

The result of that three-sided contest was as follows: Jackson, 219; Clay,* 49; Wirt, 7; John Floyd of Virginia, 11. These last named votes were cast by South Carolina. The seven anti-Masonic votes cast for Wirt came from Vermont. Mr. Van Buren was made vice-president by 189 votes. The term for which they were elected opened on March 4, 1833.

The anti-Masonic party, which had been built upon one idea and grew out of an unusual excitement in the public mind, was relegated to obscurity by its meagre support in the Electoral College, and practically became a thing of the past. The organization was soon absorbed into that of the newly arisen Whig party—Mr. Clay, Mason as he was, being less objectionable than General Jackson—except in Pennsylvania, where they retained their existence as an ally with the Whigs until about 1840, during which time, in 1835, through dissensions in the Democratic party, succeeding in electing their candidate, Joseph Ritner, to the governorship.

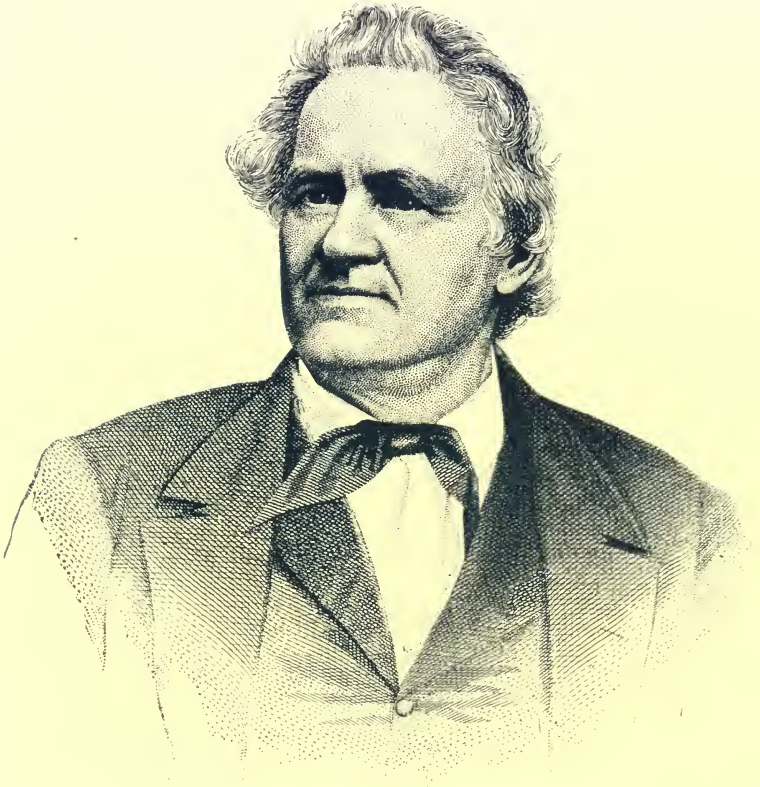
The dominant question before congress and the people in the beginning of Jackson's second term, was that of the United States bank; and a long period passed before the issues that grew out of it were fully settled or could be dispassionately discussed. The first Bank of the United States was chartered in 1791 as a Federal measure, favored by Hamilton, and opposed by Jefferson, Madison and the party that stood behind them. The non-renewal of its charter in 1811 was caused by the Republicans, who were then in control of the government, and took advantage of their opportunity to remove that which they had been powerless to prevent. Yet it was the same party that, in 1816, issued a charter for the establishment of the second bank of the same character. By 1832, when the bank was seeking a recharter, the measure was opposed by the

* In 1828 the Democrats had carried the entire south, with the exception of Delaware and a part of Maryland; the entire west, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; and Pennsylvania and half of New York's vote, in the middle states. Upon this occasion they gained Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey and the rest of New York, and lost Kentucky, which had endorsed her own honored son, Mr. Clay.

same party—then known as Democrats—because its influence had been largely given in aid of the opposition. When the bill for the recharter passed the senate and the house, it was sent to President Jackson, who returned it with his veto on July 10, 1832. In an elaborate review of the whole matter he fully and freely stated his objections, basing them upon the alleged unconstitutionality of the law by which the bank was created, and upon the ground that it was an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly, hostile to the interests of the people and possibly dangerous to the existence of the government. The attempt to pass the bill over the veto was a failure. The President, with that stirring vigor and relentless purpose that were among his chief characteristics, made prompt use of such power as was constitutionally lodged in his hands. In his message of December 4, 1832, he declared his belief that the bank was insolvent, advised an investigation into its affairs and the sale of such stock as was held by the government. This suggestion fell upon the ears of a congress which had passed the bill for a recharter, and consequently passed unheeded, a vote of confidence in the bank being practically taken when the house formally decided that the deposits might be safely left in its charge. On the day following, congress adjourned, and the President sought an immediate removal of the government deposits—a measure he succeeded in accomplishing in the following fall. This action was sustained by the new house—a decision in which the senate did not acquiesce.

The course pursued by the President in thus overriding not alone the protests of his secretary of the treasury, who would not remain in office to see the removal ordered, but also the formal order of the house that the money should remain, hastened the union of many factions into one, whose central thought and main plank were based upon this idea—opposition to Jackson. The original Adams republican, the South Carolina nullifer, the states-right advocate of Georgia and the anti-Mason of New York found in this idea a common brotherhood that held them together as could nothing else. There was no distinct union of the varied elements during 1833, although all were coming more closely together. The President's order was taken as the signal for attempting that alliance which had long been foreseen by close observers of events. "The task," in the words of one historian,* "seemed difficult, in view of the radically different political beliefs of the two leading elements of the alliance, and it was only made possible by the personal character of the opposition to Jackson,

* 'Cyclopedia of Political Science,' Vol. III., page 1103.



Joshua R. Gidding

and by the political tact of James Watson Webb of New York, in finding an available party name. His newspaper, the *Courier and Enquirer*, had originally supported Jackson, and had been driven into the opposition by the President's course. In February, 1834, he baptized the new party with the name of 'Whig,' with the idea that the name implied resistance to Executive usurpation, to that of the crown of England and in the American revolution, and to that of the President of the United States of 1834. In reality, the objects of the name were to oppose a verbal juggle to the verbal juggle of the opposite party, to balance the popular name of Republican or Democrat by the popular name of Whig, and to give an apparent unity of sentiment to fundamental disagreement. In all these it was successful."

The contest over the bank continued with new vigor and ever increasing excitement all through Jackson's second term. The action of South Carolina in attempting to nullify by force certain "acts of congress purporting to be laws laying duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities;" Jackson's prompt action in the crushing of that incipient rebellion, and the consideration of the tariff question itself were the topics that claimed the attention of the government and people throughout several succeeding years. The question of slavery was pressing itself upon public attention with renewed earnestness, and those who cried "peace" and endeavored to keep it out of sight, were powerless to prevent its appearance more and more as the one overshadowing topic of the day. In the session of 1836 congress was in receipt of numerous petitions and memorials advocating Federal interference for the abolishment of the institutions in the various states. The doubt with congress was not whether such action should be attempted, but as to the receipt of the petitions at all, a bitter and extended debate ensuing upon that point. The position held by that body as declared by resolution adopted by the house of representatives and practically reaffirmed in 1836, was as follows: "That congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the states, it remaining with the several states to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy may require."

The Presidential election of 1836 found the Whig party not yet sufficiently organized or compact to present a successful front to the enemy that was strong in position, party coherence and skillful management. But the attempt it made was gallant and, perhaps, greater than might have been looked for under the circumstances. General William Henry Harrison had been put forward as a people's

candidate in a number of popular mass meetings and by Whig and anti-Masonic state conventions at Harrisburgh, and by a Whig state convention at Baltimore, the former naming Granger and the latter Tyler for the vice-presidency. "Harrison's politics," to quote a well-known historian, "were of a Democratic caste, but he satisfied the Whig requisite of opposition to the President, while he satisfied the anti-Masonic element still better by declaring that 'neither myself nor any member of my family have ever been members' of the Masonic order. Webster was nominated in January, 1835, by the Whig members of the Massachusetts legislature, but he found little hearty support outside of his own state. White had now gone so far in opposition that copies of the official *Washington Globe* containing bitter attacks upon him were franked to the members of the Tennessee legislature by the President in person. The legislature, however, in October, 1835, unanimously reëlected White senator, and by a vote of 60 to 12 nominated him for the Presidency. Soon afterwards, the Alabama legislature, which had already nominated White, rescinded the nomination, having become Democratic. The South Carolina element, having control of the legislature, by which electors were to be appointed, made no nominations and finally gave the state's electoral vote to W. P. Mangum, a North Carolina Whig, and John Tyler, a nullifier. All the factions of the opposition thus had their candidates in the field, and at first sight their discordant efforts might have seemed hopeless. But all the politicians of the time expected a failure of the electors to give a majority to any candidate, and a consequent choice by the house of representatives, in which the opposition, though in a numerical minority, hoped to control a majority of the states."

In May, 1835, the National convention of the Democratic party met at Baltimore. It again adopted and thus made permanent within the party the rule that required a two-thirds vote to secure a nomination. No platform was adopted. The influence of the President had been used to good effect in favor of Martin Van Buren, who was nominated to the Presidency by a unanimous vote—the extreme southern vote taking no part in the choice, in the expectation that the legislatures of their section would give sufficient support to Hugh L. White to secure Van Buren's defeat. R. M. Johnson of Kentucky was named for the vice-presidency. The personal character of the contest that ensued, rather than the division upon any fundamental principles at stake, is aptly illustrated by the tone and tenor of a brief series of

resolutions adopted by the Whigs at Albany, New York, on February 3, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That in support of our cause we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

"*Resolved*, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the Executive to obtain his influence to elect him to the Presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to our free institutions.

"*Resolved*, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and successful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of hackneyed politicians, a man of the school of Washington."

The decision of those constitutionally charged with the choice of a President, did not carry out the expectations of the opposition and allow the matter to be carried into the house. The Democratic nominee was elected by a marked majority, the vote of the Electoral College standing as follows: Martin Van Buren, 170; Daniel Webster, 14; W. H. Harrison, 73; W. P. Mangum, 11; Hugh L. White, 26. The only state voting for Webster was Massachusetts. Harrison was supported by Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana; while Mangum was aided by South Carolina alone, and White by Georgia and Tennessee. Johnson was elected vice-president by 147 votes, as against 77 for Francis Granger, 47 for John Tyler, and 23 cast by Virginia for William Smith. The term for which Van Buren and Johnson were elected commenced on March 4, 1837.

It was during the long and exciting contest over the United States bank, that the term "Loco-Foco," that soon became National in its application and may be regarded as one of the by-words of American history, came first into use. It was originally applied to the radical wing of the Democratic party, although afterward extended to the same element in the country at large. The story of its origin is worthy of the space required for the telling: In 1834–5, when it became apparent that there would be no recharter for the Bank of the United States, the haste made by parties in New York for new banks revived former scandals upon the same subject, and the opposition which was originally intended for the system of corporation soon extended to the corporations themselves. In the summer of 1835 such Democrats of the city as were opposed to the banks formed an organ-

ization among themselves—their demand being that no special privileges should be given by charter to any corporation. They soon assumed the name of Equal rights party. "On October 29," says an account of the scene, "at a meeting called at Tammany Hall to act on the report of their nominating committee, the regular or Tammany Democrats attempted to seize control of it, entering by the back-stairs as the Equal Rights men came up the front. Both parties tumultuously elected chairmen; but the Tammany men, finding their opponents too strong for them, turned out the gas and retired. The Equal Rights men instantly produced candles and 'loco-foco' matches, relighted the hall temporarily, and concluded their work. From this circumstance the Whig and the regular Democratic newspapers invented the nickname of the 'Loco-Foco' party, which clung to the new faction, and afterward to the whole Democratic party, for ten years."

The administration of Martin Van Buren was marked by a steady maintenance of party principles, and was accompanied by incidents that could not but have their bearing upon the political fortunes of the day. The removal of the deposits, their transfer to the state banks, and the issuing of the "specie circular" were charged with the responsibility of the financial panic of 1837; but in face of disaster charged upon the administration and that of like political character that had preceded it, the President held to the democratic principle of non-Federal interference with the course of business, throwing all his official influence into an effort for the complete separation of bank and state. This result was finally accomplished by the establishment of the sub-treasury system on July 4, 1840—making "the Federal government the guardian of its own funds, relieving it from direct intercourse with any bank and from the need to give any bank the power to issue National paper money, and by consequence made gold and silver the only money recognized by the Federal government." The shifting of the political chances during that administration was not least among the events of our National life in that decade. When Van Buren went into power, it was by a vote significant of overmastering strength. When the financial storm burst, the administration was naturally, and perhaps justly, charged with a large degree of responsibility therefor; and the Whigs gained heart and renewed themselves for another struggle with more hope and a better prospect of success than seemed possible a year before. But as better times dawned, towards 1840, and as the people saw the bank question settled and its threat-

ening complications taken out of politics permanently, the Democrats grew more confident; and in their National convention, held at Baltimore on May 5, 1840, felt sufficiently justified by their record and encouraged by their prospects to formally build a political platform, embodying among others the following points: That the Federal government is one of limited powers derived solely from the Constitution, and that the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers; that the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal government to commence or carry on a general system of internal improvement; that justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of the country; that it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government; that congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that "we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people."

The full and formal enunciation of the party upon the question that had now come to overshadow all others—slavery—was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts, by Abolitionists or others, made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions."

The platform further made declaration that "the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the

people;" reiterated the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence; and made solemn averment that "every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute books."

Upon this platform Mr. Van Buren was unanimously renominated, but the selection of vice-president was deferred, the managers of the party hoping to throw the election of that officer into the hands of congress.

The logic of events and the very great strength developed by Harrison in 1836 pointed to him as the most available candidate for the Whigs in 1840. The National convention of that party met at Harrisburgh, December 4, 1839. The plan adopted for the selection of candidates was indicative of the chaotic condition of political management in those days—when halt way between the congressional caucus or no caucus at all—and the splendidly arranged and organized Presidential conventions of to-day. It was ordered "that a committee of states should be appointed; that ballots should be taken, not in the convention, but in the state delegations; that in each delegation the majority of delegates should decide the whole vote of the state; that the result of each ballot should be reported to the committee of states; and that this committee should only report to the convention when a majority of the states had agreed upon a candidate." The first ballot stood as follows: Clay, 103; Harrison, 94; Scott, 57. It was not until the fifth ballot that the committee was able to inform the main body that General Harrison had been chosen by a vote of 148 to 90 for Clay and 16 for Scott. In the same fashion John Tyler was made the vice-presidential nominee.

It was in the Presidential canvass now pending that the Abolition party made its entry into National politics, and opened an avenue through which those who were in opposition to slavery might make their sentiments apparent in the highest election in the land. While anti-slavery sentiment had made itself apparent at every step of the Republic's progress and Abolition societies had flourished in numbers, and while voice and press both north and south were engaged in a fierce conflict that was well named "irrepressible," no attempt at political action was attempted or even effectively suggested until in 1838, when the annual report of the American Anti-Slavery society recommended that Abolitionist candidates for office should be nominated and supported. The opposition to this proposed course was so strong even in this body, whose fundamental principle was opposi-

tion to slave-holding, that in the following year the society separated into two distinct organizations. Those who favored political action —James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, J. G. Whittier, Edward Beecher and others of their school—seceded from the main body and organized themselves into the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery society. On November 13, 1839, the above suggestion bore fruit. A convention of Abolitionists was held at Warsaw, New York, and nominated James G. Birney for President and Francis J. Lemoyne of Pennsylvania for vice-president. These selections were confirmed by a National convention at Albany, April 1, 1840. The platform adopted upon this occasion favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and territories, and of the inter-state slave trade, with a general declaration of opposition to slavery, to the full extent of constitutional power. Messrs. Birney and Lemoyne declined the nomination, but the party went upon its way, nevertheless, and polled 7,059 votes, ranging from but 42 in Rhode Island, to 2,798 in New York.

The Presidential contest carried on during 1840 was the most exciting and intense ever witnessed in the country to that period, and in respect to the enthusiasm aroused and the bitter determination of each side to win, has not been surpassed in any like canvass since. The Democrats stood upon the declarations of their platform and pointed to the success of the various administrations for which they had been responsible. Their weakness before the people lay in their hard money policy and independent treasury schemes, which did not commend themselves as they might in a season of less severe financial depression. The Whigs were as yet united in their opposition to Jacksonism and all that pertained to it, and zealous in their support was the Bank of the United States, hoping for the election of a President who would be friendly to a new charter; while all the suspended banks formed an eager cohort, striving against the success of the common foe. The Whigs made such appeals to the latent sympathy of the people with Harrison's personal popularity and military services as a theme, that the wildest enthusiasm was evoked, and for a time the whole Nation seems to have suspended the affairs of normal life and gone forth electioneering. The famous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign was unique in its way, these articles being exalted as types of the pioneer and primitive life passed by the soldier-candidate, while campaign songs were sung as they never had been before, mass meetings were held in abundance and numbered their attendance by the thousands, processions of interminable length wended their way in all directions, and the cry

of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" became the slogan. This method of political campaigning, derisively described by the Democrats as nothing but "noise, numbers and nonsense," was successful, and the election of Harrison and Tyler resulted. New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas were alone Democratic, while all else was Whig. Harrison and Tyler received 234 electoral votes each to 60 for Mr. Van Buren, the Democratic vote for vice-president being scattered—48 for Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, 11 for L. W. Tazewell of Virginia, and one for James K. Polk of Tennessee. In addition to this triumph, the Whigs had also secured a majority in both houses of congress, and upon the inauguration of Harrison and Tyler on March 4, 1841, were, for the first time, in control of the National government.*

But that wave of rising popularity and power was soon checked by the death of Harrison and by the accession of Tyler to the Presidency. The party which had just begun to measure and understand its power and to form a policy that should make it compact and keep it formidable, found itself by this unforeseen affliction under the dictation of its old allies, the nullifiers, for a time. Not only dissension but war within the party was the result; and Mr. Clay, who had seen himself set aside by secret party machinations at the Harrisburgh convention, recognized his opportunity and made use of it. He made war on Tyler, and became the chief of his party in fact as in name. The Whigs succeeded, in 1842, in securing a protective tariff, closely following that of 1832; repealed the Independent Treasury act passed at the previous session, and passed a bill for the establishment of a system of bankruptcy. When the great measure of the day, and the one for which the Whigs had labored for years—the recharter of the bank—came up, it was attended by unexpected fortunes and followed by consequences of a far-reaching character. Mr. Tyler, while a member of the Democratic party, had been opposed to the bank, and when the bill for the recharter was prepared, it studiously avoided those points which might meet with the President's objections and do damage to his consistency. The measure was opposed with determination by the Democrats of both houses

*This remarkable Presidential canvass had one effect not uninteresting to the student of history. As Clay, the great leader of the Whig party had been set aside for Harrison, who was far more available, and as he had been elected, and as the chief man of the Democratic party had been nominated and defeated, the plan of setting aside the great leaders for men who had not become so great a target for enemies was adopted by the Democrats, and Polk, Pierce and Buchanan were numbered among some of the results.

without avail; it passed by a close vote and was sent to the President for his signature. It was unexpectedly returned with a veto, based upon the opinions so often expressed by the Executive upon past occasions as to the constitutionality of such a measure. The veto was received with undisguised disapprobation by the Whigs, and charges openly made that Tyler had betrayed his party and broken his faith. An effort to pass the bill over the veto failed. But the Whigs could not afford to rest here, under the shadow of a defeat all the more sore because it came from a member of their own political household. A National bank was the life of the party, and to abandon all effort there was to abandon all hope of success in the future. An attempt was made some days after the veto to bring the same measure forward in another form, as an amendment to a bill in relation to the currency which had been introduced early in the session. It was rushed through both houses and sent immediately to the President, who returned it also with his veto. The Whigs accepted the issue, and went before the country in an address which repudiated the President from thenceforth, and made them no longer responsible for his course. In the course of that grave and eloquently stated complaint were these pointed words:

"Twice have we, with the utmost diligence and deliberation, matured a plan for the collection, safe-keeping and disbursing of the public moneys through the agency of a corporation adapted to that end, and twice has it been our fate to encounter the opposition of the President through the application of the veto power. . . We are constrained to say that we find no ground to justify us in the conviction that the veto of the President has been interposed on this question solely upon conscientious and well-considered opinions of constitutional scruple as to his duty in the case presented. On the contrary, too many proofs have been forced upon our observation to leave us free from the apprehension that the President has permitted himself to be beguiled into an opinion, that by this exhibition of his prerogative he might be able to divert the policy of his administration into a channel which should lead to new political combinations and accomplish results which must overthrow the present divisions of party in the country, and finally produce a state of things which those who elected him, at least, have never contemplated. . . The President, by his withdrawal of confidence from his real friends in congress and from the members of his cabinet; by his bestowal of it upon others, notwithstanding their notorious opposition to leading measures of his administration, has voluntarily separated himself from those by

whose exertions and suffrage he was elevated to that office by which he has reached his present exalted station."

Driven from the Whig ranks, Mr. Tyler sought to enter those of the Democrats, but was denied, and, as has been aptly said, was "left to seek consolation in privacy for his political errors and omissions."

The Democrats lost no time in making good use of these disasters within the house of the enemy, and, in the elections in 1842 of the second congress of Tyler's term, succeeded in obtaining a two-thirds majority in the house.

It was under these circumstances that the Whig party approached their duty of selecting candidates in 1844. Their National convention met at Baltimore on May 4—a gathering that was, in reality, the last as it was the first representative convention of the party. A brief declaration of principles was put forward, summed up in the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That these principles may be summed up as comprising a well-regulated National currency, a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of Executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy." Upon this platform Henry Clay was nominated by acclamation, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, then of New York city, was named for vice-president on the third ballot.

On May 27 the Democrats also met in convention at Baltimore, and the first step taken by them was to adopt the two-thirds rule, by a vote of 148 to 118. The burden of this decision was laid in the way of Mr. Van Buren's candidacy, as the first ballot for President gave him 146 out of 262 votes—a majority, but not the required two-thirds. The eighth ballot stood: Van Buren, 104; Lewis Cass, 114; and James K. Polk, whose name then appeared in the list for the first time, 44. On the ninth ballot Polk received 233 out of 264, and was declared the nominee. Silas Wright was named for vice-president, but declined, and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was given the second place upon the ticket. The platform of 1840 was reaffirmed, with these additional resolutions: one against the distribution of the proceeds of land sales among the states; against any attacks on the veto power; and asserting the title of the United States

to the whole of Oregon. On August 30 the Abolition party met in National convention at Buffalo, and General Birney and Thomas Morris were put forward as its candidates.

The election was prolific in many things beside the triumph of the Democrats. The popular vote was nearly equal, and the electoral vote was 170 for Polk to 105 for Clay. The temporizing letter in which Mr. Clay had said that he would "be glad to see" the annexation of Texas at some future day, had led the Abolitionists to the nominations they might not have otherwise made. Their candidates received 62,300 votes which certainly would not have gone to Polk and probably would have been cast for Clay, ensuring him New York and Michigan and the election. "What added bitterness to the disappointment," says one Whig authority, "was that the Democrats had taken a leaf from the Whig book of 1840, by being protectionist in some states and free trade in others; that Polk's majority of 699 in Louisiana was the fruit of about one thousand unblushingly fraudulent votes in Plaquemines parish; that fraudulent voting and naturalization were charged upon the New York city Democrats; and that Texas annexation had cost Clay the vote of all the southern states except Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky. The consequent bitterness of feeling died away, except in one respect—the foreign vote and its almost solid opposition to the Whigs." The official term of Polk and Dallas commenced on March 4, 1845. In the December following, the Twenty-ninth congress was organized, the house being largely Democratic.

Slavery, the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico were the great questions forcing themselves upon the attention of the people, congress and the Executive during the Polk administration. The question of annexation had not destroyed the tie holding the northern and southern Whig together—both opposing the measure, but from different reasons. The one based his objection upon a fear of the extension of slavery, and the other in fear lest the slavery question should become too prominent in politics. When the war with Mexico had reached that preparatory stage when an act recognizing its existence was passed, the Whigs found themselves confronted by a serious question of party policy. The Democratic purpose and desire was to force the Whigs to vote against the war—a step dangerous especially to the southern members of that party—or as an alternative to force the Whigs to vote against each other. When the question fully presented itself, however, the Whigs followed neither programme laid down for them. Most of them refused to vote at all; some added formal pro-

tests to their affirmative votes; while fourteen in the house and two in the senate recorded a square negative. While the war was in progress the Whigs voted steadily for supplies to carry it on, upon the ground that the army must be supported and the flag defended and maintained, no matter what right or wrong had been enveloped in original causes. So well was their political policy managed that the Democrats gained no advantage in this contest, as was shown by the fact that the congress which met in 1847 had a slight Whig majority. On the other hand, questions had arisen within the Democratic party which threatened its harmony and chances for future success. When the practical disposition of the territory acquired as the fruits of war presented themselves, some issues arose which would not be quieted by anything short of an immediate and practical settlement. The Wilmot proviso had been offered, excluding slavery from the new territory. The Democrats of the north generally supported it, while those of the south at first only voted against it. But as time passed and it became the more and more apparent that those favoring the proviso meant to stand by their colors, the Calhoun doctrine—that the Constitution protected slavery in all the territories and that congress could not interfere with it there—gained converts steadily, and was, at a later date, proclaimed as the belief of the whole Democratic party of the south. But this same proviso was a two-edged sword, menancing the Democrats upon this hand, and the Whigs upon that. The measure was endorsed by the Whig of the north and denounced by the Whig of the south. The outlines of a new party presented themselves, but the chief danger of division lay with the Whigs, as the Democratic party—growing more and more under the control of the south—was expelling from its ranks all who dared to oppose slavery in any form.

When the Whig leaders cast about for an available Presidential candidate for the struggle of 1848, they saw clearly that their only chance of success lay in the selection of some southern Whig, who would not veto the proviso if passed, and yet who could hope for effectual support in the south. General Zachary Taylor, fresh from the laurels of Mexico, opposed openly to the use of the veto power except in rare cases, and himself a slaveholder, seemed to combine the essentials in a high degree; and as the convention day approached, his nomination began to be surely foreshadowed.

The Democratic Presidential convention met at Baltimore on May 22, 1848. The platform of 1840 was renewed, with an addition of a number of resolutions of a political nature, in

which no new principles were advanced. On the fourth ballot Lewis Cass of Michigan was nominated for President by 179 votes against 38 for Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire and 33 for James Buchanan. William O. Butler of Kentucky was nominated for the vice-presidency. An attempt was made on behalf of the Alabama Democrats to force a resolution through declaring that congress had no more power to interfere with slavery in the territories than in the states, but it was voted down by 216 to 36.

The Whigs met at Philadelphia on June 7. The first ballot stood: Zachary Taylor, 111; Henry Clay, 97; Winfield Scott, 43; Daniel Webster, 22; scattering, 6. The fourth ballot, taken on the following day, was decisive, giving Taylor 171 votes to 107 for all the others. Milliard Fillmore of New York was chosen as candidite for vice-president. This result was a bitter disappointment to both Clay and Webster, who saw their chance passed by and a candidate chosen not because of statesmanship or party service, but from his availability and the enthusiasm that would be aroused by his brilliant achievements in the war. The platform adopted at a ratification meeting on June 9 was but an extended laudation of General Taylor, with the following resolution as the only one that attempted to touch upon the principles of the party.

"*Resolved*, That standing, as the Whig party does, on the broad and firm platform of the Constitution, braced by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have as the exponent of our opinions one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said—and no Whig desires any other assurance—that he will make Washington's administration his model."

In this contest no formal part was taken by the Abolition party as such, the open anti-slavery vote of that organization being transferred to the newly arisen Free-Soil party. The period during which this organization had a part in the making of political history commenced in 1848 and ended in 1852. The defeat of Van Buren in the Democratic convention of 1844, and the efforts of President Polk to build up a faction of his own in New York state, had split the Democratic party of that state into two factions—the so-called Barnburners, and the Hunkers.* The former, in its haste to oppose

* The name Barnburners had its origin in a story told by their opponents of an old farmer who burned his barn in order that he might be rid of the rats—supposed to be

the hated administration, declared an opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories, and naturally fell into companionship with those who were conscientiously opposed to slavery in all its forms. The latter, in 1847, held a convention in Buffalo, under the name of the Liberty party, and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President and Leicester King of Ohio for vice-president. The division in the Democratic party of New York, described above, caused these nominations to be dropped and those who had participated in the deliberations at Buffalo to take part in the formation of the Free-Soil party. The Barnburners and Hunkers had both applied for admission to the Democratic convention of 1848, and were both admitted, half the vote of New York being given to each. The compromise was satisfactory to neither. The Barnburners met in state convention at Utica on June 22, and nominated Martin Van Buren and Henry Dodge of Wisconsin for President and vice-president—the last named refusing to accept the barren honor. On August 9 a general Free-Soil convention was held at Buffalo, attended by four hundred and sixty-five delegates, representing nearly all the free states and Delaware, Maryland and Virginia in addition. Martin Van Buren received 244 votes to 181 for John P. Hale, and was nominated for President, and Charles Francis Adams for vice-president. A long platform was adopted, the main features of which were: declarations of independence of the slave power; of secession from the Democracy; of inability to join the Whigs, who had "abandoned their distinctive principles for mere availability;" and of a determination to secure "free soil to a free people." These declarations were followed by a series of resolutions declaring that slavery in the states was valid by state law, but that congress had no more "power to make a slave than to make a king," and hence was bound to restrict it to the states in which it then existed, and to exclude it from the territories.

The candidacy of Mr. Van Buren made New York impossible to the Democrats, and the result was the election of General Taylor by 163 votes to 127 for Mr. Cass. The former carried all the middle and eastern states, with the exception of Maine and New Hampshire, and in the south, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee. The Free-Soil party cast

indicative of the readiness of the Van Buren faction to resort to radical means, regardless of results. The word "Hunker," applied in retaliation to the other faction, had its derivation from "hunk," meaning a covetous, miserly man—one who was opposed to all forms of progress, a conservative who had no patriotism or ambition.

291,263 votes, which was entirely a free-state vote, except a few in Maryland, Delaware and Virginia, and, although it was not in control of a single electoral vote, had developed strength enough to dictate the result of the election. They also sent a number of representatives to the Thirty-first congress, among them being such men as John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, Preston King, Joshua R. Giddings, George W. Julian, David Wilmot and Horace Mann.

The administration of Taylor and Fillmore opened on March 4, 1849. When congress met in the same year, the ever-present question of slavery began to beget those differences that were inevitable between slave states and free, and to widen the breach that was never afterwards to be closed. Certain southern Whigs were determined that their allies of the north should declare their position once for all; and to that end, Mr. Toombs of Georgia insisted upon a formal condemnation by the Whig caucus of the Wilmot proviso. Upon meeting a refusal, the Toombs faction withdrew from the party—a defection not great in itself, but important as a starting place for much that followed. During the entire session that ended with the compromises, the southern Whigs showed little desire to act together in any case—or, as one has said: "On the final votes, in August and September, 1850, it is practically impossible to distinguish southern Whigs from southern Democrats; not that the northern Whigs generally resorted to anything stronger than passive opposition. Thaddeus Stevens' suggestion, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, that the speaker should send a page into the lobby to inform the members there that they might return with safety, as the slavery question had been disposed of, lights up the whole line of policy of the northern Whigs during 1850. They saw only that action of any kind must offend either their southern associates or their own constituents, and in either event ruin the party; and like the prudent man who foreseeth the evil and hideth himself, they took temporary refuge in refusal to act."

When President Taylor died in 1850, Mr. Fillmore succeeded to the Executive office, and soon outlined his policy in regard to the compromise. It was to be regarded as law, to be obeyed while in force; and any effort to repeal it was to be opposed, that the danger of further agitation of the slavery question might not threaten the country. This became the official policy of the Whigs, and was accepted with ill grace by a large number of Whigs in the north, who regarded the compromises as a surrender to the slaveholder. Faction became a threatened danger within the party, and shades of opinion were des-

ignated by such terms as "Conscience Whigs," "Cotton Whigs," and "Silver Gray," or administration Whigs. An attempt was again made by members of the southern wing of the party in 1852, to cause a division along the old line of contention. They determined to have the full acquiescence of their northern allies in their own views of slavery, or to break with them and take the consequences. In a Whig caucus held on April 20, 1852, to arrange for the coming Presidential convention, a motion was made upon the responsibility of the slave-holding portion to regard the compromise as a finality—that is, the formal pledge of the Whig party was to be obtained against any further agitation of the slavery question in any shape. To have agreed to this would have lost the party every state in the north; and under the parliamentary rule that the question was not within the power of the gathering, the dangerous and audacious proposition was put out of sight for the time.

The Democrats had, meanwhile, met with unusual success in the various elections of 1852, its leaders felicitating themselves that the truce of the compromises was the solid ground of secure peace and settled fact, and at the end of Mr. Fillmore's term had an almost two-thirds majority in both houses of congress. On June 1, 1852, the National convention once more assembled at Baltimore, and on the forty-ninth ballot selected General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for President. The other candidates before the convention can be learned from the following ballot—the first: Cass, 116; Buchanan, 93; Douglas 20; Marcy, 27; and 27 scattering. The name of General Pierce was introduced on the thirty-fifth ballot, and on the last he received 282 votes. William R. King of Alabama was nominated for vice-president. In the selection of a leader, the Democrats profited by the example of the Whigs in the case of Taylor, and chose a soldier of the Mexican war, who was, at the same time, a northern Democrat whose sympathies were largely with the south. Among the resolutions adopted upon that occasion three only are pertinent to our purpose here: one against the abridgment of the privilege of naturalization—a side stroke at the newly-arisen American party; one endorsing the compromise of 1850; and another which disposed of the slavery question in these few words: "That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The Whig National convention met at Baltimore on June 16, and it was apparent that the southern element was determined to force



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to a decision the question that had been ignored in the caucus. A platform was adopted, which in substance declared: That the powers of the Federal government were limited to those expressly granted by the Constitution; advocating the maintenance of both state and Federal governments; expressing the party's sympathy with struggling freedom everywhere; calling upon the people to obey the Constitution and laws, and urging respect to the authority of the states as to that of the National government. The following was the expression of the platform upon the subject of the tariff: "Government should be conducted on principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country." A declaration favoring the carrying forward of internal improvements by the National government was also adopted.

The settlement of the slavery question in such shape as to leave the party unhurt was out of the question; and the only thing left to the leaders was to so shape their policy as to do as little harm as possible. To ignore it would be to drive the southern Whigs into the Democratic party, or at least out of the Whig; while anything that savored of surrender or acquiescence was sure to lose many votes in the north and to hasten the day when political divisions must be drawn along this one sharp line. The south, more compact and certain of its purpose, succeeded in the end, and the Whigs went before the country upon this uncertain plank:

"That the series of acts of the Thirty-second congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and as far as they are concerned, we will maintain them and insist upon their strict enforcement until time and experience shall remonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the

Whig party and the integrity of the Union." Against this resolution seventy votes were cast—all from delegates from the north.

Mr. Fillmore certainly had reason to hope that his service to the south in an acceptance and endorsement of the compromises and his aid to the Fugitive Slave law would secure him the endorsement of the convention, and on the first ballot he received 133 votes to 131 for General Winfield Scott and 29 for Daniel Webster. But the experiment of a soldier candidate that had succeeded so well with Harrison and Taylor, and that was to succeed again with Pierce, was decided upon by a majority of the convention, and on the fifty-third ballot Scott was nominated by 159 to 112 for Fillmore and 21 for Webster. William A. Graham of North Carolina was made the nominee for vice-president.

The formal endorsement of the compromises by the two great parties, and the declaration of each that the question of slavery was not to be reopened in any case, left the Free-soilers but one course of procedure—to place a ticket in the field and make a declaration of principle even though it should not be heard beyond the convention walls. Delegates from all the free states and from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, therefore met in Pittsburgh on August 11 and placed in nomination John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana. The platform of 1848 was enlarged, and the formal declaration made that slavery was "a sin against God and a crime against man," while the Whigs and Democrats were denounced as "wings of the great slave compromise party of the Nation." The compromise of 1850 was repudiated and the Fugitive Slave law severely denounced.

There could be but one result of the contest. The Whigs were defeated long before the day of election. The rope of sand upon which their fortunes had depended had betrayed its true character; and the north had decided that the usefulness of the party was over and that it might go the way the Federalist had long since gone. The resolution of acceptance of the compromise was adversely felt in every voting precinct in the north, while no corresponding gain was made in the south. The Whigs carried but four states—Massachusetts and Vermont in the north, and Tennessee and Kentucky in the south, all of them by meagre majorities. The Free-soilers polled 156,149 votes, all in the northern states, with the exception of some five hundred scattered over Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and South Carolina. Pierce was elected by 254 electoral votes to 42 for Scott. His term commenced on March 4, 1853. The meaning of this contest has been

ably summed up in the following words: "The promptness with which a majority of the southern voters recognized and accepted the Democratic doctrine of strict construction as the only present means by which to defend slavery in the Mexican acquisition, brought pro-slavery southern Whigs by thousands into the Democratic party, and made it progressively more pro-slavery in that section; while in the north the prevailing belief that the compromise of 1850 was intended only to ignore the slavery question in the new territories, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona, to stop slavery discussion and to restore the party's old economic principles to their paramount place in politics, retained and even increased the Democratic vote. The seeds of the disruption of 1860 were thus planted in the opposite views, with which the two sections of the party won the overwhelming victory of 1852. The mistaken policy of 1844 still held the party in its grip, and its inevitable but unforeseen consequences began to unfold more rapidly. If a strict construction of the Constitution required that the status of slavery in the new territories should be decided by the people of those territories, and not by congress, surely this principle was equally applicable to all the territories, and the action of congress in 1820 in forever excluding slavery from the territories north of the Missouri Compromise line was unconstitutional and void. The immediate consequence was that the territories north of the Missouri Compromise line, which were organized in 1854, were organized with the proviso that all questions pertaining to slavery therein were to be left to the decision of the people residing in them. But this was no quieting of the slavery question, no return to economic principles; it was only the evident precursor of a still greater prominence to the slavery question in the future."

There was a lull in politics for a few months following the inauguration of the Pierce administration, but the conditions were such in National affairs that it could not long remain. The Kansas-Nebraska question was already arousing fear in the north that slavery was to be extended, and fear in the south that it was to be attacked by more powerful weapons than had yet been employed, while the breach between the two sections was growing wider and wider. A look at that measure will be necessary here. The first step in the new aggressive war was made by the slave power when the Missouri Compromise was repealed in 1854—a measure passed in 1820, which admitted Missouri as a slave state, on the condition that the territory west of it should be forever free. The radical step of this repeal was taken by the Democratic majority in congress, at the dictation of the

southern members. With this repeal was connected another enactment organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the purpose being to obtain possession of the former in the interest of slavery. There was also incorporated a principle, afterwards made famous as "Squatter, or Popular Sovereignty," which was intended, as its authors declared, to enable "the people of the territories to be free in their political action, and when they came to frame their state constitutions and ask admission into the Union they could exercise this right and adopt or reject slavery." The manner in which that right was carried out has been described as follows:*

"The bill having become a law and Kansas thrown open for settlement, emigrants began to pour in from the free-labor states, in order to found permanent communities and homes for themselves and their families. The time had now come for the advocates of slavery extension to act, and they also sent men into the territory, not with their families and to found permanent settlements, but men armed, with the intention to control the elections and make the future state slaveholding. These men—characterized at the time as Border Ruffians—crossed over the line from Missouri, drove off the legal voters, took possession of the ballot boxes, and in the first territorial election (November, 1854) chose a delegate to congress, and four months afterwards by similar means chose a legislature—all in the interest of slavery. Afterward these worthies were joined by great numbers of the worst class of roughs from some of the southern cities. The free-state men were taken by surprise at this outrage, but they soon rallied and began to arm themselves in order to maintain their rights. They were reinforced by still greater numbers of emigrants from the free-labor states, who remained as citizens, while those who came in the interest of the slaveholders did not, as they came only to control elections. Outrages of almost every kind were committed—robberies, murders, illegal arrests—and property destroyed, most of which belonged to the free-state men. These disorders lasted about three years." The political results of the passage of the bill and the repeal of the compromise, although far-reaching, may be briefly stated: The Whig party was disorganized forever, the slaveholding portion of it going into the Democratic party, and the anti-slavery part into the newly organized Republican party. The anti-slavery Democrat of the north also forsook the party to which he belonged and became a Republican, thus making the Democratic party in the minority in the greater portion of the north. It created the Republican party. In

* 'The Democratic Party.' By J. H. Patton, page 134.

the north " it laid the foundation for the belief, which the Dred Scott decision was soon to confirm, that the whole policy of the south was a greedy, grasping, selfish desire for the extension of slavery; in the south, by the grant of what none but the politicians had hitherto asked or expected—the abolition of the Missouri Compromise—it prepared the people for the belief that the subsequent forced settlement of Kansas, by means of emigrant aid societies, was a treacherous evasion by the north of the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In other words, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and still more, the Dred Scott decision which followed it, placed each section in 1860, to its own thinking, impregnably upon its own peculiar ground of aggrievement; the north remembered only the violation of the compromise of 1820 by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, taking the Dred Scott decision as only an aggravation of the original offense; the south, ignoring the compromise of 1820 as obsolete by mutual agreement, complained of the north's refusal to carry out fairly the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott Decision."

Thus the one grave issue that would not be denied had at last absorbed or driven out of consideration all minor questions, and the struggle that ended only at Appomattox was fairly begun, political and polemic as yet, but within a few years to speak in the guns of Sumter and the clash of arms at Bull Run. Slavery was the great topic of thought and argument, and all attempts to divert political action along other lines resulted in failure. Of the Whig party after its defeat in 1852 little need be said. In 156 a remnant of the party endorsed the nomination of the American party, the greater part going into the Republican, and a few holding on to the old name in isolated cases until 1857 and 1858. The old Whig element of the border states appeared in 1860 in the nomination of Bell and Everett, but under another name.

The three political organizations that confronted each other and strove for the mastery in 1856 were these: The Democratic, the Republican and the American. The convention of the first named was held at Cincinnati, on June 2. On the first ballot James Buchanan received 135 votes; Franklin Pierce, 122; Stephen A. Douglas, 33; and Lewis Cass, 5. On the sixteenth ballot Buchanan received 168 votes; and on the next he was unanimously nominated. John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky was nominated to the vice-presidency. The platform was a renewal of that of 1852, with added resolutions approving the Kansas-Nebraska bill and popular sover-

eignty, and condemning the American, or "Know-Nothing" movement.

The Republican party was created as a meeting-place for all those who believed that a time had come when the aggressions of slavery must not only be firmly met, but that all legal and constitutional methods should be employed to remove the curse from among the people. Among its members upon its formation or soon afterwards were Free-soilers like Hale, Julian, Chase, Charles Francis Adams, Sumner, Wilmot and Preston King; Whigs like Lincoln, Seward, Greeley, Fessenden, Thaddeus Stevens, Sherman and Corwin; original Whigs or Democrats, who for a time had found refuge in the American party, like Wilson, Banks, Burlingame, Colfax and Henry Winter Davis; the early Abolitionists, who were members of the new party but not controlled by its utterances nor holding it responsible for theirs, like Giddings, Lovejoy, Garrison and Wendell Phillips; and Democrats, who came over from time to time, like Hamlin, Cameron, Trumbull, Doolittle, Montgomery Blair and Gideon Wells. The adoption of a name for the new party is thus explained by eminent authority:* "The unification of all these elements was evidently a difficult and delicate operation, and was only made possible by the transcendent interest in the restriction of slavery; but the fortunate adoption of the name Republican, endeared by tradition to former Democrats and not at all objectionable to former Whigs, aided materially in the work. Wilson states that this name was settled upon by a meeting of some thirty members of the house on the day after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that is, May 23, 1854; and that the leader of the meeting, Israel Washburne of Maine, began using the term immediately as a party name. Another contemporaneous movement was in Ripon, Wisconsin, where the name was suggested at a coalition meeting, March 20, 1854, and formally adopted at the state convention in July. The first official adoption of the name is believed to have been at the convention at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854. During this and the next month it was also adopted by state conventions in Maine, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, and may be considered as fairly established, though it was not recognized in congress until the beginning of the next year. In its first year of existence the new party obtained popular majorities in fifteen of the thirty-one states, and elected eleven United States senators and a plurality of the house of representatives. But these successes were mainly in the west; the

* 'Cyclopedia of Political Science.' Vol. III., page 598.

eastern states, and particularly New England, resisted the entrance of the new party with tenacity, and kept up the Whig and Know-Nothing organizations through the Presidential election of 1856." Growing out of these movements, and through various discussions and consultation needless to review in this connection, a general call was issued in December, 1855, for a National convention, in the following words:

"To the Republicans of the United States:

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the state Republican committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburgh, on the twenty-second of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National organization and providing for a National delegate convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and vice-presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856."

The meeting was held in accordance with the call, a National committee was formed, and a National convention called in Philadelphia for June 17. Upon the assembling of the latter it was found to be a free-state body, with the exception of delegations from Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. The second and third resolutions of the platform there adopted were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

"*Resolved*, That the Constitution confers upon congress sovereign

power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

The platform further declared an opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and to the refusal to admit Kansas as a free state; denounced the Ostend manifesto; declared in favor of a railroad to the Pacific, and of "appropriations by congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a National character." There was no reference made to the tariff.

Upon the first ballot for President, John C. Fremont received 359 votes, John McLean 196, Charles Sumner 2, and William H. Seward 1. On the second ballot General Fremont was unanimously chosen. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was selected for vice-president, the latter being a concession by the Free-soilers to the Whig element of the new party.

The third member of this trio of National contestants—the American party*—was an organization that was short-lived by circumstances, but that might have grown to great dimensions had not the question of slavery overshadowed all else. The principles upon which it was founded—opposition to the Catholic church and foreign influence in public affairs—had been present in local politics with effect from the days of Washington; but no appearance in National politics was made until the year now under consideration—1856. On February 19 of that year a grand secret council of delegates met in Philadelphia, and after a session of three days adopted a platform, of which the following were the leading propositions: "Americans must rule America," and to this end native born citizens should be selected for all state, Federal and municipal offices; a change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years necessary for future citizenship; the enforcement of all laws, until repealed or decided unconstitutional; opposition to Pierce's administration because of its expulsion of Americans from office, and its reopening of sectional strife by repealing the Missouri Compromise.

The nominations of the party were made in open convention on the twenty-second, with 227 delegates in attendance. An informal ballot was had, and on the first regular ballot Milliard Fillmore of New

* In popular term, the "Know-Nothing" party, because the members of the secret, oath-bound societies that were a part of its machinery, responded to all questions as to its character or purpose the simple "I don't know."



J. C. Fremont.

York was named for President, the vote standing as follows: Milliard Fillmore, 179; George Law, 24; Kenneth Rayner, 14; John McLean, 13; Garret Davis, 10; Samuel Houston, 3. A. J. Donelson of Tennessee was chosen candidate for vice-president. This choice was ratified by a remnant of the Whig party, which convened at Baltimore on September 17, the endorsement being expressly "without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines" of the party by which the nominations had been previously made.

James Buchanan, the nominee of the Democratic party, was elected, the vote in the Electoral college standing as follows: Buchanan, 174; Fremont, 114; Fillmore, 8, the latter being the vote of Maryland. Fremont's defeat was not as great as would appear upon the surface, and had he carried Illinois and Pennsylvania he would have become President. The term for which Buchanan and Breckenridge were elected convened on March 4, 1857.

All differences between the two great parties now rested upon the one great cause, and the smaller organizations were practically swept out of sight as the two faced each other in the giant struggle that all men knew meant much; but to what conclusion the people should be led, no man had the vision to foresee. The story of the contest waged during the Buchanan administration has been told elsewhere, and only the effects thereof upon the fortunes of the political parties will be recounted here. In the south the battle was that slavery should at least hold its own and, if possible, be extended; in the north that it should at least be restricted to its original bounds and, perhaps, eventually removed altogether. The south held the ruling power in the government, and its ultimatum was announced when Jefferson Davis, on February 2, 1860, introduced in congress seven resolutions, of which the main feature was contained in the fourth, where it was declared that neither congress nor a territorial legislature had power, directly or indirectly, to impair the right to hold slaves in the territories. These resolutions were debated until May 24, and then passed, by 35 to 21—28 of this majority coming from the south and 7 from the north, while the minority was composed of 20 northern Republicans and one northern Democrat. Meanwhile other events were hastening the great conflict of 1860–61. The American party had broken to pieces under the stress of far graver questions. The decision in the Dred Scott case and the Lecompton bill had inflamed the spirits and aroused the determined zeal of the anti-slavery advocates of the north, and the Republican organization had become a solid and compact party with a living principle under its feet, and a

possibility of future political power that might well make the slaveholder threaten and yet fear. "When the congress of 1859 met," says one, "the 'Black Republican' party had become, to southern politicians, a portentous cloud covering all the northern sky. In the senate it now had twenty-five members to thirty-eight Democrats; and not only were the reëlections of the few northern Democratic senators very doubtful, but new Republican states were almost ready to demand admission. In the house all the northern members were Republicans, except two from California, five from Illinois, three from Indiana, one from Michigan, four from New York, six from Ohio, three from Pennsylvania and one each from Oregon and Wisconsin, and eight anti-Lecompton Democrats, who were certain to vote against the southern claims to the territories. Party contest in congress at once assumed a virulence which it had not before been subject to. In both houses the Republicans were charged with complicity in the Harper's Ferry rising, and in the publication of Helper's 'Impending Crisis,' a recently published Abolitionist book."

The first National convention of 1860 was held by the Democrats at Charleston, on April 23. It was agreed that no ballot should be taken for President until the platform should be agreed upon, and a committee for the preparation of that important document, of one from each state, was appointed. On April 27 three reports came from the committee, each embodying the principles and policy of the party as suggested by the faction by which it was prepared. These were: first, the so-called southern platform, presented by seventeen members; second, the Douglas platform, presented by fifteen members, representing all the free states except Massachusetts, California and Oregon; and third, the Butler platform, presented on the sole authority of Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts. The southern platform, as finally modified and made the view of the southern members, contained seven resolutions, and that of Douglas six. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth Douglas resolutions were the sixth, seventh, fourth and fifth of the southern resolutions, and included a promise of protection to citizens at home and abroad, approval of a Pacific railroad and the acquisition of Cuba, and condemnation of any attempt to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave law. The first three southern resolutions may be briefly summed as follows: That slavery in a territory could not be prohibited by congress or by a territorial legislature; that the Federal government was bound to protect slave-owners in their property in slaves in the territories; and that the right of the people to decide the question of slavery could only accrue when the

territory became a state. The two first resolutions of the Douglas platform, on the other hand, declared: That the democratic doctrines of past years were unchangeable, but that "the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the supreme court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law." The Butler platform was simply to reaffirm that of 1856, which was promptly voted down. The southern members had their purpose of dissolution even then fully matured, and no compromise or concession was to be expected of them. The Douglas platform was then adopted by a vote of one hundred and sixty-five to one hundred and thirty-eight, this majority coming from the free states, with a few from the border states. When this decision was made known, those who were in the Democratic party, to rule or ruin in the interests of slavery, played their game according to programme. The delegates from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Arkansas and Georgia—with two from Delaware—withdrew from the convention and united in an organization of their own. The original body then adopted a two-thirds rule and proceeded to the nomination. The first ballot stood: Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, 145½; R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, 42; James Guthrie of Kentucky, 35; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, 12; and 18 scattering. No decision had been reached on the fifty-seventh ballot, when the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore on June 18, first recommending the various states to fill the vacancies that had been caused. The first business, upon re-assembling, was to pass upon the claims of the new delegates that demanded admission. From some of the states that had previously withdrawn contesting delegations presented themselves, and as the Douglas faction was in control, those favoring the candidacy of Douglas were generally admitted. Another disruption was the result, the entire representation of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, California and Delaware withdrawing, and followed by portions of that from Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Massachusetts. The convention proceeded to its work after these departures, commencing its balloting at the point left off at Charleston. On the fifty-ninth ballot Douglas had 181½, Breckenridge 7½, and Guthrie 5½. The vote given Douglas was not two-thirds of the convention as originally constituted, but as it was more than two-thirds of the representation then present, he was declared the nominee. The vice-presidency was tendered Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama, but as he declined, the honor was laid upon Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia.

When the seceders left the main convention at Charleston, they

organized one of their own, and adjourned to meet at Richmond on June 11. When gathered at the place last named, they continued to meet and adjourn without attempting any business, until the twenty-ninth; meanwhile, the second body of seceders from the Baltimore body had met, admitted the delegations the Douglas men had refused, and also some of the delegates sent to the gathering at Richmond. The platform proposed by the southern faction at the Charleston convention was unanimously adopted, and by like vote nominated John C. Breckenridge and Joseph Lane of Oregon for President and vice-president. This action was immediately endorsed by the waiting body at Richmond.

The second National convention of the Republican party met at Chicago on May 16, its hopes high, "its organization complete, and its character for the future determined; its elements had been so welded together that the division lines had almost disappeared, but so far as it remained, it was certain that the old Whig element would now take the leading nomination and control the general policy of the party, while the old Democratic element would be content with the second nomination and the comfortable consciousness of familiar methods in party management." The platform made in 1856 was substantially embodied in that adopted upon this occasion, except that the offensive conjunction of slavery with polygamy was not employed, as being needlessly exasperating to the south; a homestead law and a protective tariff were demanded, and Democratic threats of disunion were denounced. The first ballot stood: Seward 173½; Lincoln, 102; Cameron, 50½; Chase, 49; Bates, 48; scattering, 42. The third gave Lincoln 231½; Seward, 180; and 53½ scattering; but before a fourth could be taken the votes of several states were so changed as to give Lincoln 354, and he was declared the nominee. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was named for vice-president.

Yet a fourth ticket was to be put in the field, as representing the sentiments of such of the southern Whigs as had not found their way into the Democratic party. The election of 1852 had ended the party as a National organization, while a portion of the party had attempted in 1856 to evade the slavery question by action in concert with the Americans, or "Know-Nothings." On May 9, 1860, a convention of the yet permanently unabsorbed Whigs was held at Baltimore, with representations from twenty states. The name of Constitutional Union party was adopted; and on the second ballot John Bell of Tennessee was nominated for President by 138

votes, as against 69 for Sam Houston, 18 for W. A. Graham, and 27 scattering. Edward Everett of Massachusetts was unanimously nominated for vice-president. The central idea of the platform adopted was contained in the following words: "That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the states and the enforcement of the laws"—a declaration that has been well described as "an invitation to all patriotic voters to abandon the Republican party, which attacked, and the Democratic party, which defended slavery, and recur to the old Whig programme of entirely ignoring slavery as a political question."

The campaign of 1860 was one of the most determined and enthusiastic ever witnessed in America, and in the stir and enthusiasm of the time the people north and south were being prepared unconsciously for the greater and graver struggle that was already at their very doors. The questions in issue and the manner in which they were considered and discussed have been fully stated in another portion of this book, and only the results need be related here. The Republican ticket was triumphantly elected, the vote standing as follows: Abraham Lincoln, Republican, 180; John C. Breckenridge, southern Democrat, 72; Stephen A. Douglas, northern Democrat, 12; John Bell, Constitutional Union, 39. Mr. Lincoln obtained the votes of all the free states, with the exception of three from New Jersey. All the electoral votes of the slave states were cast for Breckenridge, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, which were given to Bell, and those of Missouri, which were given to Douglas, the nine from that state and three from New Jersey constituting Douglas' entire vote. The Bell ticket—which was the only means by which the Union men of the south who could not be Republicans and would not be Democrats could express their views—carried Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia by pluralities over Breckenridge, and came within 722 votes of carrying Maryland, and was defeated by less than four thousand votes in each of the states of Arkansas, Delaware, North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. In the north it was hardly heard of. This party, which might have grown to some proportions had peace prevailed, was blotted out of existence forever by the oncoming wave of civil war. The term for which Lincoln and Hamlin were elected commenced on March 4, 1861.

The fall of Sumter opened suddenly before the people a crisis of political action that had been long foreshadowed, but that the north had not considered as a probable event, hoping against hope and

even at the last moment, that a peaceful and honorable method might be discovered to meet the sharp issue raised by the south. Even after the day of debate was passed and war openly commenced, the party in power did not display such unanimity of feeling and action as the situation demanded. Even with no southern representation in congress, its majority there was barely preserved during 1863 and '65. It was only by a wise and careful middle course—in the following of which Mr. Lincoln showed such deep wisdom and powerful sagacity—that the party was able to maintain itself in power at all, holding in check the anti-slavery element, that all chance of success might not be lost by making the war one for the emancipation of the slave before the people were prepared for such a measure, and winning to the support of the administration those war Democrats, whose influence and votes were so absolutely needed. A movement was made, as the Presidential election of 1864 approached, to push forward Mr. Chase as a candidate against Mr. Lincoln, on the plea that the currency question needed a more careful treatment, that one term was sufficient, and that the method of using the party patronage at the hands of the administration needed rebuke; but as Ohio, the home of Secretary Chase, did not endorse the effort, it came to naught. A convention was held by a small but radical wing of the Republican party at Cleveland on May 31, 1864, which placed in nomination John C. Fremont and John Cochrane of New York, and demanded a more radical prosecution of the war, the confiscation of the estates of those in rebellion, and the distribution thereof among soldiers and settlers; but both candidates withdrew in favor of the regular nominees before election.

The main convention of the Republican party—that name for the time having in many states and at this gathering given place to that of Union, that the war Democrats might feel at home therein—was held at Baltimore on June 7, 1864. An informal ballot was taken that developed 492 votes for Lincoln and 22 for Grant, after which the former was unanimously nominated, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a war Democrat, named for vice-president. The platform covered the following points: The unconditional prosecution of the war; all acts and proclamations aimed at slavery; the proposed amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery; the policy of President Lincoln; the construction of the Pacific railroad; the redemption of the public debt, and the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine against the French in Mexico.

The Democratic National convention met also at Chicago on Au-

gust 29. The platform adopted consisted of six resolutions, all of which, with one exception, attacked the management of the war—the exception expressing the sympathy of the party for the soldiers in the field. The others were: a statement of the party's adherence to the Union under the Constitution; a demand that hostilities should cease; a denunciation of the administration, especially for interference by military force in elections, and for the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in states not in rebellion, and a refusal to exchange prisoners. The following resolution—read in the light of Appomattox, which flashed in splendor across the land only a few months afterward—seems almost impossible as the studied declaration of a great party at that crisis of National affairs; and yet it was the centre-thought of the whole platform:

"That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an immediate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the states."

General George B. McClellan of New Jersey was nominated for President on the second ballot, by 202½ votes to 23½ for Thomas H. Seymour of Connecticut; while George H. Pendleton of Ohio was unanimously nominated for vice-president.

It looked at one period of that summer of political war in the north and armed war in the south, as though the chances for Mr. Lincoln were on the wane, because of slight reverses to the Union armies; but the ground was more than regained before election, and Mr. Lincoln was triumphant by an electoral vote of 212 to 21, only New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky declaring for McClellan. In this college, for the only time in the history of the Nation, a number of states were not represented. The second term of Mr. Lincoln commenced on March 4, 1865.

The long and bitter contest over reconstruction, following the death of President Lincoln and the opposition made by President Johnson to the party by whose votes he had been elected, occupied the

attention of the people and congress—the Democrats, at the lowest ebb of power and influence which they had ever reached, supporting Johnson, not, perhaps, so much from coöperation in all his measures as in the hope of making trouble for their opponents—during the period running from 1864 to the election of 1868. The National Republican convention of the year last named met at Chicago on May 20, and adopted a platform which placed the party in direct opposition to the policy chosen by Mr. Johnson. It approved the reconstruction policy of congress; declared that the public faith should be kept as to the National debt; and unhesitatingly condemned the course of President Johnson. There was no question as to upon whom the chief nomination should fall, as the people had made their choice long in advance of this gathering; and General Ulysses S. Grant was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. Schuyler Colfax of Indiana was named for vice-president.

The National convention of the Democrats was held at New York city on July 4. The platform contained a solemn and extended arraignment of the Republican party for its course during the reconstruction period, and a number of resolutions that were largely devoted to the same theme. Among the points specially marked was a declaration for "a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports;" one against Negro suffrage; and one in favor of the payment of the public debt in legal-tender paper greenbacks—except such portions as were specifically designated as payable in coin.

The first ballot stood: George H. Pendleton of Ohio, 105; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, 65; Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, 33½; Sanford E. Church of New York, 33; and 79½ scattering. No choice had been made upon the twenty-first ballot, when Ohio, which had withdrawn Mr. Pendleton's name, cast her vote for Horatio Seymour of New York. The suggestion was immediately adopted by the convention, and he was unanimously chosen. Frank P. Blair of Missouri was nominated for the second place upon the ticket.

Although the President was now in full accord with the Democrats, and attempted to use all the machinery at his command to defeat the Republicans, the latter easily carried the day, electing Grant and Colfax by 214 votes to 80 cast for Seymour and Blair. The states carried by the latter were New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and Oregon. The term of Grant and Colfax opened on March 4, 1869. The questions in issue were still those growing out of reconstruction and the war, the Republicans following the policy they had long since



ABRAHAM LINCOLN ENTERING RICHMOND, APRIL 3, 1865.

adopted, and the Democrats opposing at every turn and point that presented itself. Toward the end of Grant's term internal dissensions within the party and opposition to the President's course in many of the details of administration culminated in division, and the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 was the result—a movement that promised much, but chiefly resulted in drawing the National Democratic party away from its ancient faith and causing it to march under the leadership of one who, for years, had been its most caustic critic and determined foe. A union of dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats had occurred in Missouri in 1870–71, under the name above given, and had carried the state. Encouraged by this measure of success they issued a call, in January, 1872, for a National convention of the same character, to be held at Cincinnati on May 1. This body assembled accordingly, and was found to be composed of such elements that a political success under a new movement was clearly impossible; but nothing deterred, a platform was adopted and a ticket selected. The former declared that all men were equal under the law; opposed the re-opening of the questions settled in the three last amendments to the Constitution; demanded universal amnesty, local self-government, impartial suffrage, the maintenance of the writ of *habeas corpus* and civil service reform. Being unable to agree as to the tariff, the whole question was feebly relegated to "the people in their congressional districts, and to the decision of congress thereon, wholly free of Executive interference or dictation." The first ballot for President stood: Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, 203; Horace Greeley of New York, 147; Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, 100; B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, 95; David Davis of Illinois, 92½; A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, 62; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, 2½; Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, 1. Before the completion of the sixth ballot such changes were made as secured Greeley's nomination, by 482 to 184 for Adams. B. Gratz Brown was made the vice-presidential nominee. The failure of this movement for the defeat of Grant by the stampede of Republican voters was so apparent within a month, that on June 20 a meeting was held in New York on the call of Carl Schurz, who had been chairman of the Cincinnati convention, General J. D. Cox, William Cullen Bryant and others of equal prominence, and proceeded to nominate William S. Groesbeck of Ohio for President and Frederick L. Olmstead of New York for vice-president. The latter movement was so lamentably weak, that it has seldom been thought worthy of mention in a summary of the political events of that campaign, while

the Cincinnati movement was only saved from a like oblivion by the action of the main body of the Democratic party.

The Democratic Presidential convention was held at Baltimore on July 9, and in the expectation that such a division would be created in the Republican ranks as to secure the election of the Cincinnati ticket, both it and the platform received formal endorsement, Mr. Greeley being chosen by a vote of 686 to 86, and Mr. Brown by 713 to 19.

The regular Republican convention was held at Philadelphia on June 5, when General Grant was renominated by acclamation and amid an enthusiasm that gave slight encouragement to the Cincinnati defection. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was nominated for vice-president. The platform reviewed the past achievements of the party; demanded the maintenance of "complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights throughout the Union;" commended congress and the President for their suppression of Ku-Klux and other disorders in the south; and promised to adjust the tariff duties so as "to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the growth, industries and prosperity of the whole country."

A third ticket was placed in the field, when, on September 3, a convention was held in Louisville by that portion of the Democratic party which could not vote for an old-fashioned Abolitionist and a most vigorous and stirring Republican like Horace Greeley, whose New York *Tribune* had for so many years denounced and derided all that old-fashioned Democracy held dear. Charles O'Conor of New York and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts were placed in nomination, and although both declined to serve, the movement was supported at the polls by the casting of thirty thousand votes. And yet another Richmond was in the field, when the National Prohibition party formulated a platform favoring the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, and made James Black of Pennsylvania its Presidential nominee.

The result of this conglomeration in political affairs was inevitable. Many Democrats refused to vote at all; many Republicans who leaned favorably toward the liberal Republican movement in its inception turned back to the old fealty when they saw that the election of Greeley and Brown meant the surrendering of the government into the hands of their ancient enemies; while the main body of the Republicans, compact, well organized, secure in the laurels of the war, and in command of the patronage of the National government, pressed forward to a secure victory. When the Elec

toral college met, Grant and Wilson each received 286 votes; while the death of Mr. Greeley between the election and the meeting of the Electoral college caused such states as were carried for him to throw the compliment of their electoral votes in several directions, B. Gratz Brown receiving 18, of which 6 came from Georgia, 4 from Kentucky and 8 from Missouri; T. A. Hendricks, 42, of which 8 came from Maryland, 8 from Kentucky, 12 from Tennessee, 6 from Missouri and 8 from Texas; C. J. Jenkins, 2 from Georgia; and David Davis, 1 from Missouri. The Democratic vice-presidential vote was divided among B. Gratz Brown, George W. Julian, A. H. Colquitt, J. M. Palmer, T. E. Bramlette, W. S. Groesbeck, W. B. Machen and N. P. Banks. The Liberal-Republican party made no other appearance in National politics, and its only effect was the sending of numbers of its supporters across to the Democratic camp, where some yet remain, while others returned to the Republicans when the Democrats became uncertain upon the question of resumption and the National finances.

The scandals that arose during the early days of Grant s second term, the financial panic of 1873 and other causes found in local issues gave the Democrats a series of brilliant victories in various states of the north, in 1874, characterized in the history of politics as the year of "the tidal wave." In that or the succeeding year the Democrats carried New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, California, Nevada and Oregon; gave Massachusetts a governor; and gained 198 out of 292 members of the lower house of congress. "This sudden tide of success," declares one record, "in the north was balanced by a more general but more portentous success in the south, for which a great part of the responsibility must fall upon the abandonment by the party, in 1868, of its fundamental principle of broadening suffrage. Its action left no option either to southern Negroes or to southern whites and tax-payers; it forced the former into the Republican party, and compelled the latter, in sheer self-defense, to take the name of Democrat, no matter what their political principles might be. The consequence was that, so early as 1874–5, the whole south, with the exception of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi, were nominally Democratic, and a full half of the Democratic vote in the house was southern, comprising in its ranks Democrats, protectionists, greenbackers and internal improvement men, all agreeing firmly on one democratic doctrine—the right of each state to self-government. The homogeneity of the party was thus injured, its action

hampered and crippled, and its policy dwarfed to the care of a single section, thus checking again the National growth which had fairly begun."

This placing of Democratic power in the hands of the leaders in the south, the majority of whom had been slaveholders before the war and leaders of the rebellion, coupled with the unquestioned fact that terrorism and violence in the south had suppressed a large portion of the Negro vote and made Republican victories in various quarters an impossibility, revived the war feeling throughout the north, and gave the Republican party an issue the Democratic policy should have been to avoid. The discussion of the measures that were thought to be buried for all times caused the introduction of the phrase "waving of the bloody shirt," which has been since adopted generally to characterize all Republican efforts to make capital out of southern issues. An added source of strength to the Republican party was the speed and certainty with which it placed itself upon the ground that the public faith must be maintained and the public debt paid in coin, and its efforts, also, to bring about an early resumption of specie payments. The Democratic party had already placed itself at a point of disadvantage in the long run, by occupying other grounds. As early as 1868 it had put forth and, in localities, maintained the famous "Ohio Idea," which was that such portions of the National debt as were not specifically pledged in coin must be paid in greenbacks—an idea that dominated the National convention of that year, and caused its author, George H. Pendleton, to be pushed with such zeal for the Presidency. This issue was known, in the colloquial language of politics, as "the rag baby."

The first National convention of 1876 was that of the Republicans, held at Cincinnati on June 14. The platform strongly endorsed civil service reform; demanded a continuous and steady progress to specie payments; denounced polygamy; reprehended a solid south and the Democratic party generally; and declared in favor of "the immediate and vigorous exercise of all the constitutional powers of the President and congress for removing any just cause of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality." The first ballot for President stood: James G. Blaine of Maine, 285; O. P. Morton of Indiana, 124; George H. Bristow, Kentucky, 113; Roscoe Conkling, New York, 99; Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio, 61; and 72 scattering. On the seventh, General Hayes was nominated by 384 votes out of 756. William A. Wheeler of New York was chosen for vice-president.

The Democratic convention was held at St. Louis on June 28. Its platform accepted the three last constitutional amendments; denounced "the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretense;" demanded that "all custom-house taxations shall be only for revenue;" relegated the southern question to a subordinate position; and demanded that due preparation be made before an attempt was made to resume specie payments. The remainder of the platform was devoted to a denunciation of the Republican party. The first ballot gave the following result: Samuel J. Tilden of New York, 404½; Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, 140½; Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, 75; William Allen of Ohio, 54; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, 33; and 37 scattering. During the taking of the second ballot a stampede for Mr. Tilden was created, and he was nominated, after which Mr. Hendricks was selected for vice-president.

Still another party made its appearance in the field with a bid for popular support. The passage of the Resumption act on January 14, 1875, had aroused the sentiment in favor of greenbacks; and the preparation for that act had already caused the holding of a convention at Indianapolis on November 25, 1874, which formulated the following, as the underlying declarations of all the greenback advocates since: That the currency of all National and state banks and corporations should be withdrawn; that the only currency should be a paper one, issued by the government, based on the faith and resources of the Nation and exchangeable on demand for bonds bearing interest at 3.65 per cent.; and that coin should only be paid for interest on the present National debt and for that portion of the principal for which coin had been specifically promised. The advocates of these doctrines, under the name of the Independent party, at that time called a National convention, to be held at Indianapolis on May 17. Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President and Newton Booth of California for vice-president; but upon the declination of the latter, Samuel F. Cary of Ohio was substituted. G. C. Smith of Kentucky was nominated for President by a National convention of the Prohibitionists.

The election lay so close between Hayes and Tilden, and there was no way by which congress could, of itself, decide as to which should be awarded the seat—the senate having a Republican and the house a Democratic majority—that early in 1877 an electoral commission was created, consisting of members of both houses of congress and of the United States supreme court, to which all questions relating to dupli-

cate returns—especially of Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina and Oregon—were referred. The decision of that body was that Hayes was entitled to 185 electoral votes and Tilden 184, giving to the former the Presidency. The charges of fraud and corruption upon the one side were balanced by those upon the other; and the chief features connected with the whole transaction, to which the American people can point with any degree of pleasure or pride, are that good-temper was kept throughout a crisis that would have involved any other people in blood; that compromise was called in to decide a question that no law had been made to meet; and that the defeated side, although in the main believing that it had been defrauded of a well-earned victory, accepted the decision with quietness and moderation, only resolving to secure revenge through the ballot-box at a later day.

The chief questions in issue during the administration of President Hayes were embodied in his policy of peace and conciliation toward the south, the passage of the Silver bill, and the endeavor of the Democratic majority in congress to compel the Republican Executive to sign bills obnoxious to him, under the threat that supplies necessary to maintain the government would be withheld—a course that resulted only in numerous vetoes, in the receding of congress from its position, and the damage of the party by which the attempt had been made.

The Republican National convention met at Chicago on June 10, 1880. The platform adopted, after a renewal of the past of the party, declared it the duty of the National government to foster popular education by all means in its power; recommended an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the use of public money for the support of sectarian schools; declared that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that polygamy must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; insisted that it was the duty of congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but that "further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease." It was also declared that the party, "regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invokes the exercise of those powers to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable provisions as will produce that result." The civil service reform was indorsed, and the declaration made that "the Solid south

must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression, and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud." The first ballot stood as follows: U. S. Grant of Illinois, 304; James G. Blaine of Maine, 284; John Sherman of Ohio, 93; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, 34; E. B. Washburne of Illinois, 30; William Windom of Minnesota, 10. As the balloting went on, several votes were here and there cast for James A. Garfield of Ohio; and on the thirty-fourth ballot there was a sudden stampede in his favor, and he was nominated by a vote of 399 to 307 for Grant, 42 for Blaine, 5 for Washburne and 3 for Sherman. Chester A. Arthur of New York was selected for vice-president.

The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati on June 23. The platform adopted was brief, and largely devoted to a denunciation of the administration and the Republican party. The second and third resolutions were as follows: "*Second*, Opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate in one and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of church and state for the good of each; common schools, fostered and protected. *Third*, Home rule, honest money, the strict maintenance of the public faith, consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand, the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and National, and a tariff for revenue only." Other declarations were tersely made as follows: "Free ships and a living chance for American ships upon the seas; on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies. No more Chinese emigration, except for travel, education and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public lands for actual settlers. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and commune." There was a purpose declared upon the part of many to make the "fraud of 1876"—to quote the general Democratic language of the day—the direct issue in the contest, by the renomination of Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hendricks, but the former forwarded to the convention a letter declaring himself out of the race. The first ballot stood: Winfield S. Hancock, then of New York, 171; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, 153½; Henry B. Payne of Ohio, 81; Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, 68½; S. J. Field of California, 65; W. R. Morrison of Illinois, 62; Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, 50½; and 185 scattering. On the second ballot General

Hancock was nominated by all the votes of the convention, except those of Indiana for Mr. Hendricks, and three scattering. William H. English of Indiana was named for vice-president.

The National or Greenback-Labor party, by which names the Greenback party had now become generally known, met at Chicago on June 9, and nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for President and B. J. Chambers of Texas for vice-president. The platform renewed the former Greenback declarations, and added several resolutions favoring an eight hour law and the adoption of sanitary regulations in factories, and declaring against Chinese immigration, land grants to railroads, and grants of special privileges to corporations and bondholders.

Neal Dow of Maine was made the Presidential nominee of the Prohibition party.

The fight between the Republicans and Democrats was mainly upon the record of the two parties and a strong protective tariff as against a tariff for revenue only. The result was the election of Garfield and Arthur by a vote of 214 to 155—a majority which might have been materially increased had not a forged letter appeared a short time before election, purporting to have been written by Garfield and declaring in favor of Chinese immigration "as a means to bring American mechanics and servants to a more manageable condition." There is little doubt that this forgery cost Garfield the votes of California, Nevada and New Jersey. The Democrats elected 136 out of the 293 representatives in the congress that met in 1881, which gave the Republicans control in the house for the first time since 1875, while there was a tie between the two parties in the senate.

The untimely death of Garfield, almost before he had fairly entered upon the discharge of his Presidential duties, was the outcome of a strife not exactly political, but as to the distribution of political offices —a strife confined entirely within the Republican party and in which the Democrats had no part. The term as filled out by President Arthur was one of unusual quiet in a political sense; and when the Presidential contest of 1884 approached, no new questions of vital importance had presented themselves. The Republican convention met at Chicago on June 3. The platform was a plain and comprehensive statement of the party upon the various measures attracting National attention, the first resolution of significant import declaring a demand "that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford



William H. Seward

security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity." A pledge was given that the Republican party should "correct the irregularities of the tariff and reduce the surplus" not "by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country." Declarations were made in favor of an international gold and silver coinage standard; the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states; the principle of the public regulation of railway corporations; the establishment of a National bureau of labor; an eight hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education; the advance of a civil service reform; legislation for the suppression of polygamy, and against the importation of contract labor. Other questions were touched upon, but the above describes those of the greatest moment.

The first ballot stood: James G. Blaine of Maine, 334½; Chester A. Arthur of New York, 278; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, 93; John A. Logan of Illinois, 63½; John Sherman of Ohio, 30; Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, 13; scattering, 6. The fourth ballot gave Mr. Blaine the nomination by 541 out of 813 cast, and the choice was made unanimous. John A. Logan was nominated for vice-president.

The Democratic National convention also met at Chicago on July 8. The platform was far more extended and specific than that adopted four years before at Cincinnati, declaring that, so far as principle was concerned, the Republican party was but a reminiscence; pledging that the Democratic party should "purify the administration from corruption," restore economy, revive respect for law and reduce taxation where possible. The main declaration upon the tariff was made in the following words: "The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-house

taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered." The platform further declared in favor of an "honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss;" a "free ballot and a fair count;" civil service reform; the separation of church and state; the free diffusion of education by means of the common schools; the fostering and cherishing of labor; such measures as would increase and foster our merchant marine, and many other reforms and measures that need not be recapitulated here.

The first ballot for President stood: Grover Cleveland of New York, 392; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, 170; Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, 88; Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, 78; Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana, 56; John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, 27; scattering, 8. During the taking of the second ballot such changes were made as gave Mr. Cleveland 683 to 81½ for Mr. Bayard, 4 each to Messrs. Thurman and Randall, 2 to Mr. McDonald, and 145½ for Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for whom several states suddenly cast their votes, in the hope that it might divert the stampede from Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland was declared the nominee, and Mr. Hendricks named for vice-president.

At a convention of the Greenback National party, held at Indianapolis on May 28, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was nominated for President and A. M. West of Mississippi for vice-president. The platform substantially covered the ground chosen by the party in its previous declarations. An anti-monopoly National convention had been held at Chicago on the fourteenth of the same month, which had also made General Butler its Presidential nominee. Still another ticket was placed in the field when the American Prohibition National convention met at Chicago on June 19, and named Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas for President and John A. Conant of Connecticut for vice-president, upon a platform that declared, among other things, that "the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions;" "that God requires and man needs a Sabbath;" "that we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks;" and "that the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and state legislature should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law." On

July 23 the regular Prohibition convention was held in Pittsburgh, and nominated John P. St. John of Kansas for President and William Daniel of Maryland for vice-president, upon a platform the chief plank of which was the prohibition by law of the liquor traffic.

The result was one of great uncertainty to the very day of election, new elements entering into the contest; and the decision of New York state was finally the hinge upon which all turned, and by whose verdict Grover Cleveland was triumphantly declared the President-elect. As this was the first Presidential election which the Democratic party had carried since the choice of Mr. Buchanan in 1856, and as it foreshadowed a new order of things not only in the affairs of the government but, perhaps, in politics as well, a closer analysis of the vote by which this result was attained than has been given in previous years may not be out of place. The vote in the Electoral college stood: Cleveland, 219; Blaine, 182. The popular vote for the four chief candidates was as follows: Cleveland, 4,874,986; Blaine, 4,851,981; Butler, 175,370; St. John, 150,369. Of the 38 electoral votes of the New England states, Blaine received 32 and Cleveland 6; of the 92 votes of the middle states, Blaine received 30 and Cleveland 62; of the 134 votes of the western and northwestern states, Blaine received 103 and Cleveland 31; the entire 120 votes of the southern and southwestern states went to Cleveland, and the 17 votes of the Pacific states to Blaine.

The year 1888 was one of unusual interest in politics, because of the contest over the Presidency, and from the fact that the Democrats stood upon a platform of tariff reduction and reform, while the Republicans adhered to their policy of protection. The Democratic National convention met at St. Louis on June 5, and nominated Grover Cleveland for President, and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for vice-president. The National Prohibition party met at Indianapolis on May 30, and named Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey and John A. Brooks of Missouri. The Republican National convention met in Chicago on June 19, and nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Levi P. Morton of New York. The Union Labor party met in Cincinnati on May 5, and named A. J. Streeter of Illinois and Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas. The United Labor party met at Cincinnati on May 15, and named Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois and W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas. The Equal Rights party met at Des Moines, Iowa, on May 15, and named Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood of Washington and Alfred H. Love of Pennsylvania, Mr. Love afterwards withdrawing; and the American party met at Washington on August 15, and nominated General James L. Curtis of New York and James M. Grier of Tennessee. The contest was conducted with intense heat and excitement, and but little bitterness, and resulted in the election of Harrison and Morton by a vote of 239 to 162.

AMERICAN FINANCES AND FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON—APRIL 30, 1789, TO MARCH 4, 1797.

THE fourth day of March, 1789, having been fixed by the Continental congress for the meeting of the first congress under the Constitution, thirteen representatives and five senators assembled in the city of New York on that day and took their seats. For lack of a quorum the house of representatives did not organize until April 1, and the senate not until five days later. The inauguration of George Washington, who had been elected President, took place April 30, 1789.

The house of representatives, however, upon whom had been imposed the duty of originating revenue bills, proceeded promptly after its organization to consider propositions for raising revenue, and as early as April 8 James Madison of Virginia, in a speech of less than two hundred words, compressed all the important principles of impost and tonnage duties which have mainly governed legislation from that time to the present, viz.: Specific duties the rule—*ad valorems* the exception; revenue the object—protection the incident; discrimination between articles of luxury and necessity, so as to put the burthen on the former, and between articles made and not made at home, so as to give encouragement to the home article; tonnage duties to discriminate in favor of our own ships and in favor of nations having favorable treaties of commerce with us, so as to encourage ship-building, navigation and trade.

An exhaustive debate on the measure followed, and a bill embracing the principles set forth by Madison was approved July 4, 1789, being the second bill receiving the signature of the President. The preamble

declared the purpose of the act was to support the government and to protect and encourage manufactures. The *ad valorems* imposed were, however, moderate. Woolen and cotton goods were each charged 5 per centum, iron 7½ and teas 12 or more. Specifics were upon the same moderate scale. Distilled spirits and wines, 10 cents per gallon; pig-iron was free; nails, 1 cent a pound; sugars, 1½ cents. A discount of 10 per cent. was allowed on duties in case the goods were imported in vessels built in the United States and owned by its citizens, or in vessels built abroad which had become the property of citizens of the United States. The average duties were 8½ per centum on dutiable goods. Between 1789 and 1816 various amendatory acts were passed, generally increasing the rates.

The act afforded all the protection asked for, and the revenue resulting somewhat exceeded expectations. The act has long since been superseded, but it is important in showing at what an early day the principles of protection, whether for good or evil, became the policy of the government.

The tariff bill disposed of, congress immediately considered propositions looking to the establishment of a treasury department. The board of the treasury instituted by the Continental congress appears to have been still in existence, for in June, 1789, President Washington called upon it for a statement of its accounts, but it had no funds, and its drafts afterwards paid by the new government were out for one hundred and forty thousand dollars. The act creating the treasury department was approved September 2, 1789. At the head of it was to be a secretary whose duties, among others, should be to digest and prepare plans for the improvement of the revenue and for the support of the public credit; to prepare and report estimates of the public revenues and expenditures and to superintend the collection of the revenue.

To this important office Alexander Hamilton of New York was appointed September 6, 1789. To a man of less courage and self-confidence the outlook would have been appalling. The country had not recovered from the ravages of the War for Independence; there were millions of debt to be provided for and not a dollar on hand even to meet current expenses. But Hamilton had a genius for arithmetic and a never failing confidence in his own powers. He realized the pressing necessity for means to carry on the government, for, though the Revenue act had been in effect two months, it had brought no money as yet into the treasury, and a loan was therefore obtained from the Bank of New York, City of New York and

the Bank of North America, Philadelphia, of which one hundred and forty thousand dollars was received in September and October, and on the twenty-ninth of September there was received from duties thirteen thousand dollars, the first revenue collected by the government. These moneys were mainly expended in paying salaries to public officers and compensation to members of congress, the first payment being that of one thousand dollars to George Washington on account of his salary as President. By the terms of the contracts made with the two banks the advances were made at par with 6 per cent. interest and were made payable from the moneys received from duties at their respective ports. The loan aggregated $191,608.81, and its redemption was completed June 8, 1790. This is the only loan in the history of the country that was not authorized by law. Hardly had the secretary negotiated this loan when the house of representatives by resolution directed him to prepare a plan for the support of the public credit and to report the same at its next meeting, and on September 29 it adjourned until January 4, 1790.

The public debt at that time consisted of loans made in France, Spain and Holland amounting to $10,098,706.02, on which there were arrearages of interest to January 1, 1790, amounting to $1,760,277.58, a domestic debt of various kinds consisting of the obligations of the Continental congress, the floating debt of the government of an unknown amount, and the debts of the different states. These various kinds of debts had depreciated in different degrees, and on many just claims which had been purchased from the original holders for a trifle a large amount of interest was due, more, in some cases, than the amount of the purchase money. There were difficulties to be met in any plan which would be even reasonably satisfactory, and to do justice was probably impossible. The amount of the principal of the domestic debt was estimated at about twenty-nine million dollars, interest due thereon eleven million five hundred thousand. The debts of the several states were estimated at twenty-five million dollars, making in all about seventy-seven million dollars; but the result proved the estimates to be somewhat excessive.

Five days after the re-assembling of congress in January, Hamilton submitted to that body his plans for the support of the public credit—the first of his famous papers on financial topics. He recommended payment of the foreign debt and that the entire indebtedness, Federal and state, be consolidated in a new loan of such character and upon such conditions as would maintain unquestioned the good faith of

the Nation, and make no change in the rights of creditors without their consent. He believed there ought to be no discrimination between the original holders of the debt and present possessors by purchase; that there should be an assumption of state debts by the Union, and that the arrears of interest should be provided for on an equal footing with the principal.

Little or no opposition was made to the proposition for paying the foreign debt, but the scheme for refunding the domestic and state debts gave rise to a long and bitter controversy. The opposition headed by Madison proposed instead to pay assignees of the debt only the highest market value—the difference between that and the amount called for by the obligation to be paid the original holder.

Hamilton's plans, though once rejected, were finally adopted and embodied in an act approved August 4, 1790, which provided for the issue of new stock and the conversion of the debt as follows: Stock bearing interest at 6 per cent. and drawing immediate interest, known as 6 per cents; stock bearing interest at 6 per cent. drawing interest after the year 1800, known as deferred 6 per cents., and stock bearing immediate interest at 3 per cent.

Of the 6 per cents., there was authorized to be issued to pay the foreign debt $12,000,000, and enough more to pay two-thirds of the principal of the domestic debt and four-ninths of the state debts.

Of the deferred 6 per cents., enough to pay one-third of the principal of the domestic debt and two-ninths of the state debts.

Of the 3 per cents., enough to pay three-ninths of the principal of the state debts and the accrued interest on the domestic debts computed to December 30, 1790.

The several classes of debts were authorized to be converted into the new stock upon that basis, but to the amount of state debts convertible a limit for that of each state was fixed, making the aggregate $21,500,000. Subsequently, by act of August 12, 1790, a loan of $2,000,000 was authorized, interest not to exceed 5 per cent. per annum, the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of the public debt. Hamilton lost no time in negotiating these loans. He authorized certain banking houses in Amsterdam to receive subscriptions for a loan of $1,200,000. The loan was to bear 5 per cent. interest, and 4½ per cent. was allowed as commissions and expenses.

Another loan of $1,000,000 was negotiated in that city by William Short, *chargé d'affaires* at Paris. It bore interest at 5 per cent. and was sold at 4 per cent. discount. This loan was put upon the market in February, 1791, and was all

taken in two hours. Bankers represented to Mr. Short that but one power in the world, Austria, had obtained more favorable terms, and even in her case the terms were but ½ per cent. better. Truly the "corpse of public credit," which Hamilton was alleged to have touched, responded quickly to the magic of his hand, and the new government could justly be proud of the place it had taken in the exchanges of the financial world.

Subsequent loans were made in Holland upon about the same terms, to the amount in all of $9,400,000, and this was used in liquidation of the foreign debt as contemplated.

At that time the monetary condition of France was upset by the excessive issue of legal tender paper known as "*assignats*." They had depreciated enormously in value, and suggestions were received by Hamilton that they be bought at their market value and the debt due France be paid with them at par. The scheme was a legal and tempting one. The United States was badly pressed for money, and France could not well object to the scheme, as by its own act such a course had been made possible. But President Washington directed his secretary to pay the debt in the metals or in the *assignats* at their market value, for, though legal, it was not honorable to take advantage of the miserable financial condition of that country. Meanwhile, the conversion of the domestic and state debts went rapidly on, and in 1797, when Washington's administration ended, all but a few scattering amounts had been refunded.

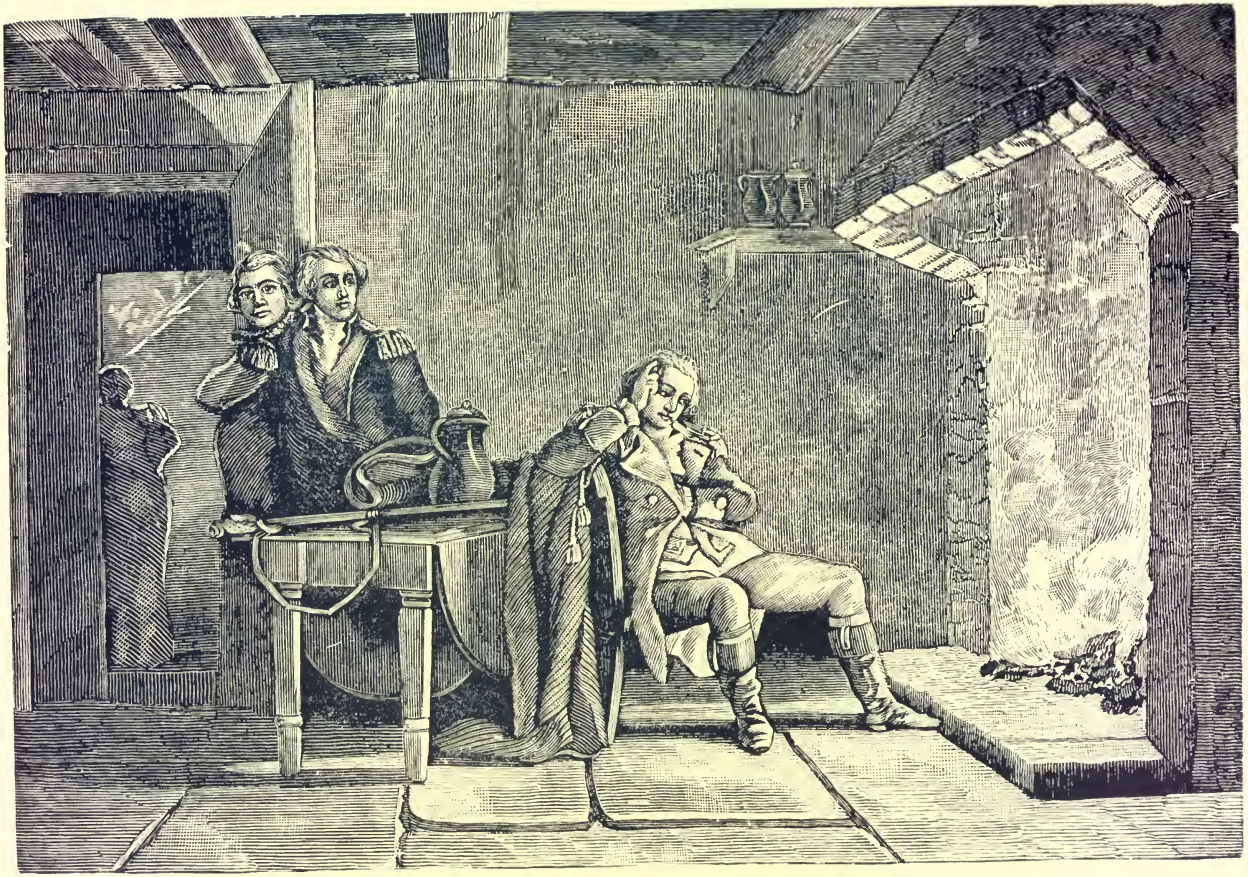
In making these conversions there were issued:

Of 6 per cents	$30,088,397.75
Of deferred 6 per cents	14,649,328.76
Of 3 per cents	19,718,751.01
Total	$64,456,477.52

The holders of the domestic and state debts did not, however, receive par for their holdings. The market value of these bonds, in December, 1790, was, respectively, seventy, fifty and thirty-one dollars. Not till April, 1792, did even the 6 per cents. reach par.

The ordinary receipts of the government were not, however, sufficient to meet the expenditures, including the interest on the debt; and to meet the deficiencies additional loans were from time to time authorized by congress, until the principal of the public debt, in 1793, reached eighty million dollars, at about which point it remained for several years.

The successful conversion of the old debts gave confidence in the



WASHINGTON RESTING AT A FARM HOUSE.

integrity and ability of the government, an impulse to business, and wiped out many of the doubts and jealousies which had clouded the hopes of the young Republic.

THE NATIONAL BANK.

Hamilton, however, had further schemes for strengthening the new government, and in December, 1790, he submitted to congress his plans for a National bank. The bill embodying his plans proposed that a charter be granted the Bank of America in Philadelphia, which had rendered essential service to the government in the War for Independence; that the capital of the bank should be fixed at ten millions—twenty-five thousand shares at four hundred dollars each; that the government subscribe for five thousand shares—two million dollars; that subscriptions be payable one-fourth in coin, and three-fourths in United States 6 per cents; that the notes issued by the bank should be redeemable in coin and receivable in payment of public dues; that branches of the bank might be established in several of the principal cities, to represent about one-half of the capital stock, and that the charter should expire March 11, 1811.

The bill was opposed in the house by Madison and eighteen others, nearly all from the south, but its supporters numbered thirty-nine and the bill soon received the sanction of congress. The President, however, before approving the measure, asked the opinion of his cabinet on the power of the government to establish a bank, and on this question Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, and Mr. Randolph, the attorney-general, gave opinions in the negative, Mr. Knox, secretary of war, and Hamilton of the treasury, in the affirmative, and in deference to the opinion of the latter, the President, notwithstanding the equal division of opinion, approved the bill February 25, 1791, and the bank went into operation soon after. The public subscription was paid June 25 and July 16, 1792, by giving to the bank bills of exchange on Holland for its amount, but at the same time a loan for ten years at 6 per cent. for same amount was obtained from the bank, by which the government received back the identical bills on Holland with which the subscription had been paid. Before the end of the month the bank declared a dividend of 4 per cent.

The bank continued to pay large dividends, and not until 1799 did the government dispose of any of its stock. In that and the following year 2493 shares were disposed of at an advance of 25 per cent., 287 shares at an advance of 20 per cent., and in 1802 the balance, 2220 shares, at the great advance of 45 per cent.

During this period the bank paid annual dividends of over 8 per cent. The government subscription, with ten years' interest, amounted to $3,200,000, and there was received for dividends and for stock sold $3,773,580, a net profit to the government of $573,580. Whatever may have been the constitutional objections to the bank as a financial project, it was a profitable one to the government. Not only did the bank pay the premiums and dividends mentioned, but it received and disbursed for the government, without loss or expense, more than one hundred million dollars of public funds. Its note issues also kept within bounds the weak issues of the state banks, and gave the country the best circulating medium it had ever had. Of the eight millions stock subscribed by individuals, two millions was paid in cash, six millions in public stocks; so even the bank was but an outgrowth of the refunding system, and indirectly the public credit became the basis of the note circulation.

That the bank was well managed and that it was of great public service has never been denied. Still against it there was a feeling of distrust lest it should become a formidable political power, and it found little favor with the people.

COINAGE.

The establishment of a mint and a coinage for the country next engaged the attention of Hamilton, whose reputation as a bold and skillful financier now challenged the admiration of the world.

The house of representatives referred the subject to him April 15, 1791, and on the twenty-eighth of that month he, in reply, sent to that body an elaborate report exhaustively discussing the subject of coinage, and presented an array of information pertaining thereto, as if that topic had been the special study of his life.

The country sadly needed a monetary system of some kind, for at that time the coins in circulation came from foreign countries and little was known of their weight or value. Reckonings were made in pounds, shillings and pence, as in England, from which many of the settlers came, bringing the coins with them. But in England the shilling sterling (containing twelvepence) was of such weight that sixty-two of them could be coined from a pound troy of silver eleven-twelfths fine, and twenty of them made a pound in value. This rating for some reason was not satisfactory to the colonists, and so, in 1652, "Pine Tree" shillings were coined in Boston, about eighty of them from a troy pound, making the shilling worth about ninepence sterling instead of twelve. Shilling pieces of like weight were

also coined in Maryland, and the assembly declared they should be accepted as shillings sterling in payment of rents and other debts. These were the only coins struck in the country previous to the adoption of the Constitution. Not a great number went into circulation, but the "Pine Tree" shilling became the standard coin in New England and an important factor in the monetary transactions of all the colonies.

Light in weight as were these shillings they could not compete with lank cattle, heated corn and mouldy tobacco, which were running against them as legal tenders, and so they fled the country. Money again became scarce, and traders brought into the country foreign coins. Of these, a silver piece known as the Spanish pillar dollar with its halves, quarters and eighths was well received, and not being regulated by law so as to cheat somebody, came into general circulation, and Hamilton found it used as a unit of account. But the colonists could not relinquish their habit of reckoning in English denominations, and so the law-makers undertook to declare the number of shillings contained in this dollar.

The weight of pure silver in this dollar was equal to that in 54 pence sterling. In one pound sterling there is 240 pence, and the pound would, therefore, contain $\frac{240}{54}$ of these dollars, or $\$4.44\frac{4}{9}$, and the dollar would contain $\frac{54}{12}$ shillings or 4s. 6d. No human law could change this rating, but New England and Virginia declared that the dollar contained 6s., and it did of the New England currency, but South Carolina declared that it contained 4s. 8d. New York and North Carolina 8s. and Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland 7s. 6d. or 90 pence—ratings not possible with the values of any known shillings. The latter rating, however, obtained great favor, and in order to work it in account with the dollar, they divided this piece into ninetieths and many important transactions were expressed in dollars and ninetieths.

Why the colonists who so loved the denominations of English money did not adopt the English system and use its coins instead of introducing such endless misnomers and confusion in their moneys and accounts must remain an insolvable mystery.

To bring into use only one monetary unit of account with decimal divisions and corresponding coins was the aim of Hamilton. It was a great task requiring the highest financial attainment.

The Continental congress had, by resolution, in 1785, declared that the money unit of the United States should be the Spanish silver dollar. Hamilton thought, however, that as between silver and gold

no preference should attach to either metal, and that of each metal a dollar should be coined to be a full legal tender in the payment of debts. He estimated that the Spanish dollars in circulation contained 371¼ grains of pure silver, and he recommended the new pieces to contain the same amount. To fix a corresponding weight for the gold dollar, so that it should have the same value as the silver dollar in the markets of the world, was admitted to be a delicate and difficult task; but Hamilton concluded that the value of the two metals bore a relation to their weight of 15 to 1, and that the gold dollar should therefore contain 24¾ grains of pure gold. He also recommended the adoption of the decimal system for accounts, coins to correspond, and the establishment of a mint for the fabrication of the coins proposed. Congress received the recommendations with favor, and a bill to carry them into effect became a law without much opposition, April 2, 1792.

The following coins were authorized to be struck—those of silver and gold to be a full legal tender: Of silver, 892.4 fine; the dollar, weight 416 grains; half dollar, quarter, dime and half dime of proportionate weight. Of gold, 916⅔ fine, the eagle, weight 270 grains; half eagle and quarter eagle of proportionate weight, and of copper, the cent 264 grains.

The new government was now fully equipped for the struggle for recognition among the nations of the earth. The amount of its debt had been ascertained and provision made for its payment to the satisfaction of creditors. The duties levied on imports and tonnage caused no distress, and were sufficient to meet the needs of the government. The bank and the mint establishment furnished a uniform and safe currency, and whatever criticisms could be made of the financial policy which had brought about these conditions, the results proved the wisdom and foresight of the administration, and gave a lustre to the name of the great financial secretary which time has not dimmed.

From the first, however, there was opposition to the policy pursued by the administration, the opposition being jealous of too much power in the central government, and, in the election of President to succeed Washington, Mr. Jefferson, who had become recognized as leader of the opposition, received 68 votes against John Adams, the successful candidate, who received but 71 votes.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS—MARCH 4, 1797, TO MARCH 3, 1801.

The year 1795 had brought no little distress to financial circles.

Continental wars had consumed much of the surplus wealth of Europe, consequently there was a great depression in values, and large quantities of United States securities held abroad found their way home where the market was already overstocked. The Bank of England had suspended specie payments and the general distrust in business had reached the United States, causing such a withdrawal of deposits from the National bank that the institution had to call upon the government to pay certain loans made to it amounting to $5,000,000; and to meet their payment congress had authorized a loan of that amount at 6 per cent., but there was sold of it only $80,000, and that at a discount of 12½ per cent. To meet further demands the government had sold of its bank stock $1,304,260.

Mr. Adams, however, found no time to discuss the issues of the past, for although the country was ostensibly at peace with the world, it was, in fact, at war with France as much as a country could well be which had no standing army, no navy and not even a navy department.

The imperial power of France, which had been of much service to this country during the War for Independence, had been dethroned, and in its place a directory had been established, which seemed to have little political integrity and less sense. Waging war with Great Britain, it had openly proclaimed that any native of a neutral power found serving on a British vessel should be treated as a pirate, and not even be permitted in his defense to prove that he was forced into the service. Rigorous search was made of our vessels for contraband goods, and upon slightest pretext the vessels were condemned by French courts and sold.

The United States was ill prepared to avenge its wrongs or to assert its rights. In 1794, when it was in trouble with Algiers, congress had authorized the construction of eight frigates of war to protect our commerce in the Mediterranean; but the timber for them was then uncut, the iron not yet mined, the seed for the hemp not sown and the furnaces for casting the armament not yet constructed. Before the frigates were completed peace had been declared, and work on them was then suspended. Congress was called in special session May 15, 1797, and its labors were limited to the two objects of defense and revenue, both of which were accomplished. Three of the frigates, the *Constellation*, the *Constitution* and the *United States*, were promptly finished, armed and manned. For revenue to meet these expenses a stamp tax and a duty on salt were imposed.

During the summer a mission of eminent men of both parties was

sent to Paris to negotiate for a cessation of the ravages upon our commerce. For more than six months Talleyrand, who represented the directory, kept the members of the commission waiting, but caused intimations to be made them, that. upon an offer of a loan to the directory and a *douceur* to its members of fifty thousand dollars, the mission would be duly received and its errand considered. Of course these intimations were spurned, and the mission, wearied of waiting and disgusted with the deceit and corruption of the directory, returned home with nothing accomplished.

The President and his party friends in congress now determined upon a more rigorous policy, and, despite a determined opposition, obtained the necessary legislation for the creation of a navy department and the construction or purchase of not more than twelve suitably armed vessels, to be paid for in 6 per cent. certificates if necessary. Four vessels were completed, and for them in part certificates were issued in the amount of $711,700; authority was also given the President to call out and arm the militia.

To meet the expenses of calling out and arming this force congress authorized a loan of five million dollars, and it was sold at par with interest at 5 per cent. The public debt was not in the aggregate much increased by these loans, the sinking fund commissioners cutting off one end of the debt as the treasury added to the other, with no advantage to anyone but the commissioners, who obtained a percentage on their purchases. The resolute and determined action taken by the administration had its good effect, and assurances were soon received from France that if another mission were sent it would be received with pleasure.

These assurances came from the same directory that refused to receive the former mission; but before the new mission, which was promptly appointed, had reached Paris, the directory had been overthrown, the consulate established and Bonaparte placed at the head of affairs. Talleyrand was retained as minister of foreign relations, but in his language and deportment he presented a fine contrast to the Talleyrand of the directory. The members of the mission were promptly received, a commission appointed to treat with them and important negotiations followed. Meanwhile the administration had pressed preparations for war, and to meet expenses congress authorized a loan of $3,500,000 eight per cent stock; but there was sold of it only $1,481,700, but that at a premium of 5¾ per cent.

The administration of Mr. Adams was now drawing to a close. The trouble with France had caused increased taxation and an in-

crease in the public debt, and had been signalized by no victories on sea or land to arouse any enthusiasm among the masses. It is hard to see how the administration could have done less if the dignity of the country was to be maintained, but the feeling of opposition to the policy of the Federals had so increased that Mr. Jefferson, the recognized leader of the Republicans, was elected as successor to Mr. Adams.

ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON—MARCH 4, 1801, TO MARCH 3, 1809.

The census of 1800 showed the population of the country to be 5,294,390, an increase since 1790 of 1,385,176, or about 35 per cent. The public debt was eighty-two millions. The ordinary receipts of the government, mainly from duties on imports, were about ten millions, of which six millions were applied to the support of the army and navy, more than three millions to the payment of interest on the public debt, and the remainder, less than one million, was ample to meet the other expenses of the government. The danger of war with France being happily past, the expenses of the army and navy were reduced one-half, and the internal duties proving unpopular were repealed.

The country was prosperous and already took the lead in the carrying trade of the commercial world. Its foreign importations were increasing with the increase of wealth, and the increase of duties on imports, accompanied by diminished expenses, brought a large surplus into the public treasury, which was applied to the reduction of the public debt.

The great and unknown west was beginning to invite settlers, and in 1802 Ohio was admitted into the Union. These settlements naturally sought a market in New Orleans, which city was easily reached by the Mississippi river. That city was, however, owned by France, and to the same power belonged all the country along the west bank of that river. The importance of securing unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi and its tributaries therefore promptly engaged the attention of congress. France was at war with England and needed money, so negotiations for the purchase of this territory were entered into. At first, France asked one hundred million francs, but in the end accepted seventy-five million francs ($15,000,000). In the treaty of 1800, however, France had obstinately refused to pay for any damages caused by her depredations upon our commerce, but in this negotiation she consented to the

retention of $3,750,000 to be applied to the satisfaction of such damages. For the balance, $11,250,000, certificates of indebtedness bearing 6 per cent. interest were issued in favor of France. These were accepted and the United States took possession of the territory purchased.

The tract ceded by France in this negotiation embraced what now constitutes the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Nebraska and Kansas, the territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington and the Indian territory, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming, an area double that of the country purchasing it, and four times greater than the country making the cession. The peaceful transfer of such an empire from one sovereignty to another has no parallel in history, and was a remarkable achievement for the young Republic, organized for self-government, not for territorial aggrandizement.

The amount retained of the purchase money was paid claimants, except $11,731.02, which was returned to the treasury in 1868. All the claims presented, however, were not paid, and they were persistently pressed in congress for adjustment. A portion was paid in 1847 from the treasury, and the pressure was thereafter renewed with double vigor for the payment of the remainder. They became known as the French spoliation claims, and as late as 1887 they were referred by congress to the court of claims, to whom authority was given to examine them, and a century from their origin will probably elapse before they are finally disposed of.

In 1805 the country had a war with the Barbary states, but no great expense was incurred and no check given to the prosperity of the country.

In 1806 portentous clouds were seen in the European horizon. In that year England, warring with France, declared a blockade from Brest to Elba, and Bonaparte in retaliation decreed a blockade of the entire United Kingdom. Our vessels were captured by both parties and were searched by British ships for British subjects, and those suspected of having been born on British soil were impressed into naval service, under the doctrine of once a subject always a subject. Even our men-of-war were not exempted from this search, and in 1807, just outside of Cape Henry, the British frigate, *Leopard*, demanded of the *Chesapeake* four of her men and on refusal fired into her, and the surprised *Chesapeake* was compelled to strike her flag. Great Britain would not relinquish her right of search, and so, on our part, embargoes, proclamations and prohibitions—the precursors of war in those

days—followed each other, and the last two years of Jefferson's administration bore little resemblance to their predecessors. The annual revenues, which had reached seventeen millions, fell to eight millions. The embargo had nearly ruined our commerce and brought no little distress to the large cities. The revenues of the government were, however, sufficient for the present to meet current obligations, but Mr. Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, acting under the authority of congress, undertook to fund some of the stock of 1790 into a new loan bearing 6 per cent. interest, redeemable after notice of six months, but the scheme was a partial failure; the holders of the old stock seemed to prefer it to the new, of which only about eight millions were issued, though of the old stock there was outstanding about fifty million dollars.

Meanwhile, many banks were chartered by the several states and were pushing their notes into circulation notwithstanding the opposition of the National bank, and were persistently asserting that the latter was a monopoly threatening the liberty of the government.

COINAGE.

Foreign nations continued to furnish most of the coins in circulation, the result of the Coinage act not having proved entirely satisfactory. By the terms of that act one pound of pure gold had been declared for coinage purposes equal to fifteen pounds of pure silver, but gold proved somewhat undervalued, especially now that France had declared the ratio to be in that country 1 to 15½. Silver, therefore, being in this country worth about 3 per cent. more than gold for coinage, no gold was coined for circulation, and what was not used in the arts left the country. On the other hand, silver being overvalued its coinage was pressed to the capacity of the mints. Evidently under direction, the officers of the mint did not endeavor to hurry silver into circulation, as they coined greatly in excess the pieces of small denominations Of silver dollars, there were coined in 1805 only three hundred and twenty-one pieces, and on May 1, 1806, there came an order in the name of the President from James Madison, secretary of state, to the director of the mint that all the silver to be coined at the mint should be of small denominations "so that the value of the larger pieces shall not exceed half a dollar." So the famous dollar which without nursing by the colonists had won its way until it obtained recognition as a monetary unit of account, which Hamilton honored and Jefferson approved —this coin which has been tenderly termed the "dollar of the daddies"

—was now a homeless outcast driven from the house of its friends by the unwarranted power of an Executive order!

The aggressiveness of Great Britain continued without abatement, and war with that country seemed inevitable. The Federalists and many of the Republicans, or Democrats as they were beginning to be called, still believed war unnecessary and strained every nerve to avert it. The policy of the administration had been discreet, and for the financial disasters no blame could be attached to it. Mr. Jefferson, however, declined a renomination for the Presidency, and his secretary of state. James Madison, was elected by a large majority.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON—MARCH 4, 1809, TO MARCH 3, 1817.

The unfavorable turn of affairs during the last two years of Mr. Jefferson's administration caused the government to have serious apprehensions as to the sufficiency of its revenues to meet ordinary expenses, and immediately upon the assembling of congress in December, 1809, Mr. Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury, asked for a loan of $4.000,000 to meet current expenses for the ensuing year; but congress only gave him power to issue a new loan to provide for payment of any loans maturing, leaving all the other revenues to meet current expenses. There were, however, issued of the loan $2,750,000; no further loan was needed until the spring of 1812 when $11,000,000 was asked for to meet expenses of preparing for a war with Great Britain, which it was thought could no longer be avoided. An authorizing act for the loan was approved March 14, 1812, under which there was borrowed $8,134,700 at 6 per cent., and a temporary loan obtained from the State Banks of $2,150,000, the charter of the National bank having expired in 1811.

The aid came none too soon, for on April 30, 1812, war was declared by the United States against Great Britain. On June 30, 1812, another measure was approved authorizing the issue of five millions of treasury notes. These were the first notes ever issued by the government. They were not a legal tender, but were made receivable in payment of all duties and taxes laid by the United States and bore interest at 1½ cents a day on each one hundred dollars. The notes were not expected to circulate as money, but were a contrivance for anticipating the revenues. The full amount authorized was issued. No taxes were levied, and as yet the expenses of the war were paid by

loans. The war was, however, not very popular, and money to carry it on was not easily obtained. An act approved February 8, 1813, authorized the issue of a sixteen million loan at 6 per cent., and it was sold at a discount of about 12 per cent. Resort was then had to the issue of additional treasury notes and five millions more of them were issued bearing $5\frac{2}{5}$ per cent. interest. Another act authorized a loan of seven million, five hundred thousand dollars at 6 per cent., and it was disposed of at about 12 per cent. discount. To avoid such ruinous rates the issue of ten millions more of treasury notes was authorized March 4, 1814—similar to former issues—and they sold at par. On March 24 a loan of twenty-five millions was authorized, and of it about eighteen millions were disposed of at a discount of about 20 per cent. "Then," Mr. Ingham said in congress, "it seemed impossible to borrow on any terms."

During the summer the banks in the middle and southern states suspended specie payments, and their notes suffered a depreciation different in degree for each county, even for each town, and for the loans issued the government had largely received either bank credits or depreciated notes.

Congress had adjourned in April (1814) to meet the last Monday in October, but the financial outlook was so alarming that the President summoned it to meet on the nineteenth of September. Notwithstanding there was ample authority under the act of March 24 to issue about seven millions more of loan, congress authorized an additional loan of three millions, under which there was borrowed from the banks one million four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and on December 26, 1814, treasury notes were authorized in the amount of ten million, five hundred thousand dollars, and of them there were issued about eight millions at par.

Revenue from increased internal revenue taxation now began to flow in. Thus far the money from this source which could be used for war expenses had averaged only about four millions per annum, and with this the country was to wage war with the most powerful nation on the globe!

A treaty of peace in which nothing was said of the causes of the war was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814, but congress had not information of it in season to prevent the passage of a law imposing a direct tax of six million dollars. This act was approved January 9, 1815, the day after the battle of New Orleans, in which the enemy was signally defeated.

The war, which had cost the country about ninety millions, was now

concluded without establishing any particular principle, but there was a large amount of floating debt to be provided for, and the treasury notes, which had been issued largely in excess of the revenues which could be spared for their redemption, had to be funded into a loan. By act of February 24, 1815, there was issued, however, about one million five hundred thousand dollars more of treasury notes at par. By act of March 3, 1815, there were issued about fourteen millions of 6 per cents. at par; by same act twelve millions 6 per cents. from 95 to par. No further issues were necessary to meet expenses of the war, but a loan of seven millions at 5 per cent. was issued in payment of a subscription to the Bank of the United States. The public debt was now about one hundred and twenty-seven millions, the highest point it reached in the history of the government previous to the War of the Rebellion.

On April 27, 1816, the second general tariff act was passed. The first act was openly declared protective—otherwise no one would have known it—and the question of high or low tariff had thus far formed no element in our politics, and an evil day it was for the country when such an issue was forced into its politics.

South Carolina, anxious for a home market for her cotton, joined with the middle states, and together they obtained high duties on cotton and iron. Mr. Calhoun championed the bill and Mr. Webster opposed it. Under this act goods of which a full domestic supply could be produced were taxed about 35 per cent.; those of which only a partial supply could be afforded, in which were classed cottons and woolens, 25 per cent. Pig-iron was taxed at nine dollars per ton; two years later raised to fifteen dollars. The average duties under this act were 24½ per cent. on dutiable goods.

The ordinary receipts of the government now reached about forty-seven millions per annum, being ample to pay the war debt in a short period unless taxation should be much reduced.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The Bank of the United States expired by the terms of its charter March 4, 1811. Mr. Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, asserted that the affairs of the bank, considered as a moneyed institution, had been wisely and skillfully managed. Application for its renewal had been made in April, 1808, and in 1810 the matter was thoroughly discussed in congress, and on the final vote thereon in the senate February 20, 1811, the parties stood 17 to 17, and the bill

was defeated by the casting vote of the vice-president. The bill was also lost in the house by a minority of one vote.

The several state banks, now free from the restraint which the National bank had exercised, at once expanded their credits and circulation, the latter being increased in two years from twenty-eight millions to sixty-two millions. In the state of Pennsylvania charters were granted forty-one banks, and these banks went into operation with a *bona fide* capital hardly equal in each bank to the amount of the first installment paid in, a stock note being given for subsequent payments.

The paper circulation already redundant was depreciated by these extraordinary issues, and by September, 1814, all of the banks south of New England had suspended specie payments. Of these banks nearly one hundred held government deposits aggregating nearly nine millions. Their loans to the government amounted to thirty-five millions, the treasury having through its financiering exchanged at par its own notes bearing interest for the depreciated and doubtful issues of the banks.

Outside of New England the currency of the country was in a deplorable condition, and there seemed to be little disposition to improve it. Persons who saw their incomes almost wiped out attributed the loss to the war, and those who suddenly found themselves rich attributed their success to their own acumen and foresight. Trade between localities was, however, hampered by the uncertain and fickle character of the money in use. Merchants, however, soon discovered that in New England, where specie payments had not been suspended, commodities had a known value, and, as far as practicable, they traded with that community, and sent there in payment for their purchases the silver for which they had no use at home. Consequently, this section flourished, while the rest of the country was in distress.

The government also became embarrassed by the variety and grades of the circulating medium, the available balance of the treasury being composed of several kinds of money, each having a special quality and value of its own. To such an extent did this reach, the treasury was compelled to keep four accounts with each of its depository banks, viz., one of cash (coin or legal tender), one of special deposits of notes issued by other banks, one of treasury notes bearing interest, and one of treasury notes not bearing interest. Against these funds the treasury drew to pay public creditors, and as each one of the funds had a value different from any other, the secretary of the treasury naïvely remarked, that in making payments he

considered the character of the debt and of the person to whom payment was to be made!

To cure these evils and also to aid the government in making loans, an effort was made to reëstablish a National bank, and a bill for that purpose passed both houses in January, 1815. It provided for a bank with a capital of thirty millions, of which fifteen was to consist of treasury notes and ten of public stocks. Clauses to compel the bank to lend the government thirty millions and to authorize it to suspend specie payments had been struck out, but the bill was vetoed mainly because these two clauses were not retained. Another bill, framed to meet the views of the President, was introduced, but, fortunately, the treaty of peace was signed in season to prevent its becoming a law. On January 8, 1816, another bill to establish a bank was reported. This bill provided for a bank with a capital of thirty-five millions, of which seven millions should be subscribed by the government. It contained no compulsory loan clause, and did not directly sanction a suspension of specie payments. It became a law April 10, 1816, and about that time a resolution was approved declaring that, after February 20, 1817, nothing but gold and silver, treasury notes and the notes of specie paying banks ought to be received in payment of dues to the United States. Notwithstanding this resolution, the principal banks in the middle states explicitly declared their determination not to resume payments of specie before July 1, 1817; but in the September following, Mr. Dallas, then secretary of the treasury, wearied of treating with the banks as independent sovereignties, gave public notice that the resolution would be enforced. The banks repeated their defiance, but the resolution was such as could not easily be evaded, and it was strengthened by an act of the New York legislature which imposed a penalty of 12 per cent. on any bank in that state which did not pay its notes in coin on demand. The resolution was, however, but partly carried into effect.

The inflation of the paper currency of the country raised prices and brought about a great increase in the consumption of foreign commodities, and this in turn largely increased the customs revenues. At the close of the year 1816, the government had a surplus of several millions, made up of funds with as many values as there were officers of collection, and available for payments only where it was collected. The market value of these funds also fluctuated at the will of the banks and the intrigues of brokers. The depositary banks absolutely refused to pay balances due the government except in local payments, and, in consequence, while the treasury had an ostensible balance of twenty-

two millions, it was compelled to borrow five hundred thousand dollars from the new bank to meet payments of interest due in Boston January 1, 1817.

This new Bank of the United States went into full operation in January, 1817, with a capital paid up of one million four hundred thousand dollars in specie and fourteen million dollars in public stocks, the balance in stock notes. It came into existence at the time of great distress which the financiering of the government and the fatal policy of the banks had brought upon the country, and Mr. Madison's administration closed two months later with no improvement in the financial outlook, though as far as the treasury was immediately concerned, it was no longer pressed for funds such as they were. Mr. Madison's successor, James Monroe, was of same political faith, and though he made little change in previous policy, time cured many of the evils which awaited his entrance to the Presidency.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE—MARCH 4, 1817, TO MARCH 3, 1825.

The growth of the country in population and wealth caused increased importations, and the duties arising therefrom proved more than sufficient to defray current expenses of the government, consequently the internal and direct taxes being unpopular were repealed, and within the period of this administration the principal of the public debt was reduced forty-four millions, the only loans issued being to refund existing obligations. This condition of affairs did not, however, prevent a tariff revision, and on May 24, 1824, the third general tariff was enacted.

Mr. Clay, though speaker of the house, championed the measure in the interest of Kentucky hemp and whiskey. Mr. Webster opposed it bitterly on account of the increased protection afforded, but was somewhat handicapped, as he was willing to have ships protected, and was asked if ships, why not whiskey and iron? The south generally had turned against protection and New England did not wholly favor it, so in the general scramble the western and middle states won. Taxes on raw wool were raised to 30 per cent., bar-iron to thirty dollars per ton, woolens to 33⅓ per centum. The average duties were raised to 32.5 per centum.

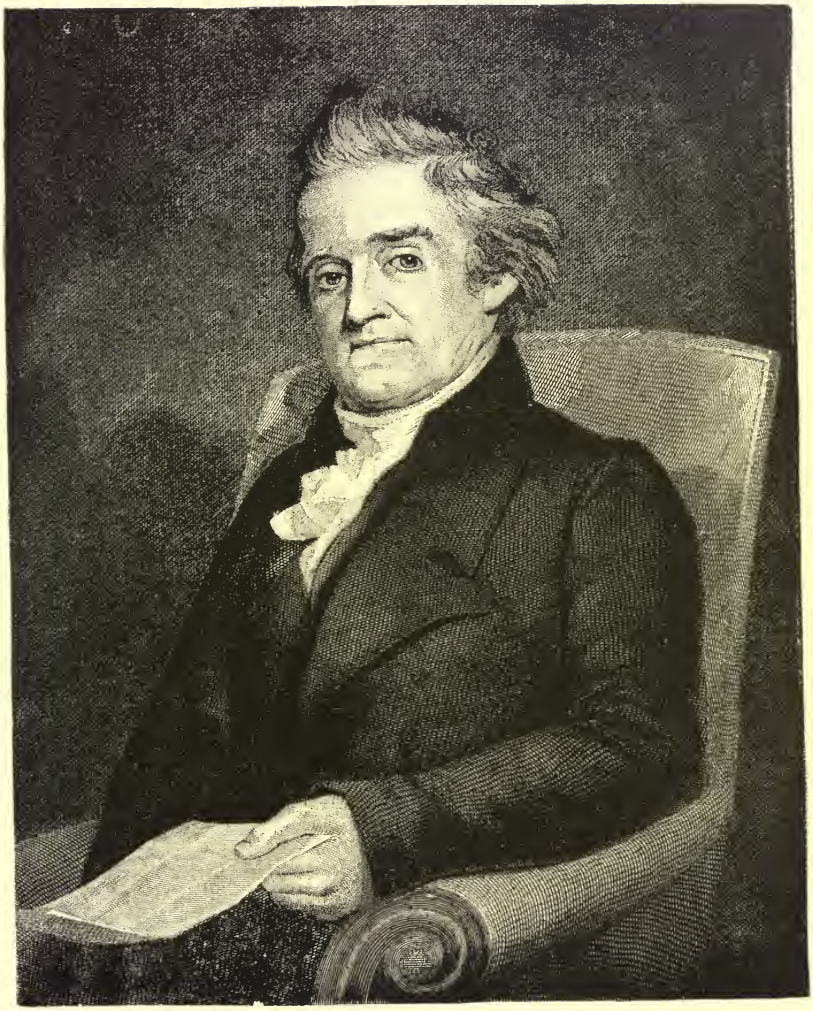
The currency of the country was, however, far from satisfactory. In 1818 the note circulation reached about one hundred millions, enjoying different degrees of redeemability. By this time the Bank of

the United States had swelled its discounts to forty millions, but had issued of circulating notes only ten millions, owing partly to the redundancy of the depreciated notes of state banks already in circulation, and partly to the inability of the proper officers of the bank to sign notes as rapidly as they were wanted. The bank had eighteen branches, located in the several large cities. In the west these branches paid out their own notes and held those of the state banks as far as possible, and redeemed its own notes by drafts on the east where silver was abundant, thus securing the coin of that section. To further carry out its plan for forcing the state banks to a specie basis, the bank exchanged in Europe part of its public debt stock for specie, and bought outright and imported into the country seven millions of specie at an expense of eight hundred thousand dollars; but the channels of circulation being filled with bank-notes, nobody wanted the specie, and merchants sent it out of the country as fast as the bank could bring it in. By this time the bank was crippled and began to contract its loans. The parent bank refused the notes of its branches, they of each other, and called upon the state banks to pay balances in specie. The local banks being pressed, could meet demands only by pressing their customers, and this brought distress. Congress investigated the affairs of the bank and found that in April, 1819, the bank had of specie only one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars, and that the losses it had suffered amounted at same time to three million five hundred thousand dollars. The bank at once took energetic measures to save itself, and in seventy days was solvent. "It had saved itself," says Sumner, "but nearly ruined the country."

The opening up of a vast empire in the west and the influx of hardy emigrants, however, checked any great disaster, and before the close of Mr. Monroe's term the country was generally prosperous; but through a division among the Democrats, John Quincy Adams, a Federalist, was elected as successor to Mr. Monroe by a vote of the states, there being no choice in the vote of the Electoral college.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—MARCH 4, 1825, TO MARCH 3, 1829.

Mr. Adams in his inaugural address announced that the receipts of the government were in excess of the expenditures, and therefore no additional revenue was needed. For several years there had been a gradual increase in the revenue from customs, a higher tariff having been obtained in the regularly recurring years 1816,



NOAH WEBSTER.

1820 and 1824, that of the last named year being about 34 per cent. on the dutiable goods; and while friends of the measures insisted that the increase in each case was only to provide means to pay the maturing public debt, with such incidental protection as would necessarily follow, there was no lack of allegations that the changes were, in fact, in the interest of the eastern manufactures, and they seemed to be not without reason, for, notwithstanding the announcing of Mr. Adams that the revenues were sufficient, a movement was at once inaugurated to impose still higher duties, especially on woolen goods and manufactures of iron and steel. To this increase the planting interests in the south strenuously objected, and the struggle became sectional and bitter. The measure, however, became a law in May, 1828, being the fourth general tariff act, and the duties thereunder were about 48 per cent. of the value of the dutiable goods, being another triumph of the western and middle states and the highest tariff obtained previous to 1861, and that which provoked South Carolina almost to a rebellion a few years later. The receipts of the government under these acts were so heavy that during the administration of Mr. Adams the public debt was reduced nearly thirty millions—more than one-third of the entire amount—leaving outstanding and not provided for only fifty-two millions.

Meanwhile few changes occurred in monetary affairs. In 1824-5 the banks expanded their credits and the Bank of the United States increased its issues over three million dollars. The next year a great demand for cotton sprang up in England, and heavy orders ran the price up here to twenty-seven cents; but a sudden decline in England during the summer brought a fall here, causing numerous failures. Banks generally suspended, many failed, and the United States bank was for a while again in trouble; but the depression here was not as great as abroad, and in 1827 money was plentiful again.

The general quiet which characterized this administration was but the calm preceding the incessant storms which raged through the administration of Andrew Jackson, who was elected the successor of Mr. Adams by a large majority, the Democracy being again united.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON—MARCH 4, 1829, TO MARCH 3, 1837.

THE UNITED STATES BANK.

Although the campaign of 1828, which had resulted in the election of Andrew Jackson as President, was distinguished for party strife,

the question of the continuance of the United States bank after the expiration of its existing charter does not seem to have been discussed. "Long before the election of General Jackson," says Mr. Parton, "the bank appeared to have lived down all opposition. In the Presidential campaign of 1824 it was not as much as mentioned, nor was it mentioned in that of 1828." Great, therefore, was the surprise to all parties when the President in his first message to congress, December, 1829, called the attention of that body to the fact that the charter of the bank would expire in 1836, and stated that any application for its renewal would be met with constitutional objections. As the supreme court of the United States had already declared that the granting of the bank charter was within the limit of powers granted the general government, the friends of the bank little feared the "constitutional objections" of the President; but it was known that privately the President had declared with his usual oath that the bank must die and Andrew Jackson was not the man whose purpose was to be easily thwarted, and fears were felt that the bank was doomed.

The friends of the President were soon discussing the subject in the senate, but not until 1832 did the bank make formal application for a renewal of its charter. A bill for this purpose caused a long and bitter discussion, many of the members being stockholders or creditors of the bank; but it passed both houses and met the expected veto of the President in July, 1833. In that document the President declared that the provisions of the bill violated the Constitution, as he understood it, and that neither the Executive nor the legislative branch was legally bound by any decision of the supreme court. Untenable as were the grounds of objection, the opponents of the bank and the personal friends of the President were sufficient in number to defeat the passage of the bill in the senate, to which body it had been returned, and the President had succeeded in his purpose—the bank must go.

The real strength of the bank at that period is uncertain, but when the government had proposed, in July, 1832, to draw upon the bank for five million dollars to pay that amount of 3 per cents., the bank had begged for delay in payment until October, and the delay was granted upon the condition that the bank would reimburse the government for the additional interest charge which the delay would occasion; meanwhile the bank negotiated a loan in London for the amount with which to meet the payment of the draft. These operations becoming known, raised a question as to the safety of the

public funds in the bank; but the house passed a resolution in the session of 1832–33 that the funds were safe by a vote of 109 to 46.

At this time Mr. Duane was secretary of the treasury, and immediately after the adjournment of congress, September 22, 1832, he was ordered by the President to remove the public funds, about ten million dollars, from the Bank of the United States to the several state banks designated to receive them. This Mr. Duane declined to do, and he was superseded by Mr. Taney, September 3, 1833, who immediately issued the desired order, in which he directed collectors to deposit with the several state banks designated for the purpose, and provided for the withdrawal of the balance in the bank at proper intervals.

Upon the assembling of congress in December, 1833, Mr. Taney gave to that body the reason for the withdrawal of the deposits from the bank, chief of which was that the secretary of the treasury was authorized by law to keep the public funds in the bank or elsewhere at his discretion, and this discretion he had exercised and changed the deposits to the state banks. Resolutions in both houses followed. The senate censured the President and declared Mr. Taney's reasons for removing the deposits were insufficient, but the senate four years later directed that the resolution of censure be expunged. The house resolved that the deposits should not be restored and that the state banks should continue as depositaries until further provision should be made.

Later the stock of the bank held by the government was disposed of at a high premium, and all relations between the bank and the government ceased.

The bank had held and disbursed immense sums for the government without loss or expense, had aided in obtaining loans for the government and had given the country a sound paper circulation. Besides, it had paid the government a profit as follows:

By bonus for charter	$ 1,500,000 00
By dividends	7,118,416 29
By premiums on stock sold etc	2,424,750 78
Total	$11,043,167 07
From which deduct interest paid on subscription stock	4,950,000 00
Total profit	$ 6,093,167 07

The bank, however, did not wind up its affairs nor even prepare to do so. On the contrary, it obtained a new charter from the state of Pennsylvania in February, 1833, just thirteen days before the old one

expired; but though for several years it seemed to prosper, its potent influence in monetary affairs and political circles was gone forever, and in 1839 was again in trouble from dealing in cotton. In 1841 it made an assignment of all its assets to secure its notes and deposits, all of which were eventually paid in full, but there were no dividends to the stockholders—the whole twenty-eight millions was a loss to them.

The transfer of the public deposits and the disposal of the stock proved wise and fortunate measures, though perhaps needlessly violent. Nor can it be said that the deposits were given the state banks as a favor to them. For a long time the President's plan had been to dispense with the use of all banks as public depositaries, and to hold and disburse the public funds through the agency of bonded public officers. This scheme the President commended to congress in his annual message December, 1830. At first it met with little favor, but later came to be a National issue in politics, and eventually the basis of the sub-treasury system now in use, which has proved safe and efficient, and, in its successful workings, has challenged the admiration of foreign nations.

THE TARIFF.

Another four years having rolled around, in 1832 another high tariff act was passed, extending protection to other industries and creating renewed discontent in the "planting" states. Of these, South Carolina took the initiative, called a convention and declared both acts null and void, and threatened arrest and imprisonment for any public officers attempting to carry their provisions into effect within the jurisdiction of the state. This action was met with a prompt and dignified response by President Jackson, which left no doubt as to the course he would pursue, and the state pressed its rebellion no further. Both parties rallied to the support of the President, and though the action of the state was supported only by headstrong and violent politicians, yet there was a general feeling that there were grounds of complaint, and the next year, before the act of 1832 took effect, congress enacted a compromise tariff-measure which gradually reduced the duties to about 20 per cent.—a very proper measure, and one which long before should have been enacted as a matter of justice and good policy, there being no longer any need of the additional revenue obtained from the high duties.

But instead of promptly relieving the grievance, congress waited until South Carolina could say that her war-like attitude had influenced legislation, and the south was led to believe that a state had only to defy the general government to obtain any concessions demanded.

This was the fifth general tariff act.

Not only had the high tariff brought the trouble with South Carolina but it had produced a revenue which, having in 1834 paid off the last of the public debt, accumulated in the deposit banks, enabling them to expand their loans, thereby stimulating all kinds of enterprises, and especially that of speculating in western lands. Immense sales of the public domain followed, and the receipts therefrom only added to the excessive balances of public moneys already held by the banks and inflamed still more the speculative fever. Congress seemed unable to check the inflow of the revenues, and so, in 1836, adopted the doubtful expedient of directing that there should be deposited with the several states in proportion to their representation in congress all public moneys in excess of five million dollars. In this way the several states received $28,101,644.91, and then a financial collapse stopped further deposits and forced the government to resort to a loan to meet current expenses, the states being unable to return the funds thus entrusted to them.

One of the causes that checked the speculation was the issue by the President, in July, 1836, of a circular directing the agents for the sale of public lands to receive only specie in payment. This circular was based upon the resolution of 1816, directing that public officers receive of bank-notes, in payment of public dues, only those of specie paying banks. This resolution seems to have been overlooked or forgotten for a long time, and great was the surprise and grief of the western speculators upon the issuing of the circular which permitted the receipts of no kind of notes in payment of public dues. Throughout the entire country the action of the President was bitterly criticised and denounced, and congress, in its next session, undertook to rescind the circular by legislation, but the bill therefor being presented to the President at the close of the session was left unsigned, and so failed to become a law. Whether or not the provisions of the circular were strictly within the law, its issue, according to Benton, checked the receipt of ten million of worthless bank-notes, already on their way to the treasury, and also exerted a healthful restraining influence upon the "wild cat" issues of the western banks.

CURRENCY.

The Coinage act of 1792 had provided that the pure metals in the gold and silver coins should have a relation in weight of 1 to 15, but it soon became evident that silver had been overvalued and that the true ratio was nearer 1 to 15½. Consequently, no gold coins remained in circulation. Of the silver, none were coined but the fractional pieces, and these were largely driven from circulation by the bank-notes, except such as were needed in making change. In 1834 congress undertook to remedy the inequality between the metals by lessening the amount of pure gold in the gold coins. This was eventually accomplished by the act of June 28, 1834 and January 18, 1837, by which the standard of both metals was established at nine parts of pure metal to one of alloy, and the weight of a gold dollar standard metal was fixed at 25.8 grains, that of the silver dollar at 412½ grains—a ratio of about 1 to 16. By this change, the weight of the pure metal in the gold coins was reduced about 6 per cent., that of silver remaining unchanged.

This rating undervalued silver, and it was now the turn for that metal to go, and go it did. Bank-notes, however, had so filled the needs of circulation, that, except for change, the silver pieces were not much missed, and for making change, the worn Mexican and Spanish pieces took the place of the fleeing quarters and dimes. The bank-notes also kept gold from going much into circulation. Meanwhile, the Bank of the United States swelled its issues from $10,000,000 to $24,000,000; the state banks increased their number from 282 to 663 and their issues from $61,000,000 to $149,000,000.

The distribution of the public deposits among the state banks probably caused in part their increase in number and circulation, but there was a general inflation of business, especially in the west, and the banks only kept up with the demand, and were, perhaps, as much the result as the cause of the financial craze. There could be but one result from the over-trading and inflation, and in December, 1836, Mr. Calhoun in congress said he believed the state of the currency was almost incurably bad, so that it was very doubtful whether the highest skill and wisdom could restore it to soundness, and that it was destined at no distant day to undergo an entire revolution. An explosion he considered inevitable, and so much the greater the longer it should be delayed. The explosion came, but not until

the administration of Mr. Van Buren, who was already elected as Jackson's successor.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN—MARCH 4, 1837, TO MARCH 3, 1841.

Hardly had Mr. Van Buren been inaugurated, when the country discovered that the merry dance of 1835 and 1836 was over, and that it now must pay for the music.

One effect of the change in the coinage by the act of 1834 had been to cause heavy importations of gold, mainly from England, reaching a net excess already of thirty-six millions, and as in the same period the net excess of imported merchandise amounted to about ninety millions, the gold must have been paid for in credits, and it is known that large amounts of bank stock and municipal bonds were being placed in London. As early as April, 1836, the drain began to lower the gold reserve of the Bank of England and continued to do so all summer. The bank then raised the rate of discount and checked the outflow, but prices fell and distress began to be felt. In November several of the country banks had to call upon the Bank of England for help. This was the beginning of a shock which was severely felt in England and here. The price of cotton ran down from eighteen cents to eight and a half, and, unfortunately, the wheat crop of 1837 proved almost an entire failure. In March Hon. Daniel Webster addressed a meeting in New York on the condition of the country. He attributed all the misfortunes to the issue of the specie circular, and a committee of fifty was appointed to visit the President and ask him to rescind it. They went to Washington, and in presenting the matter said that in the city of New York alone real estate had depreciated more than forty millions, more than two hundred and fifty failures had occurred within a few weeks, and that more than twenty thousand persons depending on their daily labor for bread, had been discharged by their employers. They ascribed all the evils to the issue of the specie circular. The President, however, gave them no satisfaction. In May a run began on the New York banks, and on the tenth the banks suspended, a law having been passed authorizing their suspension for one year. The other banks throughout the country followed, and the government deposits being lost, locked up, paid in depreciated notes or held by the states, a deficit in the revenues was probable, and an extra session of congress was called for September. To meet current expenses, in October an issue of ten millions of notes was author-

ized, bearing interest at 6 per cent., and receivable for public dues. They were sold at par, but by the end of the year the secretary estimated his available balance at a little more than one million, and that estimate was probably too large. In May, 1838, five millions more were issued; in 1839 about four millions more; in 1840 seven millions more, and in the spring of 1841 seven and a half millions more, and all this was the financiering of a government which had hardly done wondering what to do with its surplus, and had found no better depositaries for it than the several state treasuries, whose doors proved to open only inward.

The banks, meanwhile, made strenuous exertions to resume, and by the end of 1838 were generally paying specie. Business being partly resumed, a great rise in cotton was expected, and many banks, especially those in the south, bought heavily and held for the rise; but the price fell instead, dropping from sixteen cents to eleven, ruining the holders of the cotton. This brought the crash which ended what had been the second Bank of the United States, and even embarrassed some of the states. Alabama had created a debt of fifteen millions to found a banking system, but lost nearly all of it. Mississippi having borrowed seven millions for like purpose, lost it, then repudiated the debt.

The depression continued through Van Buren's administration. The inflation had been so great, the reaction so severe, that many industries had to start again from the beginning, and time was necessary to show results. Throughout all these disturbances the President clung to the hard money policy of his predecessor, setting his face resolutely against the creation of another government bank, and urging his party friends in congress to hasten the passage of the Sub-treasury act recommended by his predecessor, under which the government would hold and disburse its own revenues independent of the banks, and in 1840 the act was approved by him. The course of the President cost him many friends, as to that course was ascribed in a great measure the depression and distress which the country had suffered, and in the campaign of 1840, when he ran for reëlection, he was defeated by William Henry Harrison, who ran against him as the Whig candidate.

ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON AND TYLER—MARCH 4, 1841, TO MARCH 13, 1845.

In the election of Harrison the Whigs achieved a victory for which they had worked hard and long. Owing to the deficit in the revenues,



NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

an extra session of congress was called for May 31. Upon its assembling, John Tyler, who had succeeded to the Presidency, sent in a long message in which he set forth the deplorable condition of the treasury. The ordinary expenditures for the previous four years had exceeded the ordinary receipts above thirty-one million dollars, for which deficit treasury notes had given but temporary relief, and he asked for a loan of twelve million dollars redeemable at such reasonable time as to allow the finances a chance to recover. He recommended a repeal of the Sub-treasury act, and in its place provision to be made for a fiscal agency—not a government bank, not the state banks, but anything else so that it was something "fiscal."

The Sub-treasury act was promptly repealed, and Mr. Clay, the leader of the Whigs, had three other propositions to submit, viz., the incorporation of a bank, the distribution among the several states of the proceeds of land sales, and an increase in the rates of impost duties, accompanied with authority for a loan. Before any of these were acted upon, a Bankrupt bill was introduced, the friends of the measure asserting that more than one hundred thousand men were waiting to be free from encumbrances, that they might start anew. A bargain was struck in congress between the friends of this measure, the Bank bill and the Distribution bill, and all three were put through together. The Bankrupt bill was repealed in 1843, however, being, it was alleged, worse for debitors than creditors, as no one having once availed himself of its provisions could ever obtain credit again. The Bank bill was vetoed, as subsequently was another of like tenor, because the "fiscal agency" was a bank. The Distribution bill was approved, but it contained a provision that if the duties levied should ever reach 20 per cent., the distribution should be suspended, and the President vetoed two tariff bills in 1842, which contained a repeal of that clause, but approved the third, which contained no such repealing clause, and as it raised the duties above 20 per cent. it suspended the proposed distribution.

This was the sixth tariff bill. The average duties under it were 32.5 per centum on dutiablegoods.

Thus out of all the political excitement, conflicts, log-rolling and bitter jealousies came nothing but a new tariff, increasing rates, as was imperatively demanded for revenue, though affording no little protection. Mr. Tyler in financial matters seemed more in sympathy with the policy of the Democrats, to which party he had formerly belonged, than with that of the Whigs, who had raised him to his present office, and the Whigs, despairing of carrying through any partisan

financial measures, abandoned the struggle, then let such matters alone, and the country became quiet and prosperous. The public revenues increased, so that in 1844 the debt began again to be paid off. Loans were authorized to meet immediate demands, but by the close of the administration the public debt, which had risen to thirty-three million dollars, was reduced to fifteen million dollars. The temporary loans were provided for, and the government had resumed paying specie, not to suspend again until the War of the Rebellion.

Altogether, Mr. Tyler left the country and public affairs in much better condition than he found them. The question, what to do with the public deposits, had, however, not yet been settled, and from lack of any better scheme being presented, public sentiment again turned to that of the sub-treasury, and largely upon this issue James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate, was elected Mr. Tyler's successor.

ADMINISTRATION OF TYLER AND POLK—MARCH 4, 1845, TO MARCH 3, 1849.

Mr. Polk's administration was signalized by the admission of Texas in 1845, which caused a declaration of war with Mexico, May 13, 1846. The following month congress, to meet expenses, authorized the issue of ten millions of treasury notes, under which authority there were issued $7,687,800, and a month later authority was given for the issue of a ten million loan redeemable in ten years, but of it there were issued less than $4,000,000. Further issues were made to meet war expenses as follows: treasury notes receivable for public dues about $26,000,000; twenty year bonds $28,200,000; twenty year loan of 1848, $16,000,000. These obligations drew 6 per cent. interest, and were all sold for coin at a slight premium. They were honorably paid in coin upon maturity, although coin then commanded a high premium in legal tender notes.

In 1846 the seventh tariff act was passed. It largely reduced rates, establishing them nearly as low as they were under the compromise tariff of 1833. Not many protective features remained, and there seemed to be a strong sentiment in the country against the policy of protection. The revenue was increased under the lower rates, and the average duties for fifteen years were only 22 per cent. of the dutiable goods imported. The country, meanwhile, enjoyed great prosperity, and the friends of low tariff did not fail to ascribe the "good times" to the operations of their favorite measure.

In August, 1846, the sub-treasury system was again established. Under this act the government held and disbursed its own funds. The treasurer of the United States at Washington, assistant treasurers (new officers) at Boston, New York, Charleston and St. Louis, the superintendents of the mints at Philadelphia and New Orleans, and such other public officers as the secretary of the treasury might designate, were to constitute the "treasury" and to hold intact until disbursed all public moneys coming into their possession. These officers were to be subject to the direction of the secretary of the treasury, and heavy penalties were imposed upon them for converting such moneys to their own use. This system, first recommended by President Jackson, has, by its safe and successful operations, disarmed criticism and challenged the admiration of foreign nations. Not only has it proved safe and satisfactory in public operations, but in time of financial distress has proved a reservoir from which the exhausted channels of money circulation have been replenished, thus checking financial distress, restoring confidence and again setting in motion the machinery of business.

In the election of 1848 the Whigs were again successful, electing General Zachary Taylor as Mr. Polk's successor.

ADMINISTRATION OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE—MARCH 4, 1849, TO MARCH 3, 1853.

The war with Mexico was ended, but Texas, still claiming a large amount of territory held by that country, asked that certain of her debts should be paid by the United States, and that payment should be made for the surrender of her ships, arsenals, forts, munitions of war, custom-houses and public buildings. To meet these claims an act was approved, September 9, 1850, authorizing the issue for such purpose ten millions of 5 per cent. bonds, but of these only five million were issued, congress appropriating in lieu of the remainder $7,750,000 cash to be divided *pro rata* by the state among its creditors, and the state to relinquish its claim on Mexico.

During this administration the country continued to prosper. The repeal of the corn laws by Great Britain caused a market for corn and wheat, and stimulated their production throughout the west, causing good demand for labor and inducing emigration. The discovery of gold in California also opened a new territory for enterprise and labor. The demand everywhere for capital was great; banks expanded their credits, but kept the issue of their notes within

reasonable bounds, and generally redeemed the notes in specie on demand. There was, however, a serious lack of small silver coins. Under the act of 1834, silver being worth more for bullion than for circulation, the coins were exported, or melted for use. Plenty of bright new pieces were coined, but nobody saw them after they left the mint. To remedy this evil an act was approved, February 21, 1853, authorizing the coinage of fractional pieces of which one dollar in face value should weigh 384 grains, instead of 412½ as before, but they were to be coined on government account as demanded, and exchanged only for an equivalent of gold coin. This plan, which had been adopted in Great Britain, gave to the country such small coins as they might need in making change for small payments, for, as the coins were not worth their face value for bullion, there was no inducement to melt or ship them. But, perhaps without intention, it, in effect, gave the country a single standard of gold, and treated silver as a subsidiary metal. The authority to coin the silver dollar of former weight and fineness for depositors was not, however, taken away or abridged, but none of these pieces would enter into circulation, the silver in a dollar being worth in the market 5 per cent. more than the gold required for a dollar. No evil consequences happened, however, from the single standard, and silver and gold coins of our own fabrication of lawful weight, for the first time in the history of the country circulated together.

The struggle for political supremacy in 1852 resulted in the success of its democracy, and Franklin Pierce was elected Mr. Fillmore's successor.

ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE—MARCH 4, 1853, TO MARCH 3, 1857.

The successful workings of the sub-treasury system and the sufficiency of revenue under the tariff act of 1846 took for a time the question of banks and tariffs from National politics, leaving the field to the question of slavery extension in the territories—a question which neither compromises nor threats of civil war and disunion had been able to suppress. The public debt had, by the increased expenses of the Mexican war, reached about seventy millions, but the customs receipts, which under the low tariff of 1846 had been estimated to produce twenty millions, had risen to sixty millions, causing a surplus. This was applied to the purchase in the market of public debt in

many cases at a high premium, but there was left accumulated in the treasury about seventeen millions. The excessive receipts also caused steps to be taken to decrease the revenue, and on March 3, 1857, the eighth tariff act was passed. It lowered duties about one quarter, extended the free list, declaimed against protection, and applied remissions to raw materials of manufacturers. The duties under this act averaged about 19 per cent. on dutiable goods.

The campaign of 1856 was fought upon the question of slavery extension, John C. Fremont being nominated by the newly formed party opposed to its extension, but he was defeated by James Buchanan, Democrat, who was elected as successor to Mr. Pierce.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN—MARCH 4, 1857, TO MARCH 3, 1861.

The several years of prosperity naturally tempted the banks into over-trading, and in the spring of 1857 the New England banks held a reserve against deposits of only 8 per cent., and the average throughout the country was only 16 per cent. In the summer of that year the Ohio Life and Trust company, the credit of which had been very high, failed for several thousand dollars. The weakness of the banks caused them to promptly respond to the shock, which, extending to the New York Stock Exchange, caused a falling of from 30 to 50 per cent. in stocks. Many of the banks suspended, a few failed, but the panic passed with less damage than was feared, and by spring business had resumed its usual channels.

The depression, however, and the change in the tariff, caused a falling off in customs receipts, and upon the assembling of congress in December, the President asked for a loan to meet current expenses, although his administration had started in the March before with seventeen millions in the treasury. The lessened receipts from customs continued, while troubles with the Mormons increased war expenses, and at the close of the administration loans to meet current expenses had been issued as follows:

Date of Act.	Amount issued.	Rate.	Remarks.
December 23, 1857	$52,778,900	3-6	Sold at par.
June 14, 1858	20,000,000	5	Sold at premium of 3.59 per cent.
June 22, 1860	7,022,000	5	Sold from par to 1.46 premium.
December 17, 1860	10,010,900	6-12	Sold at par.
February 8, 1861	18,415,000	6	Sold at 89.03 for 100.
March 2, 1861	35,364,450	6	Sold at par to 1.27 premium.

Some of the loans were used to take up others, but during this administration the public debt increased fifty-eight millions, and so low had the credit of the country fallen, that Secretary of the Treasury Dix, in January, 1861, recommended to congress that the several states be asked to guarantee the public loans to the extent of the deposits held by them under the act of 1836; "a loan contracted on such a basis of security, superadding to the plighted faith of the United States that of the individual states, could," he said, "hardly fail to be acceptable to capitalists."

The necessity for additional revenue led to the passage of a new tariff act. This act was approved March 2, 1861, and is the basis of our present tariff. It imposed heavy duties on cottons and woolens, on pig-iron and all manufactures of iron or steel, and under it few industries escaped more or less protection. Before the act was fully in operation, however, amendments were enacted increasing still further its rates and extending its scope, partly, it was said, to influence the fall elections. The fall campaign, however, was not fought upon the question of tariff. A new party opposed to the extension of slavery in the territories, forced the issue on which the campaign was fought, and Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of this party, was elected to succeed Mr. Buchanan.

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—MARCH 4, 1861, TO MARCH 3, 1865.

The election of Lincoln, in November 1860, precipitated the threatened secession in the south, and on March 4, 1861, when he was inaugurated, nine states had declared themselves out of the Union. In April Fort Sumter was fired upon, and immediately after that event the President called for volunteers and convened congress to meet on July 4. By that time the capital city was a military camp, and congress assembled to find the seats of the southern members vacant, the judiciary apologizing for treasonable utterances, the executive departments filled with southern sympathizers, while officers of the army and navy, trained to their profession at the expense of the government, were deserting their posts to aid the rebellion.

The government to maintain its existence resorted to force, and men and money were asked for. Of the latter, Mr. Chase, the secretary of the treasury, estimated there would be needed to June 30, 1862, the amount of $318,000,000. The President, however, asked authority to borrow $400,000,000. In response congress promptly authorized a loan of $250,000,000, at 6 per cent., redeemable after June

30, 1881; $250,000,000 at $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent.,* redeemable after three years, and $60,000,000 of notes redeemable on demand. These loans met a favorable reception, the banks taking them at a slight discount for specie; but the military reverses of the summer and fall somewhat depressed the credit of the country, and caused a demand for additional means. Congress, therefore, by an act approved February 25, 1862, authorized the issue of five hundred million of 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds,† one hundred and fifty million of notes bearing no interest, convertible into 6 per cent. bonds, but made a legal tender in payment of debts, public or private, except duties on imports; an indefinite amount of a temporary loan at best rate of interest obtainable, and by act of March 1, an indefinite amount of 6 per cent. certificates of indebtedness, payable in one year.

The proceeds of all these loans and those authorized under the previous administration, amounted for the year ending June 30, 1862, to about four hundred and thirty-four million dollars; the ordinary receipts of the government in same period to fifty-two million dollars; but even these unprecedented resources did not meet the demands.

The specie suspension of the banks and the issue of the legal tender notes had seriously impaired the credit of the country abroad, and further loans had to be placed permanently in the home market, already overstocked. Gold and silver no longer used in circulation were exported, and day by day the value of the paper currency depreciated. Great inconvenience was felt from the lack of small silver coins for making change and small payments, and the use of postage stamps for this purpose became general, and in July, 1862, congress legalized their issues and made them receivable by the United States in payment therefor, not exceeding five dollars. A more inconvenient or disreputable currency than gummed stamps was never invented, and in March, 1863, authority was given for the issue of fractional notes in lieu of such stamps, of which the amount was subsequently fixed at fifty million dollars. An additional issue of one hundred and fifty million dollars of legal tender notes was also authorized by the act of July 11, 1862.

Upon the assembling of congress in December, 1862, Mr. Chase estimated the deficit in the revenues for the year ending June 30, 1863, at $277,000,000, for the following year, $623,000,000, a total of $900,000,000 to be provided for by congress.

A bill to meet the needs of the government was, therefore, promptly

* Known as Seven-thirties.

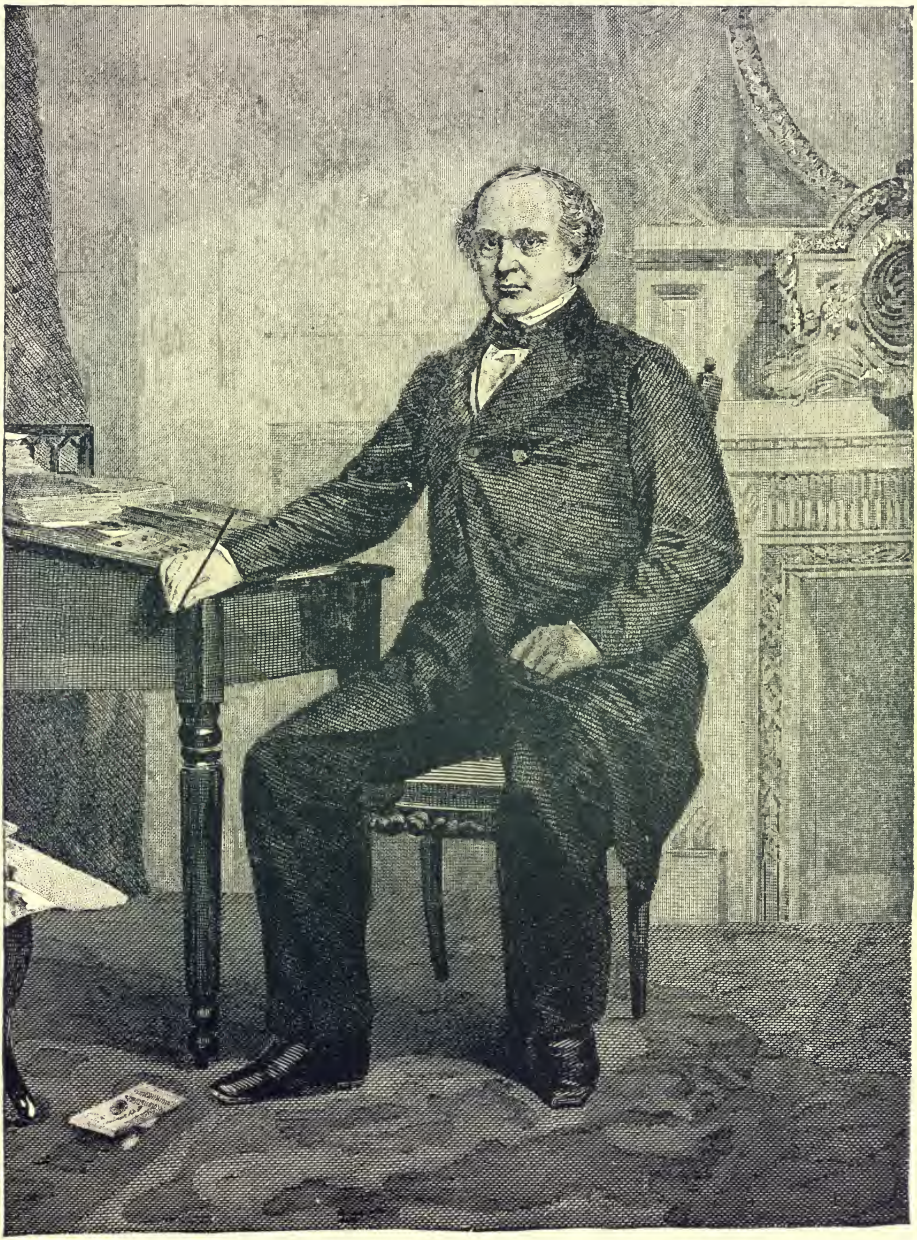
† Redeemable after five years and payable in twenty years.

introduced by Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, which he said would produce a howl among the money-changers of Wall street as hideous as that sent forth by their Jewish cousins when they were kicked out of the temple. The measure would likely produce some consternation in money centers, as it proposed an additional issue of $200,000,000 of legal tender notes, and $1,000,000,000 of 6 per cent. bonds. The bill provoked much discussion, but, as amended, was finally passed March 3, 1863, and gave authority for the issue of $75,000,000 6 per cent. bonds, redeemable July 1, 1881, principal and interest payable in coin; $400,000,000 of 6 per cent. treasury notes, redeemable in not more than three years, to be a legal tender for their face value, excluding interest; coin certificates for the coin and bullion in the treasury, and 20 per cent. beyond, redeemable on demand, and receivable in payment of duties on imports, and $150,000,000 additional of legal tender notes, not bearing interest.

The issue of these securities and those previously authorized yielded for the year ending June 30, 1863, about six hundred million dollars. To this was added the sum of one hundred and twelve million dollars, ordinary receipts. The bonds were sold at par in notes, but the notes were at a discount of 25 per cent. in gold, and the bonds would be reckoned at like depreciation in the markets of the world.

The expenditures of the war continued to increase, and to meet expenses for year ending June 30, 1864, additional loans were asked for. Considerable discussion ensued in congress, but on March 3, 1864, an act was approved authorizing the issue of $200,000,000 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds, but of this amount less than four million were issued. Another act was approved June 30, 1864, authorizing the issue of $400,000,000 6 per cent. compound interest notes, redeemable principal and interest in three years, the notes to be a legal tender for their face; $200,000,000 5 per cent. 10-40 bonds; $400,000,000 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds, and $200,000,000 7-30 notes, redeemable in three years.

For the year ending June 30, 1864, the receipts from loans were about seven hundred millions, from other sources two hundred and sixty-four millions; but large as were these receipts, they failed to meet expenses, and the end of the fiscal year brought no prospect for the immediate close of the war. General Sherman had not yet commenced his march to the sea, and General Grant, after the terrible disasters of the spring, was entrenched before Petersburgh, but apparently as far from Richmond as ever. The currency of the country had



S. P. Chase

shrunk one-half in value, and the bonds were being sold at less than one-half of their face value, measured by coin.

The receipts from taxation now began to give relief, but on March 3, 1865, an act was approved authorizing the issue of six hundred millions 7-30 treasury notes, redeemable in three years, and an indefinite amount of 6 per cent. 5-20 bonds, to be used in funding notes or other maturing obligations of the government. The receipts from loans for year ending June 30, 1865, available for current expenses, amounted to eight hundred and seventy millions, other receipts three hundred and forty-seven millions. They were all expended, but the war was at an end, and no further loans were necessary, the receipts from other sources being sufficient to meet current expenses. On the thirty-first of August, 1865, the public debt, as shown by the books of the treasury, reached its highest point, being then less the cash in the treasury $2,756,431,571.43, but there were many just claims arising from the war still to be paid, and the entire debt must have been not less than three thousand millions.

TAXATION.

To supplement the receipts from loans, congress proceeded somewhat slowly to impose taxes. In August, 1861, a direct tax was imposed, which in time yielded about fourteen millions. In the same month the Tariff act of March, 2, 1861, was amended, and further amendments were added December 24, 1861, July 14, 1862, March 3, 1863, June 30, 1864 and March 3, 1865, all increasing the rate and number of dutiable articles, and protecting manufactures of iron, steel and cotton to the prohibitory point, still producing in 1865 less than eighty-five millions of revenue, being, however, 43¾ per cent. of the value of the dutiable goods, the highest to that time in the history of the government. The total customs revenue from 1862 to 1865 amounted to three hundred and five millions. In 1862 an internal revenue tax was also imposed upon domestic manufactures of all kinds, yielding to the close of the war three hundred and fifty-six millions.

CURRENCY.

In 1861 sixteen hundred banks, organized and operated under the widely differing laws of the several states, provided the greater part of the circulation of the country. Their issues aggregated at that time about two hundred millions, their deposits two hundred and

fifty millions, and they held about one hundred and sixteen millions of specie or its equivalent. Their issue was far from satisfactory. Except in the amount of reserve held against them, the banks had a clear profit in their issue, and generally the weaker the bank the greater were its efforts to sustain itself by an excessive issue. Even the notes of unquestioned banks were at par only near the place of their issue, rates varying according to prices of exchange. Trustworthy reports from eighteen different states show that, in 1860, out of 1,230 banks 140 were broken, 234 closed and 131 worthless. There were in existence at that time 3,000 kinds of altered notes, 1,700 varieties of spurious notes, 460 of imitation and over 700 of other kinds more or less fraudulent. Gold coin supplemented by the small silver coins also circulated freely, and constituted the only legal tender money in circulation.

The banks in the city of New York suspended coin payments on the thirtieth of December, 1861. There seemed to be no reason for the suspension, but their example was followed by most of the banks throughout the country, and on January, 1862, the government dishonored its own paper—it stopped paying coin. Gold was immediately at a small premium in paper. Meanwhile, congress was seriously contemplating the issue of notes to be made a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except duties on imports. To the legal tender feature of the measure much opposition was developed, but after making the notes convertible into 6 per cent. bonds par for par, the measure was accepted as an alleged necessity, and an act authorizing the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of the notes was approved February 25, 1862. No measure so far-reaching in its effects ever before became a law in this country. It changed the terms of all existing contracts, established as the monetary standard a unit which speculators in Wall street could enlarge or contract as suited their purposes, which unsettled prices, stimulated speculation, and strewed the country with the wrecks of fortunes. No one had claimed that the measure was otherwise than a temporary one, but this process of raising money seemed so easy, that in the July following, another issue of one hundred and fifty millions was authorized, and the right to convert the notes into bonds was limited to July 1, 1863. Their depreciation then became very rapid, but on March 3, 1863, another issue of one hundred and fifty millions was authorized.

The government now fully enjoyed the luxury of two kinds of money, for while its notes furnished the general circulation or a basis

therefor, gold was used in payment of duties and in payment of debts abroad. Enough of gold remained in the country for these purposes, as there undoubtedly would for all purposes had it been invited, but it was not, and so became a commodity to be dealt in like wheat, cotton and stocks. A gold board was opened in New York, and to it were turned the eyes of the Nation as eagerly as to the army at the front. The fluctuations in 1863 and 1864 were remarkable. On the twelfth of April, 1864, gold was quoted at 175 in notes. Mr. Chase yielded to the entreaties of "bear" operators, went to New York, opened wide the sub-treasury vaults, poured into Wall street eleven millions of solid gold, but the next day wrote the President that the sales did not seem to reduce the price, and on the twentieth of April gold reached 184.

Congress then took a hand in the game, and passed an act to "prevent gambling in gold," and it was thought this would put an end to dealings in that metal. The act went into effect June 17, and on the twenty-first sales were made at 198, on the twenty-fifth at 208, on July 1 at 280. On the sixth the act was repealed, but the mischief had been done. On the tenth gold reached its highest, 285, and perhaps no greater amount of evil was ever crowded into so brief a period by unfortunate legislation.

No more legal tender notes were issued, but under the act of June 3, 1864, National banks had been organized, and their issues secured by deposits of government bonds were received with favor, and circulated as freely as the United States notes, though not a legal tender in payment of debts. The banks were created largely to give a market for the bonds they would need to secure their circulation. Their use as public depositaries was also authorized, and the banking system growing therefrom has proved safe and satisfactory, and the bank issues uniform in value and secure from any possible default of the bank have furnished an admirable paper circulation. The old state banks, however, maintained their circulation with much persistency, and at the close of the war had in circulation one hundred and forty-three millions; but a law imposing a tax on their issue of 10 per cent. would take effect July 1, 1865, and under that tax the issues of state banks must disappear. At that time there were also in circulation of National bank-notes one hundred and forty-six millions, and of United States notes four hundred and thirty-three millions, the total coin value of which was about five hundred and fifty millions, not much if any in excess of the paper and coin in circulation at the outbreak of the rebellion, thus showing that nothing can be gained in

purchasing power by crowding the channels of the circulating medium.

The financial operations of the government during this administration were of unprecedented magnitude and importance, but a great rebellion was suppressed and the armies paid off and disbanded. In the midst of general rejoicings, Mr. Lincoln, who had just commenced his second term, fell by the hands of a theatrical assassin, and was succeeded by Andrew Johnson, who had been chosen vice-president.

ADMINISTRATION OF LINCOLN AND JOHNSON—MARCH 4, 1865, TO MARCH 3, 1869.

In December, 1865, Mr. McCulloch, the secretary of the treasury, in his report to congress estimated the receipts of the government for the remaining three-quarters of the year at three hundred and five and a half millions, the expenditures at four hundred and eighty-five millions. The result was widely different: the receipts exceeded the estimates by ninety millions and the expenditures fell short two hundred and ten millions. Thus, instead of a deficit in the revenues to be provided for by a loan, there was a surplus of nearly one hundred millions applicable to the reduction of the debt. This surplus was in the highest degree encouraging. There were, however, large amount of loans maturing, and the necessary authority was given the secretary to fund them into the 6 per cents. authorized by the act of March 3, 1865. Among these was a loan of one hundred and forty millions of the legal tender compound interest notes. These notes were intended for circulation, but the National banks held them largely as part of the legal tender reserve the law required them to keep on hand to meet redemption of their own notes. By the withdrawal of the compound interest notes, the banks would be compelled to keep in their place non-interest bearing notes, and they raised a cry of contraction, and congress, in the interest of the banks, authorized the issue of seventy-five million 3 per cent. certificates, to partly take the place of the compound interest notes. These were the only new securities authorized during this administration.

The country, however, had been heavily taxed, and, as a partial relief, some of the internal taxes were removed. The protection interests, however, controlled tariff legislation, and rates and number of articles were increased by thirteen different acts until 1868, when they reached their highest points. An actual count shows the

number of distinct rates assessed on different articles at that time to be 2,317, and the following articles paid the following rates of duty per centum of the value of the articles: common window glass, 49; pig-iron, 55; bar-iron, 66; cast-iron pipes and stoves, 109; wood screws, 66; plain unbleached cottons, 58¼; spool cotton, 65; salt in bags, 80; salt in bulk, 108; rice cleaned, 82¼; rice uncleaned, 165; scoured wool, 94; washed wool, 121; blankets average, 82; carpets from 80 to 156; Paris white, 285; chalk, 833. The average duty on dutiable goods was about 48 per cent. The annual receipts from customs in 1865 were 85 millions; in 1869, 180 millions. Internal revenue yielded in 1866 300 millions; in 1869 but 158 millions. The debt less cash in the treasury was, in 1869, about 2,400 millions.

CURRENCY.

Mr. McCulloch, in his report to congress December, 1865, expressed his opinion that the legal tender acts were war measures; that they ought not to remain in force a day longer than was necessary to enable the people to return to the gold standard, and that the work of retiring the notes which had been issued should be commenced without delay, and carefully and persistently continued until all were retired; and the house of representatives, on December 18, by a vote of 144 yeas to 6 nays, resolved "That this house cordially concurs in the views of the secretary in relation to the necessary contraction of the currency, with a view to as early a resumption of specie payments as the business interests of the country will permit, and we hereby pledge coöperative action to this end as soon as possible." To carry out this policy, authority was soon after given the secretary to retire within six months ten millions of the notes, and after that of not more than four millions per month. Under this act forty-four millions of notes were retired to December, 1869, when the amount outstanding was reduced to three hundred and fifty-six millions. A stringency in the money market induced the secretary to suspend the retirement of the notes, and such suspension was soon after directed by law, leaving that amount outstanding. Meanwhile, the National banks increased their circulation to three hundred millions, the limit fixed by law. On June 30, 1865, the amount of all notes in circulation was 983 millions, having a coin value of 697 millions. On June 30, 1869, the total was 756 millions, having a coin value of 552 millions.

The administration did what it could to bring about resumption of

specie payments, but there was a growing sentiment against further contraction of the currency, and a departure from the policy recommended by Secretary McCulloch in his annual report for 1868, postponed that event until inflation had done its evil work.

General U. S. Grant, Republican, was elected Mr. Johnson's successor, mainly upon issues arising from the reconstruction of the states which had been in rebellion.

ADMINISTRATION OF U. S. GRANT—MARCH 4, 1869, TO MARCH 3, 1877.

Very prosperous seemed the country in 1868, and the paying of the public debt at the rate of one hundred millions per annum immediately after a long and devastating civil war, was such an unprecedented achievement that the credit of the country rallied rapidly from the low ebb to which the shocks of war and pernicious legislation had brought it.

Unfortunately, however, several of the acts authorizing the issues of securities did not specify in which of the several kinds of moneys afloat the securities would be paid at their maturity, and as the legal tender notes were by their authorizing act made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except for duties on imports, many persons, especially those who had felt but little sympathy for the war policy of the government, urged, with no little reason, that such securities should be paid in the notes par for par. This question was set at rest by an act "to strengthen the public credit," approved March 19, 1869, the first bill receiving the approval of the new President. In this act the faith of the Nation was solemnly pledged to pay all interest-bearing obligations at their maturity in coin, unless payment in other money was provided for in the act authorizing the issue of the obligation, and also to provide at the earliest practicable day for the redemption of the notes in coin. This act could have but one effect, and the rise in value of all public securities was marked and permanent. The 6 per cent. bonds payable in 1881, which were worth 82 in January, 1869, were 96 in January, 1870, and above par a year later. The legal tender notes worth 70 in coin in January, 1869, were 82 in January, 1870, and 90 a year later. Congress, therefore, with a view to reducing the annual interest charge, in July, 1870, passed an act which, as amended in January, 1871, authorized the issue of five hundred millions of 5 per cent. bonds, redeemable after ten years; three hundred millions, 4½ per cents., redeemable after fifteen years, and one thousand millions, 4 per cents., redeemable after thirty years, all the

bonds payable at maturity "in coin at the present standard value," the bonds to be sold at not less than par in coin, and the proceeds to be applied to the redemption of matured loans bearing a higher rate of interest.

In March, 1871, the credit of the country had reached such a point that Mr. Boutwell, secretary of the treasury, opened subscription books for the new loan, and by August 1 had sold about sixty-six millions, mainly to the National banks, and for these subscriptions a like amount of 6 per cents. was retired. Considering the low point to which the public credit had fallen, the sale of the 5 per cents. at par for coin was regarded as most encouraging. Subsequently, for like purposes, contracts were made by Secretary Boutwell and his successors, with syndicates of bankers in New York and London, under which the entire five hundred millions authorized were sold, and in August, 1876, a contract was entered into under which ninety millions of the 4½ per cents. were also sold before the close of the administration, at which time United States notes were worth 94 in coin, and all other obligations were correspondingly advanced in value.

The public debt was, meanwhile, reduced from 2,400 to 2,019 millions, the annual interest charge from 128 millions to 94 millions.

TAXATION.

The revenues of the country being more than sufficient for current expenses, the surplus was applied to the purchase of bonds at market rates, being considerably less than par in coin, but there being no particular demand for the payment of the debt, a bill to reduce the tariff, to take effect January 1, 1871, was passed. Under this act taxes would be thrown off, as compared with those of 1869, about twenty-six millions, but 77 per cent. of the reduction was from lower rates for tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar and molasses. In the next year tea and coffee were put upon the free list, and upon many other important articles a "horizontal reduction" of 10 per cent. was made, reducing the receipts from one hundred and ninety-four millions in 1870 to one hundred and thirty millions in 1878, and the average *ad valorem* rate of duty on dutiable merchandise was reduced from 47 per cent. to 42 per cent. The reduction was, however, largely restored by subsequent legislation.

The internal revenue taxes were also from time to time abolished, until, at the close of this administration, they were assessed mainly upon spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, snuff and cigars. The re-

ceipts of internal taxes, which were one hundred and eighty-four millions in 1870, were reduced to one hundred and ten millions in 1878.

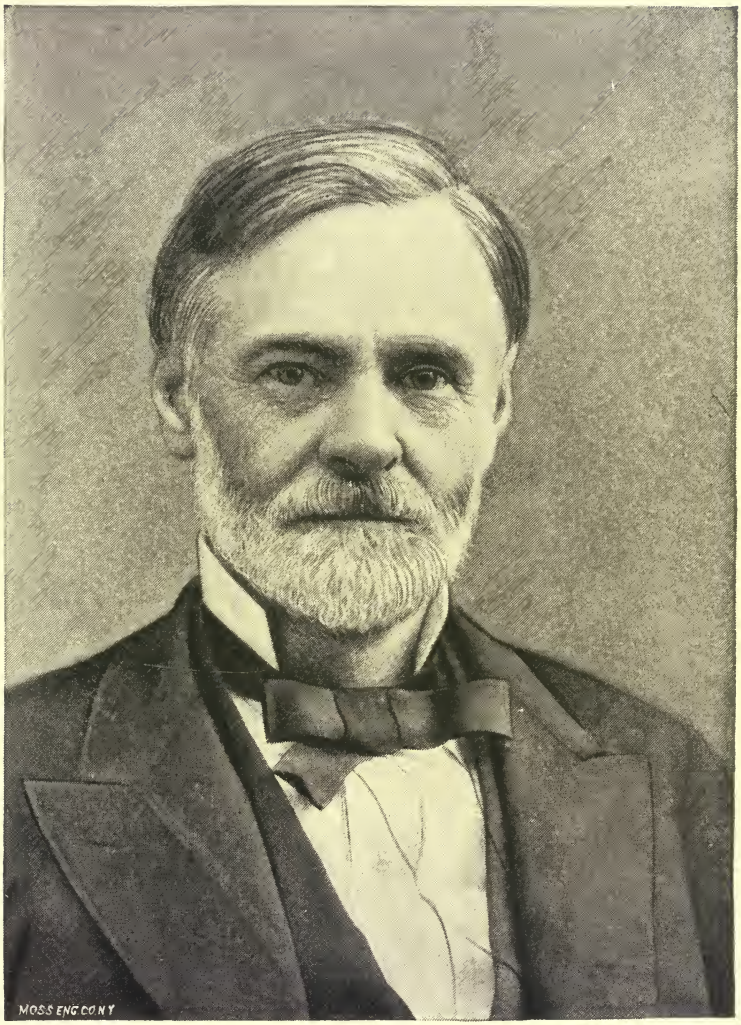
CURRENCY.

The reform of the currency challenged the attention of this administration. Like other political reforms, it consisted mainly in repairing the mischief resulting from previous legislation, with many chances that new mischief would be done.

In the summer of 1869 gold was quoted at 135 in notes. Sales of gold by the treasury were being made at the rate of one million every alternate Wednesday. An abundant crop of grain had been harvested in the west, and as its price at the seaboard was fixed by the coin price at Liverpool, the higher the premium on gold the greater was the apparent price shippers could pay farmers for this commodity. Speculators in breadstuff, therefore, presented specious reasons to the President for suspending gold sales until the premium was high enough to induce farmers to sell their grain. In this way the government would be kindly instrumental in hastening forward the movement of the crops. The arguments were not without effect, and the President in a letter to Secretary Boutwell, dated September 3, expressed his opinion that it was undesirable to force down the gold premium until the crops were moved, but subsequently advised no change of programme. The clique so anxious to move the crops, firmly believing that the treasury would not increase its gold sales, commenced buying gold, and on the morning of September 24 gold was quoted at 150, before noon at 162, and the excitement in Wall street was unprecedented. About noon, however, Secretary Boutwell telegraphed the assistant treasurer at New York to sell four millions of gold, and as soon as this was known at the gold board, the combination was broken, and in a few minutes gold was selling at 140, and half of Wall street was in ruins. For once, the treasury was in Wall street with effect.

A movement to further expand the circulation was now set on foot, and in July, 1870, an act was approved authorizing the National banks to increase their circulation fifty millions. An increase took place, however, of only eighteen millions, there being little demand for more circulation, unless of a poorer kind.

In October, 1871, came another stringency in Wall street—another crop was to be moved—and again the treasury was appealed to for help. By this time some financial genius had discovered that the forty-



JOHN SHERMAN.

four millions of legal tender notes retired by Secretary McCulloch were not retired at all, but were still existent, constituting a fund to be expanded and contracted at the will of the secretary, and by virtue of this newly found power, Secretary Boutwell, to relieve the stringency, issued from this fund in payment of bonds $1,500,000, and the stringency ended.

Two years more rolled around without special financial events, when suddenly, in September, 1873, the country was aroused from pleasant dreams to unpleasant realities. It now began to be realized that a promise to pay differed from a payment, that the value of commodities did not depend upon the imagination of the owners nor upon any act of congress. Failures in business were numerous on every hand. Men no longer dared to trust each other. Each one grasped all the money he could lay his hands upon, and kept it in his possession.

The banks no longer receiving deposits, could not meet the demands upon them. The government had fifteen millions in National bank depositaries amply secured, but for any immediate use might as well have been in the tomb of the capulets. Savings banks, though generally solvent, could not meet the demands of depositors, and their officers were forced upon the streets to borrow upon such terms as holders of actual money might dictate. Of gold, there were in the treasury more than fifty millions beyond any possible demand, and all Europe stood ready to furnish any amount needed as soon as electricity should send the order and steam could ship the metal. But nobody wanted gold—it was too good to pay debts with. All eyes were therefore turned to the forty-four millions of "retired" notes, and an urgent demand arose for their issue. The secretary yielded, and in exchange for public securities paid out of them twenty-five millions. For this act he was applauded as well as censured. Such a stringency could only arise through the employment of depreciated paper as a circulating medium, and the whole affair soon came to be looked upon as a necessary concomitant to our monetary system.

The panic, however, called attention to the defects of that system, and in December Senator Sherman introduced a measure looking to the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1876; but the country was not yet cured of its inflation mania, and the bill was transformed into an inflation measure. As amended, it authorized additional bank circulation, and fixed the limit of United States notes at four hundred millions. In this form it passed both houses, but was

vetoed by the President, who gave such cogent reasons for his action that the friends of the measure could make no response.

The firm stand of the President had a most gratifying effect upon the country, and fixed the policy of his party in favor of resumption and put an end to schemes for inflation. On June 30, 1874, the limit of United States notes was fixed at three hundred and eighty-two millions.

In the next session, several measures were proposed in congress, all looking toward resumption, and finally a bill framed in a Republican caucus was introduced by Senator Sherman, by whom its passage was advocated as the best bill obtainable. All the Republican senators voted for it except Senator Shurz, who favored resumption, but thought the bill insufficient for the purpose. It passed the house by a partisan vote without debate, and was approved January 14, 1875.

The act contained three provisions, viz.:

1. For the redemption of all fractional notes in silver coins.

2. For the unlimited issue of bank-notes, but United States notes in the amount of 80 per cent. of such issues to be retired.

3. For the redemption in coin of the legal tender notes on presentation in sums of fifty dollars and upward at the sub-treasury in New York, on and after January 1, 1879.

To carry out these provisions, the secretary of the treasury was authorized to use any of the surplus revenues of the government, and to issue such an amount as he might deem proper of bonds described in the refunding acts of 1870 and 1871.

The effect of this act was not immediately encouraging, but it fixed the policy of the government, and was vastly superior to the vetoed inflation measure of the year before, and it improved the credit of the country. Legal tender notes which at its passage were worth 89 in coin were in January, 1877, worth 94.

COINAGE.

On February 12, 1873, an act was approved revising and consolidating the several coinage acts of the government. As none of the silver dollars had been minted for circulation since 1806, the authority for their further issue was discontinued, but provision was made for coining for depositors of silver bullion bars or dollars, the depositor to pay expenses. Dollars were preferred, and they were issued to the extent of about thirty-two millions. This dollar, known as the trade dollar, contained four hundred and twenty grains of standard

silver, eight and a half grains more than the former dollar, and though made a limited legal tender, was never intended for home circulation, but simply as a form of bullion which, bearing the government's certificate of weight and fineness, would find ready market abroad.

Before the close of this administration, however, silver bullion had fallen in value as compared with gold, seven million pounds of pure silver having been thrown upon the market by Germany, in her effort to establish a gold standard. The fall of silver enabled the treasury to coin small silver, redeem the fractional notes and to keep the silver in circulation. In 1876 silver bullion became so cheap that more than the weight of the old silver dollar could be purchased for one dollar in gold. But the authority for the issue of the silver dollar had been abolished by the act of 1873, and an opportunity to pay debts in depreciated dollars was thereby cut off. Immediately a great outcry was raised, and the whole country was exercised and indignant at the loss of the coins, none of which had been in circulation for two generations.

Had the authority for the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar not been abolished, silver bullion would have been worth for coining purposes, in 1876, nearly 20 per cent. more than for any other purposes, and on our shores would have been dumped for coinage the silver accumulations of Europe, and when the mass was coined gold would have disappeared, and a circulation of silver worth intrinsically about 20 per cent. less would have taken its place. The obligations of the government, of banks, of all the great corporations would have been payable in this depreciated currency, and somebody would get cheated, just who no one knew; but, fortunately, in the legislation of 1873 the country built wiser than it knew, and anticipated by a few months the legislation of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Italy, about all of Europe using silver for circulation, thus checking the coinage in time to prevent disaster.

RESUMPTION.

Under the provisions of the Resumption act, National banks so far increased their issues that before the close of the administration legal tender notes to the amount of about thirty-five millions had been retired, making a decrease to that amount of the cash resources of the treasury. The purchase of silver bullion and its manufacture into fractional coins was also commenced as soon as practicable, and these

coins were paid out in redemption of the fractional paper notes, and there then being an apparent scarcity of the coins, congress authorized their issue to the amount of ten millions to be exchanged for United States legal tender notes.

No other steps toward resumption were taken by this administration. Whatever of credit had been gained for the country was due mainly to the courage and vigor of President Grant and his cabinet, with whom the majority in congress had little sympathy. The candidates for the next Presidency were both friendly to resumption, and the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, was elected by only one majority in the Electoral college.

ADMINISTRATION OF R. B. HAYES—MARCH 4, 1877, TO MARCH 3, 1881.

The credit of the country had now so far advanced that large refunding operations promised to be practicable. There was also the imperative necessity of promptly making provision for the redemption of the legal tender notes in coin on January 1, 1879, as required by law. Honorable John Sherman, selected as secretary of the treasury, had for several years been chairman of the senate finance committee, and mainly to his efforts in that position the country was indebted for the Resumption act, the provisions of which he was now called upon to execute.

Operations under the existing contract with the syndicate for placing three hundred millions of the 4½ per cents. were continued, but on April 6, 1877, Secretary Sherman informed that association that when the sales reached two hundred millions, he proposed to withdraw the bonds from the market. By the first of July that amount was sold, of which fifteen millions were reserved for resumption. The balance was applied to refunding. The withdrawal of the bonds from the market created some surprise, but the credit of the country was improving, and on June 9 the secretary concluded a contract for a sale of the 4 per cents., with a proviso that the loan should be open to public subscription for a period of one month. In that time there were sold over seventy-five millions, of which twenty-five millions were reserved for resumption. The balance was applied to refunding, but unfortunate questions now arose checking further sales.

The refunding bonds were, by their authorizing act of July, 1870, made payable in coin of the then standard value. To that time, for many years, only gold had been coined for circulation as a full tender, though the authority for the fabrication of silver dollars was not

abolished until 1873. Silver had now so depreciated that if it could be coined at its former weight, enough bullion could be purchased for eighty-two cents to make a dollar-coin, and a demand arose for legislation to restore the dollar to its former position, so that with these coins the government could pay off these bonds when they became due, and also meet its other obligations. As purchasers were compelled to pay par in gold for the bonds, the prospect of having them paid at maturity in a coin depreciated 20 per cent. was not inviting, and par in gold could no longer be obtained for the bonds. To check, if possible, this depreciation, Secretary Sherman, in a letter to a New York banker, said, "The essential element of *good faith* in preserving the equality in value between the coinage in which the country receives and in which it pays these bonds will be sacredly observed by the government and the people of the United States, whatever may be the system of coinage which the general policy of the Nation may at any time adopt."

Though this letter could not bind the government against future adverse legislation, it was well received at home and abroad, and strengthened the credit of the country.

Upon the assembling of congress in October, there was developed much feeling against the scheme of resumption; and even among those who favored the measure, many doubted whether a return to specie payments at so early a day would be practicable; and though forty millions of coin had been accumulated in the treasury with which to redeem the notes, the house of representatives in November passed a bill to repeal the Resumption act. It was amended in the senate, but in its amended form failed to pass the house.

The opponents of resumption, however, had achieved a substantial victory, and in the depression of all public securities and the checking of refunding operations, they had their reward. To aid the depression, a bill was passed in the house restoring the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar, and friends of the measure openly threatened that unless it became a law they would wipe out the entire public debt as with a sponge. The senate, however, amended the bill so as to direct the treasury to purchase not less than two nor more than four million dollars of silver bullion per month, and to coin the purchase into silver dollars, the government to retain the difference between the bullion and nominal value of the coins, which at that time was about twenty cents on every dollar coined. Certificates for the coin were also authorized to be issued.

In January, 1878, Secretary Sherman having terminated all con-

tracts for the sale of 4 per cents., gave notice that he would receive subscriptions from the public for the sale of these bonds. Through the spring the sales but little exceeded one million per month, and for most of the time the bonds could be purchased in the market for less than par. The prospect of refunding much of the debt into these bonds or of accumulating a coin reserve for resumption by the sale of them seemed more distant than it did a year before, and gave heart to the opponents of the administration. On April 1 Secretary Sherman, in an interview with the house committee on banking and currency, the majority of which were not friendly to the policy of resumption, announced his determination to increase the coin reserve for resumption purposes at least fifty millions by the sale of bonds if necessary, which amount, added to that already accumulated, would, he thought, make practicable and prudent the redemption of the notes as required by law.

The power of the secretary to use the credit of the country to bring about resumption was practically unlimited, and the secretary's purpose resolutely expressed to use that power as far as necessary, greatly strengthened the friends of the measure, and in some degree disheartened its opponents, who, seeing they were powerless to thwart the plans of the secretary, contented themselves as best they could by enacting a law forbidding the further retirement of legal tender notes, of which there were then outstanding $346,681,016.

Four days after the interview, the secretary began negotiations for the sale of 4½ per cents. for resumption purposes, and after a little delay contracted for the sale of fifty millions at 101½—a rate somewhat above that of the market.

From that day forward there was little doubt of the success of resumption. Further efforts in congress to repeal the authorizing act were abandoned, and the business of the country began to adjust itself to a specie basis.

Sales of the 4 per cents. for refunding were now rapidly made, reaching for the calender year 1878 about one hundred millions.

Payment into the treasury for the fifty millions of 4½ per cents. was promptly made as provided in the contract, and every step believed to be necessary to maintain the coin reserve was carefully taken. Arrangements were made whereby to a certain extent the assistant treasurer at New York became a member of the clearing-house association, that body agreeing to accept in payment of balances due, checks and drafts of all kinds drawn by the treasury or public officers. All checks for interest and called bonds were necessarily made payable

in coin, but the arrangement with the clearing-house obviated any further necessity for maintaining a coin balance with which to meet their payment, or the payment of any other coin checks, and coin no longer being needed for such purposes, there was no longer any necessity for collecting duties on imports in coin, and instructions were consequently issued to all collectors of customs to receive notes in payment of duties after January 1, 1879, which notes the government would itself redeem as necessary.

The preparations for resumption were so complete that on January 1, 1879, when resumption took effect, the treasury held one hundred and thirty-five millions of coin applicable for the redemption of the notes. The thoroughness of the preparations avoided any further struggle. Now that coin could be had for the notes nobody wanted it, and the reserve after nine years is much larger than when redemptions from it began.

Resumption being an accomplished fact, all the coin in the country became a part of the circulating medium, and that medium being now fixed in value, business rapidly revived, an extraordinary demand for labor arose, and a prosperity followed unprecedented in the history of the country.

The happy effect of resumption was at once felt upon the credit of the country, and in less than three months after resumption, the sales of 4 per cents. for refunding aggregated two hundred and fifty millions. Taking advantage of the good demand for the bonds, Secretary Sherman, in March, 1879, announced that when the outstanding 6 per cents. had been refunded, the sale of 4 per cents. at par would be discontinued. As the sales approached the limit, subscriptions poured in. On April 4 one subscription was received for forty millions, a few hours later one for ten millions, another for two millions, two more for twenty-five millions each, and another of thirty millions, in all about one hundred and twenty millions, only about half of which was accepted, and further sales ceased.

There still remained one hundred and ninety-five millions of 5 per cent. 10-40 bonds, and on April 16 Secretary Sherman, to refund them, offered one hundred and fifty millions of 4 per cents. at 101½, and forty-five millions of refunding certificates at par, in denominations of ten dollars, bearing interest at 4 per cent., and convertible into the 4 per cent. bonds. Before the close of the day, subscriptions for two millions of the 4 per cents. were received. The next day came one for ten millions, followed by others of small amount, until near the close of the day came one for the entire amount of 4 per cents.

and for forty millions of the certificates. Beside the last mentioned subscription for the bonds there were received of bond subscriptions about one hundred and ninety-four millions, of which about one hundred and fifty millions were accepted. The subscription of forty millions for the certificates was declined, and subsequently the certificates were sold in small amounts throughout the country. The entire 10-40 loan was at once called in, and in a few weeks refunding operations ceased, no more bonds being subject to call.

In little more than two years, there had been issued in place of 5 and 6 per cent. bonds redeemed, ninety-five millions of 4½ per cents. and seven hundred and ten millions of 4 per cents., making a saving in the annual interest charge of thirty-seven millions of dollars. Notwithstanding so many new bonds were issued, their market value continued to appreciate, and at the close of the administration the bonds commanded such a premium that investors therein realized only about 3 per cent. on their investment.

Whatever circumstances eventually may have favored resumption and refunding during this administration, no one could have foreseen or anticipated them, and if Secretary Sherman did not, like his predecessor Hamilton, "touch the corpse of public credit and restore it to life," he took it, an outcast, wandering in a financial bog, dressed it like a queen, and sent it forth for the admiration of the world.

The increase of business also increased the public revenues, the receipts from duties on imports increasing from one hundred and thirty millions to one hundred and ninety-eight millions; internal revenue from one hundred and ten millions to one hundred and thirty-five millions; and the public debt was decreased two hundred and twenty millions.

COINAGE.

The fabrication of small silver coins continued under this administration until the amount reached nearly forty-three millions. In payment of the silver purchased for this purpose there was issued of 5 per cent. bonds $17,494,100, the balance being paid for from the surplus revenues.

Mention has been made of the act reëstablishing the silver dollar. The bill for this purpose was vetoed by President Hayes, but received the required vote of congress and became a law February 28, 1878. It limited the coinage to not less than two millions nor more than four millions per month, the coins to be a full legal tender in payment



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

of all debts, public and private. The act did not, however, repeal the provision of the Coinage act of 1873, which made the gold dollar the unit of account.

Silver continuing to depreciate, the coinage of the trade dollar was suspended, but not until a considerable amount of them had got into circulation, to the confusion of the country and with loss to the unwary.

At the close of the administration the country was in a prosperous condition—no important financial measures pending—and fortunately for the peace of the country, the election of James A. Garfield to succeed Mr. Hayes was by an unquestioned majority.

ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR—MARCH 4, 1881, TO MARCH 3, 1885.

On July 1, 1881, there would be redeemable 202 millions of 6 per cents. and 470 millions of the 5 per cents. of 1870. Authority to convert about 114 millions into 4 per cents. still remained, but these bonds commanded a high premium in the market, and, what was a more objectionable feature, they were not redeemable until 1907. There was no necessity of refunding the registered bonds outstanding, but some plan became necessary to meet the payments of interest on the coupon bonds, and to avoid calling an extra session of congress, a plan was matured under which a call was made April 11 for nearly all of the outstanding 6 per cents.; but permission was given the holders to have their bonds continued with interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum, provided they should so request, and of the amount called 178 millions were thus continued at 3½ per cent. interest. The remainder of the debt was redeemed from the surplus revenues. A few weeks later a call was made for the entire amount of the outstanding 5 per cents., with like proviso, under which call 401 millions were continued at 3½ per cent., the balance paid from the surplus revenues.

This plan proved a fortunate one, for before the end of the year the revenues were so excessive that even a portion of the 3½ per cents. were necessarily paid off. Had the 4 per cents. been used, they would have been beyond the control of the government until 1907, except by purchase in the open market. In 1882 the 3½ per cents. were by an act of congress converted into 3 per cents., and even these bonds commanded a premium in the markets of the world.

The revenues were now so largely in excess of the needs of the

country that a commission was appointed to examine into the workings of the tariff and to report a scheme for its reduction. In partial accordance with the recommendations of the commission, an act was passed which went into effect July 1, 1883. Under its provisions rates in many cases were raised instead of lowered, but the average rate on dutiable articles was not materially changed, being for 1884 about 43 per cent. Customs revenues, however, which reached 214 millions in 1882 fell to 181 millions in 1885, and internal revenue in same time from 146 to 121 millions. The public debt was also reduced from 1,819 millions to 1,375 millions, and the annual interest charge from 75 millions to 47 millions.

On March 4, 1885, Grover Cleveland, Democratic, commenced the present administration, embarrassed by nothing but an overflowing treasury and a protective tariff, under which nearly one-half the value of the dutiable goods imported is paid into the treasury.

The manner in which the administration carried itself in view of those two questions of great financial importance, is fully set forth in the record of that administration found elsewhere (Vol. II., pages 1193 to 1212). President Cleveland boldly faced the difficulties of the situation, and in his message to congress in December, 1887, took a decided stand in favor of a reduction of the tariff and a reform of the revenue, and his party was compelled to assume the position he had taken in its National platform of 1888. It was upon that question that the Presidential contest of that year was fought, with the results that may be found recorded in another portion of this volume (page 75). The condition of our National finances is shown in the following statement made by the secretary of the treasury at the beginning of January, 1889:

Interest bearing debt	$952,091,995 51
Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity	2,255,478 90
Debt bearing no interest, principal	731,015,796 97
Total debt:	
Principal	$1,674,152,144 23
Interest	11,211,127 15
Total	$1,685,363,271 38
Less cash items available for reduction of debt	390,664,749 26
Less reserve held for redemption of U. S. notes	100,000,000 00
Total	$ 490,664,749 26
Total debt less available cash items	1,194,698,522 12
Net cash in the treasury	60,636,264 13
Decrease since June 30, 1888	31,522,398 65
Cash in the treasury available for reduction of public debt:	
Gold held for gold certificates outstanding	120,888,448 00
Silver held for silver certificates outstanding	$246,219 999 00
United States notes held for certificates of deposit outstanding	10,250,000 00
Cash held for matured debt and interest unpaid	13,305,822 41
Fractional currency	479 85
Total available for reduction of the debt	$390,664,749 26
Reserve fund:	
Held for redemption of U. S. notes, acts of January 14, 1875, and July 12, 1882,	100,000,000 00
Unavailable for the reduction of the debt:	
Fractional silver coin	23,655,458 45
Minor coin	78,337 74
Total	$23,733,796 19
Certificates held as cash	40,556,269 00
Net cash balance on hand	60,636,264 13
Total cash in the treasury, as shown by the treasurer's general account,	$615,591,078 58

AMERICAN INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

THE earliest colonists of America brought with them a knowledge of the industrial arts to a greater or less degree, although it was many years before mechanical skill found opportunity for use beyond the supplying of the needs of the day. As early as 1608 a ship freighted for the infant settlement of Jamestown carried eight Germans and Poles skilled in the manufacture of tar, pitch, glass, etc., although there is small record left of even an attempt to put their skill to a practical use, beyond the declaration of Captain John Smith, that a ship "was at length dispatched with the trials of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense and soap-ashes, with what wainscot and clapboard could be provided." The building in which the glass above mentioned was manufactured stood in the woods about one mile from the small town, and was, beyond doubt, the first manufactory ever erected in America. The above cargo was the first shipment of manufactured goods ever sent from the colonies of Great Britain, and the first exportation of any kind, with the exception of a load of sassafras gathered near Cape Cod in 1608.

This pioneer endeavor in the direction of manufacturing came to little, as, by 1617, we are told, "the public buildings and works of Jamestown" had "fallen to decay, and only five habitable houses in the place. The people had turned their attention to the cultivation of tobacco," and the market places, the streets and all the vacant spaces were filled with the growing plant. In 1620 a renewed effort was made to develop the industrial arts, a large number of artisans being engaged by the company having the matter in hand, and sent across to the Virginian wilds. Efforts in the direction of silk culture and the making of iron were especially encouraged, the manufacture of the latter, in a crude and limited way, being already commenced

by 1621, when a general massacre by the Indians nearly depopulated the colony and caused the attempt to be abandoned. The endeavor to introduce the silk culture was most persistent, the legislature of Virginia ordering, in 1623, all settlers to plant mulberry trees, and in 1656 an act was passed imposing a fine on every planter who should not have at least one mulberry tree to every ten acres of land. Premiums were offered in encouragement, and as an added incentive to his loyal subjects on this side of the sea, Charles II. is said to have worn at his coronation in 1651 a robe and hose made of Virginian silk. Premiums were also offered for the manufacture of wines and flax, although the latter industry visibly declined on the withdrawal of the premiums.[1]

These early efforts were followed by many others of a like character, some local, spasmodic and unsuccessful, and others promising success in the future, and laying the foundations for the proud achievements of later days. But it was not until within twenty-five years of the establishment of the present government of the United States that American manufactures received a permanent impulse that enabled them to claim a footing against the older portions of the globe. The war with Great Britain and the various measures of non-intercourse that grew out of it caused a reliance upon home enterprise and a supply of home demands that would not have occurred under other circumstances. The Confederacy of states that formed a part of the American experiment of self-government before the Federal plan was adopted had "no power of commercial legislation or to enforce treaties," and by its inharmonious or conflicting laws was not in a condition to aid the infant industries, and consequently not only the statesman but the artisan and merchant as well, were pleased when the new Constitution was adopted, as securing and protecting their special interests in a manner not possible before; while, as has been aptly said, "American labor began steadily to change its form from a general system of isolated and fireside manual operations—though these continued for some time longer its chief characteristic—to the more organized efforts of regular establishments with associated capital and corporate privileges, employing more or less of the new machinery which was then coming into use in Europe." The first petition presented to congress after its first assembling in March, 1789, came from several hundred mechanics and tradesmen of Baltimore, "lamenting the decline of manufactures and trade since the Revolution, and praying that the efficient government with which they were then blessed for the first time would render the country

independent in fact as well as in name by an early attention to the encouragement and protection of American manufactures by imposing on all foreign articles which could be made in America such duties as would give a decided preference to their labors." Like memorials followed in quick succession from representatives of the same classes in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston and other centers of commercial activity. The response was as prompt as the request had been urgent; and we find as the second act of the new congress one for the dual purpose of revenue and protection, which in its preamble made the emphatic declaration that it was "necessary for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported."

Some idea may be gained of the industrial condition and outlook of the time from the following facts, brought out in the debate that accompanied the passage of this law: a half million dollars were already invested in the business of distilling; a member from the west stated that hemp could be plentifully grown on the Ohio, and that they were already, in that far-away region, capable of constructing boats that would carry many tons down the Mississippi to the gulf; Mr. Burke of South Carolina declared that the cultivation of cotton was about to be commenced in the south, and gave it forth as his faith that it would succeed; coal was being mined in Virginia; the tonnage employed in the carrying of American products was estimated at 600,000 tons, two-thirds of which belonged to this country; the cod fishery had been nearly destroyed during the war, but had so far recovered as to employ 480 vessels of 27,000 tons, and half as much more in conveying the product to market.

During this year, 1789, the mechanics and manufacturers of Providence, Rhode Island, formed an association for mutual aid, and secured a charter; the Pennsylvania society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts offered for sale their first printed cottons, jeans, flax, tow linen, etc., and the first successful crop of Sea Island cotton was raised, and from thenceforth the raising of cotton began to be ranked among the successful industries of the south. Renewed attention was given to the fostering of home enterprises in 1790, when President Washington, in his first annual message to congress, declared that the safety and interest of the people required "that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military, sup-

plies." The secretary of the treasury was directed by congress to prepare plans for the carrying out of these ideas. From such legislation as followed, in the advance of tariff rates, a new impulse was given to industry; a rapid augmentation of the United States tonnage followed; and an added encouragement to the invention and skill of the people was offered when the right to enjoy letters patent was conferred, the first patent thereunder being granted on the thirty-first of July, 1790.

A memorial from the snuff and tobacco makers of Philadelphia was sent to congress, in which representation was made that the importation of goods in that line had almost entirely ceased; that their city alone contained at least thirty factories of that character; and that one or two could be found in almost every town in the state. Like establishments existed in New York and other portions of the Union. There were twenty-one gunpowder works in Pennsylvania, and others in New England and New Jersey. It was during this year that a very important step was taken in American manufactures, when the first complete and successful machine for spinning cotton by water-power was started in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, while planters of the south began about this time to clothe their slaves with the products of their own cotton fields. During the year following, samples of the first yarn and cotton cloth made in America were presented to the secretary of the treasury, and declared to be first-class and very fine.

It was at about this period that Alexander Hamilton, ever active in measures for the public good, made great exertions that culminated in the creation of an association in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey for the purpose of aiding the establishment of useful manufactures. The company was incorporated under the name of "The Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures," under the laws of New Jersey, and was granted extensive privileges, including a city charter over a district six miles square, which was named Patterson, in honor of the governor of the state. Operations were commenced, and artisans and manufacturers invited; and although the corporation was not as successful as had been hoped, its endeavors resulted in the formation of a large industrial centre and the utilizing of the immense water-power of the falls of the Passaic. Another service of National importance was performed by Mr. Hamilton during this year, when he laid before congress, in obedience to resolutions previously adopted, an able and voluminous report upon the subject we now have under consideration. A careful and elaborate review of

that document has been made by an able authority,* the main points of which are reproduced as follows:

"In collecting and analyzing the materials for that elaborate document the secretary employed a great amount of industry and all the energies of an acute, comprehensive and powerful mind. His labors resulted in presenting to the Nation such a broad, yet circumstantial view of the importance of this branch of the National industry in all its relations, resources, prospects and claims on the patronage of congress, and in shaping such a system for its encouragement in harmony with all the great interests of the country, as has seldom been furnished to any government. His able refutation of the current objections to the encouragement of manufactures, his vindication of their importance as a source of public wealth and happiness, of the necessity of countervailing commercial regulations, and his suggestions as to the best means of promoting manufactures, all evince the clearest comprehension of the whole subject, and an intimate knowledge of their existing condition. The paper is replete with calm and forcible reasoning, practical views and the soundest maxims of political economy, while it preserves a dignified abstinence from those acrimonious and invidious references to the policy of rival nations, which were sometimes heard from prominent members in the National councils. The report was a noble appeal to the Nation in behalf of a branch of the public economy, which had a limited though increasing number of ardent supporters, but of which the importance was not generally apprehended, and was even the subject of considerable misapprehension. It well-nigh exhausted the arguments in defense of manufactures, and its principles and logic have formed a common resource for later reasoning on the same subject. The remarkable forecast and appreciation of the merits of the subject displayed in guiding the legislative patronage into the channel of manufactures, at a time when public occurrences in Europe were about to lead enterprise and capital strongly in the direction of commerce, is the more conspicuous, inasmuch as the secretary's previous associations had been rather with the commercial than with the manufacturing classes. . . Many of the arguments, moreover, in favor of manufactures, which were novel then, are axioms now. We must, however, advert to the fact that he scouts as mischievous and erroneous the idea of conflicting interests between the northern and southern states. He says, 'Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the northern and southern regions of the Union are, in the main, as unfounded as they

* 'A History of American Manufactures, from 1608 to 1860.'

are mischievous. . . Mutual wants constitute one of the strongest links of political connection, and the extent of these bears a natural proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply. Suggestions of an opposite complexion are ever to be deplored as unfriendly to the steady pursuit of one great common cause and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.' The unity of interest is shown by reference to the demand which would be created in the north for raw materials, among which cotton, indigo, lead, coal, hemp, flax and wool were either peculiar to the south or produced there in greater abundance and of better quality. 'The extensive cultivation of cotton,' it is observed, 'can, perhaps, hardly be expected, but from the previous establishment of domestic manufactures of the article.'"

Not even a synopsis of Mr. Hamilton's extended and exhaustive report can be attempted here, but enough information can be gleaned therefrom to give, as it were, a bird's-eye view of the industrial condition of our country at that time. A number of productive coal mines were already being worked, while indications of an abundant supply of the fuel in other places were abundant. This abundance and the extensive means extant for the manufacture of charcoal had their effect on the iron business, and "proofs had been received that manufactories of iron, though generally understood to be extensive, were much more so than commonly supposed; several trades of which iron was the basis required but small capital; iron works were carried on more numerously and more advantageously than formerly; in the manufacture of steel considerable progress had been made, and some new enterprises on a more extensive scale had been lately set on foot." The demand for nails and spikes was already supplied by the home manufacture; implements of husbandry were made in several states, and could be made to supply the whole country; edge tools of different kinds were also made, and much hollow-ware, and although the business of casting was less perfect than might be wished, it was improving, and gave promise for the future. The making of fire-arms and other military weapons had been already commenced, and "only required a certain demand in order to supply the whole United States." Copper was one of the natural products of the country, and manufactures therefrom, including those of brass, were already of great extent and utility. Lead abounded, and could be made to supply more than the domestic demand. In the line of wood-working, "ships were nowhere built in greater perfection, and cabinet wares, generally, were made little, if at all, inferior to those of Europe." Tanneries were carried on "both as a regular business and as an in-



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cidental family manufacture." Grain was already made into various articles, and "next to flour, ardent spirits and malt liquors, of which the former were made extensively, and the latter to a considerable extent, were the principal manufactures of grain." Flax and hemp were extensively grown, and sail cloth already employed a flourishing factory at Boston, and several promising ones in other places. "Manufactures of cotton goods not long since established at Beverly, in Massachusetts, and at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island, and conducted with a perseverance corresponding with the patriotic motives which began them, seem to have overcome the first obstacles to success, producing corduroys, velverets, fustians and jeans, and other similar articles, of a quality which would bear a comparison with the like articles brought from Manchester. The one at Providence had the merit of being the first to introduce into the United States the celebrated cotton-mill, which not only furnishes materials for that manufactory itself, but for the supply of private families for household manufacture." Other enterprises of a like character, on a smaller scale, had been commenced in Connecticut, while some essays had been made in the printing and staining of cotton goods. Household manufactures in wools were "carried on to a very interesting extent; but the only branch which could be said to have acquired maturity was the making of hats. Hats of wool, and of wool and fur, were made in large quantities in different states, and materials only were wanting to render the manufacture equal to the demand. A promising essay toward the fabrication of cloths, cassimeres and other woolen goods is likewise going on at Hartford, in Connecticut. Specimens of the different kinds which are made, in the possession of the secretary, evince that these fabrics have attained a very considerable degree of perfection. Their quality certainly surpasses anything that could have been looked for in so short a time and under so great disadvantages, and conspires with the scantiness of the means which have been at the command of the directors to form the eulogium of that public spirit, perseverance and judgment which have been able to accomplish so much." Some attempts had been already made in the direction of silk. Stockings, handkerchiefs, buttons and ribbons were made, though as yet in small quantities. Glass was made in various sections; also gunpowder, paper and printed books. Refined sugar and chocolate were among the most extensive and prosperous of domestic productions.

The payment of bounties, as in the past, was recommended for the future, although their employment should be attended with great cau-

tion. The "additional duties to be laid should be appropriated in the first instance to replace all defalcations arising from an abolition diminution of duties pledged for the public debt. The surplus would serve: First, to constitute a fund for paying the bounties which shall have been decreed; secondly, to constitute a fund for the operations of a board to be established for promoting arts, agriculture, manufactures and commerce." The report was received with general satisfaction by the people whose interests its recommendations were intended to advance, while its publication in England was attended with much alarm in industrial circles. We are told on the authority of the "Address of the American Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufacturers," published on December 31, 1816, that meetings were called in various quarters, and in one gathering at Manchester, fifty thousand pounds were subscribed to be invested in English goods, for the purpose of overstocking the market, and thereby driving the home manufacturers out of the trade. The recommendations of the report were carried out to some degree by subsequent legislation, in an increase of the tariff duties.

A rapid glance may be taken, in passing, at some of the measures adopted or attempted during the remainder of the eighteenth century, for the development of the industrial interests of the country. In 1792 the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture was incorporated, and by judicious efforts in holding public exhibitions, offering rewards for the encouragement of agriculture and the arts, importing improved machinery as models, and collecting and disseminating information, had a material effect in the direction indicated. On April 1 of that year American manufactures were for the first time admitted into Great Britain. In March, 1793, the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts of the State of New York was incorporated, its object being in a direction similar to that of the Massachusetts society above mentioned. In the same year, committees of congress to whom had been referred certain petitions from the makers of cordage, twines, lines and packthread, and also from booksellers and printers of Philadelphia, reported that the former branch was "a most important manufacture in the United States, whether considered in reference to commerce and navigation, or the number of persons it employed; the exports of cordage were considerable, and would probably increase." They also reported that many large paper-mills were already running, and a number of others in course of construction. The completion of Whitney's cotton-gin gave a wonderful impetus to an industry already well advanced, and largely fixed cotton as one of the future

great staples of the south. The year 1794 saw the commencement of a line of packet-boats between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, thus opening a more certain and secure route to the frontier of the southwest than had yet been had. The first incorporated woolen company in Massachusetts erected a factory at the Falls of Parker river; while among the goods manufactured at Boston at this time were soap, candles, rum, loaf-sugar, cordage, duck twines and lines, cards, fish-hooks, combs, stained paper, stone-ware, glass and a variety of other articles. The town also possessed thirty distilleries, seven sugar refineries, a large sail-duck factory, several manufactories of cloth and wool cards, paper-hanging factories, a stone pottery, a foundry for iron and brass cannons, balls, stoves and hollow-ware, a chocolate mill, and mills for calico printing; while glass-making and the manufacture of hats had long been under way. This citation may serve as an illustration of the advance in other large cities. The first sewing thread ever made of cotton was produced at Pawtucket this year. In 1795 congress for the first time instituted a standing committee on commerce and manufactures, which remained thus constituted for the next twenty-four years, when there was a division of duties, each branch being assigned to a distinct committee. In 1796 the first successful attempt to manufacture sugar from the cane in Louisiana was made on a plantation a few miles above New Orleans. The manufacture of printing types was about this time permanently established at Philadelphia. New inventions, the added demands of opening markets, and the development of the country increased the productions of all classes of goods, and by the end of the century the American manufacturer was of far more importance and usefulness at home, and had won a greater respect and standing abroad, than even the most sanguine had expected when the struggling industries made one by one their demands upon public attention. Commerce had been so stimulated that we find that the total value of exports from the United States in the last year of the century was $78,665,522, of which $33,142,522 was the growth, produce or manufacture of the Union. The total value of the imports was estimated at $79,069,148. New York took the lead in the matter of imports, the other states following in the order named: Maryland, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, Vermont and New Jersey. The following miscellaneous figures will throw light upon the commercial condition of the country at the time: The average annual exports of flour from the United States during the last five years were 596,140

barrels; of potash, 4,627 tons; of pearlash, 2,024 tons; of tobacco, 74,100 hogsheads; of tar, 52,712 barrels; of pitch, 7,145 barrels; of resin, 9,802, and of turpentine, 43,696 barrels. The average yearly value of all domestic articles exported in the same period was $32,822,965. The total tonnage of every description belonging to the Union was 946,408 tons, of which 669,197 was registered tonnage engaged in the foreign trade; 220,904 enrolled in the coasting trade; and the balance was enrolled and licensed tonnage employed in the coasting trade and fisheries.

Congress still exercised a paternal care over the industrial interests of the country, and we find it on June 7, 1809, directing the secretary of the treasury to "prepare and report to this house at their next session a plan for the application of such means as are within the powers of congress, for the purpose of protecting and fostering the manufactures of the United States, together with a statement of the several manufacturing establishments which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them and the success with which they have been attended, and such other information as, in the opinion of the secretary, may be material in exhibiting a general view of the manufactures of the United States"—an inquiry that in scope and purpose was patterned after that so effectively made by Secretary Hamilton some years before. The present secretary, Mr. Gallatin, responded the following year in a document that, although admittedly incomplete and defective, contained much valuable information upon the subject suggested. It is learned therefrom that the manufactures carried on to an extent which might be considered adequate to the consumption of the United States, as the value of their products annually exported exceeded that of the foreign articles of the same general class annually imported, were as follows: Manufactures of wood, or of which wood was the principal material, leather and manufactures of leather; soap and tallow candles; spermaceti oil and candles; flaxseed oil, refined sugar, coarse earthenware, snuff, chocolate, hair-powder and mustard. The following branches were firmly established, supplying in several instances the greater, and in all a considerable part of the consumption of the United States, viz., iron and manufactures of iron; manufactures of cotton, wool and flax; hats, paper, printing types, printed books and playing cards; spirituous and malt liquors; several manufactures of hemp, gunpowder, window glass, jewelry and clocks; several manufactures of lead, straw bonnets and hats and wax candles. Favorable progress had also been made in the following branches: Paints and col-

ors, several preparations and medicinal drugs, salt, manufactures of copper and brass, japanned and plated ware, calico printing, queen's, and other earthen and glass wares, etc. The secretary was led by the information he had received to infer that the annual product of American manufactures exceeded one hundred and twenty million dollars. "The raw materials, provisions and other articles consumed by the manufacturers probably created a home market for agricultural products not very inferior to that which arose from foreign demand—a result more favorable than might have been expected from a view of the natural causes which impeded the introduction and progress of manufactures in the United States. . . The incidental support derived from duties on importations, the exemption from oppressive taxes and from those systems of internal restrictions and monopolies which impeded the freedom of labor in other countries, had also promoted the general prosperity of the United States, its agriculture, commerce and manufactures, and must give them a decided superiority over those less favored in that respect. The only powerful obstacle to the success of American manufactures was the vastly superior capital of the first manufacturing nation of Europe, which enabled her merchants to give long credits, to sell on small profits and to make occasional sacrifices." The information secured by the secretary, he declared, was not sufficient to enable him to submit, as asked for, the best plan calculated to protect and promote American manufactures; but the most obvious means were loans by the government, bounties and increased duties on importations. In accordance with suggestions in Mr. Gallatin's report, the census of 1810 was made to embrace an enumeration of manufacturing statistics for the United States, and although the work was poorly and unevenly done, and many points of desired information omitted altogether, there was much of value to be gleaned from the report. Under authority from congress, Mr. Gallatin submitted the results to Mr. Tench Coxe of Philadelphia, an expert, who completed in 1813 a series of well digested tables which give a very fair idea of the industrial condition of our country at the time of the taking of the enumeration. Two tables from Mr. Coxe's report seem necessary at this point:

First: a summary of the total values of the several branches of manufactures in the United States, exclusive of doubtful articles, according to the census of 1810:

1.	Goods manufactured by the loom, of cotton, wool, flax, hemp and silk, with stockings	$ 39,497,057
2.	Other goods of these five materials, spun	2,052,120
3.	Instruments and machinery manufactured, value $186,650, carding, fulling, and floor-cloth stamping by machinery, value $5,957,816.	6,144,466
4.	Hats of wool, fur, etc., and of mixtures of them	4,323,744
5.	Manufactures of iron	14,364,526
6.	Manufactures of gold, silver, set work, mixed metals, etc	2,483,912
7.	Manufactures of lead	325,560
8.	Soap, tallow candles, wax and spermaceti, spring oil and whale oil	1,766,292
9.	Manufactures of hides and skins	17,935,477
10.	Manufactures from seeds	858,509
11.	Grain, fruit and case liquors, distilled and fermented	16,528,207
12.	Dry manufactures from grain, exclusively of flour, meal, etc	75,766
13.	Manufactures of wood	5,554,708
14.	Manufactures of essences and oils, of and from wood	179,150
15.	Refined or manufactured sugars	1,415,724
16.	Manufactures of paper, pasteboard, cards, etc	1,939,285
17.	Manufactures of marble, stone and slate	462,115
18.	Glass manufactures	1,047,004
19.	Earthen manufactures	259,720
20.	Manufactures of tobacco	1,260,378
21.	Drugs, dyestuffs, paints, etc. and dyeing	500,382
22.	Cables and cordage	4,243,168
23.	Manufactures of hair	129,731
24.	Various and miscellaneous manufactures	4,347,601
	Total	$127,694,602

Considering all the reported details and a valuation of the manufactures which were omitted by the census enumerators or taken in an imperfect form, the amount above given was by Mr. Coxe extended to $172,762,676, exclusive of doubtful articles, which list embraced such manufactures as from their nature were closely allied to agriculture, such as cotton pressing, flour and meal, grain and saw-mills, horse-mills, barrels for packing, malt, pot and pearlashes, maple and cane sugar, molasses, resin, pitch, slates, bricks, tiles, saltpetre, indigo, hemp and hemp-mills, fisheries, wine, etc., altogether estimated at $25,850,795, making the aggregate value of the manufactures of every description in the United States in 1810 equal to $198,613,474.

The second table of Mr. Coxe gives "a summary of the respective value of manufactures in each of the states and territories of the United States in 1810, according to the returns of the marshals, and also as estimated exclusive of doubtful articles:

State.	Value as Returned.	Value as Estimated.
Maine	$ 2,137,781	$ 3,741,116
Massachusetts	17,516,423	21,895,528
New Hampshire	3,135,027	5,225,045
Vermont	4,325,824	5,407,280
Rhode Island	3,079,556	4,106,074
Connecticut	5,900,560	7,771,928
New York	14,569,136	25,370,289
New Jersey	4,703,063	7,054,594
Pennsylvania	32,089,130	33,691,111
Delaware	990,711	1,733,744
Maryland	6,553,597	11,468,794
Virginia	11,447,605	15,263,473
Ohio	1,987,370	2,894,290
Kentucky	4,120,683	6,181,024
North Carolina	5,323,322	6,653,152
East Tennessee	1,156,049	3,611,029
West Tennessee	1,552,225	
South Carolina	2,174,157	3,623,595
Georgia	2,743,863	3,658,481
Orleans Territory	814,905	1,222,357
Mississippi Territory	314,305	419,073
Louisiana Territory	34,657	200,000
Indiana Territory	196,532	300,000
Illinois Territory	71,703	120,000
Michigan Territory	37,018	50,000
Columbia, District	719,400	1,100,000
Total	$127,694,602	$172,762,676

The attention of the National government was not permitted to be long diverted from this great question of material prosperity, and in many ways was the notice of congress called thereto. In 1811 a well-signed petition was presented in behalf of the west, asking for a more decisive encouragement to the internal industries. The fostering care of the government appeared to them to have been "almost exclusively given to commerce and the fisheries by the immense sums expended in fortifications of the seaports, the establishment of a navy, expenditures occasioned by foreign intercourse, tonnage duties, bounties to fishermen, credits at the custom-house, etc." No objection was raised to these, but "while commerce had received an unnatural extension, manufactures had been left to struggle, almost unaided, with obstacles unknown to their foreign competitors." President Madison, in his first speech to the Twelfth congress, touched upon the subject in the following words: "Although other subjects will press upon your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the just and sound policy of securing to our manufactures the success they have attained and are still attaining under the impulse of causes not permanent, and to our navigation, the fair extent

of which it is at present abridged by the unequal regulations of foreign governments. Besides, the reasonableness of saving our manufactures from sacrifices a change of circumstances might bring on them, the National interest requires that, with respect to such articles as belong to our defense and our primary wants, we should not be left in unnecessary dependence on foreign supplies."

From information gleaned by the secretary of state, it is learned that up to this time—from 1790 to 1811—patents had been issued to the number of 1,613, or an average of seventy-seven during the twenty-one years.

The steady and even industrial growth of the country was now to be disturbed by war, the Embargo act of April 4, 1812, coming first, and afterwards that of ten days later prohibiting the exportation for ninety days of any specie, goods, wares or merchandise, under penalty of forfeiture and fine. War was declared against Great Britain on June 18, and in order that money might be raised to carry it on, a law was approved on July 1, adding 100 per cent. to the permanent duties then levied upon imports, with an additional 10 per cent. on goods imported in foreign vessels. This law was to continue in force until one year after the expiration of peace, but it was eventually continued to June, 1816. Prices immediately advanced, the war created new demands, and as a result, capital and energy were turned with renewed vigor to the increase of many lines of manufacture. Many new joint stock companies were formed, and while the causes that had produced this activity were in force, all enjoyed prosperity and found remuneration for their risk and outlay.

The treaty of Ghent was signed on December 24, 1814, and immediately ratified by both parties. On the tenth of February following, the President laid the facts before congress in a special message, in which he made use of the following words: "The most liberal policy toward other nations, if met by corresponding dispositions, will, in this respect (in relation to commerce), be found the most beneficial policy toward ourselves. But there is no subject that can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of congress than a consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence, and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States, during the period of the European wars. This source of National independence and wealth I anxiously recommend, therefore, to the prompt and constant guardianship of congress." In accordance with this recommendation, congress, on March 3, repealed the discriminating tonnage and other

duties, in favor of such foreign nations as should abolish similar restrictions against the United States.

It was not long before the manufacturers began to perceive with alarm that the special encouragement they had received during the war was to be of no more avail, and that a falling and restricted market and increased importations threatened their investments with a common ruin. "The privations experienced during the war," in the language of one historian, "had convinced many American statesmen of the impolicy of withholding adequate protection to the manufacturing classes. The remarkable spring given to manufacturers during the few years of non-intercourse and war, had clearly shown the capacity of the country for their most profitable extension. The development they had already received in various new branches and in the aggregate was quite remarkable, and their almost total subversion, as in former periods, through passive neglect, became a subject of just apprehension. . . . The great body of manufacturers, who had transferred millions of capital from other pursuits to manufacturing establishments, had already become alarmed at the effects upon their interests of the revival of manufactures abroad, which would follow the general pacification of Europe, and of the unrestrained influx of British goods upon a peace with England. Immense cargoes of foreign manufactures were already crowding the portals of the Nation before peace had thrown open the gates of commerce, and several petitions had gone up to congress to avert the danger which was impending." That there was danger indeed from the quarter indicated can be well understood from this fact: That such was the importation of foreign goods following the peace, that during the first nine months of the year under consideration, 1815, their value amounted to upwards of eighty-three millions; and for the fiscal year next ensuing, amounted to one hundred and fifty-five and a quarter of millions, of which value over one hundred millions worth paid *ad valorem* duties, about seven-tenths of the last named sums being in woolens and cottons. The duties which accrued during the year from imports, notwithstanding undervaluation, amounted to $36,306,022, a sum nearly equal to the total average value of domestic produce annually exported during the twelve years immediately preceding the war, which was $38,500,000.

The avowed purpose of the English merchants and those who were interested in the commercial supremacy of Great Britain was to break down beyond repair all chance of competition on part of the American manufacturers, even in their own home markets. And even so

eminent a statesman as Mr. Brougham agreed in the possibility of such results, declaring in parliament that "it was even worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportations, in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle these rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things"—a declaration as cool and open as it was characteristic of British pride, and the arrogance born of a long commercial supremacy.

The interests of American commerce and American manufactures were immediately set against each other, and the train of causes that led to activity for the one caused depression and threatened ruin to the other. The merchants, lured by the large profits made by the earliest importations after the conclusion of a peace—which, we are told, were sold at "clear profits of 15, 20 and 25 per cent., and, in some cases, as high as 40 and 50 per cent. on large sales"—were led to engage in still more extensive operations. New life seemed everywhere infused; the ship-yards were set to work; the banks discounted freely, and many were led to try their fortunes in the new source of National prosperity that seemed to have been so suddenly opened. "To a very large number of manufactures," says one authority,* "the enormous importations which burthened the warehouses of the merchants, and soon after fell greatly in price, were fraught with the most disastrous consequences. Many were compelled to close their factories, in which their whole capitals were invested. Many others who ventured to continue became in the end hopelessly bankrupt. Large numbers of workmen were compelled to seek support in other pursuits, to which they were unaccustomed. The revival of the foreign demand for raw cotton raised the price of uplands from thirteen cents in 1814 to twenty cents in the present, and twenty-seven cents in the following year, and thereby still further reduced the profits of that branch, already nearly overwhelmed with British and India cottons, sold at or below cost in their own markets. Peculiar circumstances alone postponed for a time the more severe distresses which ultimately overtook nearly all classes. One of the principal agencies by which our manufactures—that of cotton in particular—were enabled to survive the total ruin with which they were threatened, and eventually become thoroughly established, was the introduction of the power loom. Aided by that and other improved machines, the cotton manufacture of Great Britain had enabled her triumphantly to defend the liberties of Europe under the most onerous

* 'A History of American Manufactures,' Vol. II., page 212.

taxes throughout an exhausting war." The extent to which this interest had grown in America may be learned from the following, gleaned from a report made to congress by the committee on commerce and manufactures in 1816: The cotton manufacture employed in the year 1815 a capital of $40,000,000; 100,000 employés, with a pay roll of $15,000,000; cotton wool manufactured, 90,000 bales, or 27,000,000 pounds; yards of cotton of various kinds, 81,000,000; cost, at an average of thirty cents per yard, $24,000,000. The woolen manufacture was supposed to have invested in buildings, machinery, etc., $12,000,000; value of raw material consumed, $7,000,000; increase of value by manufacturing, $12,000,000; making the value of woolen goods manufactured annually, $19,000,000; number of persons employed constantly, 50,000; occasionally, 50,000; total, 100,000.

The condition of things outlined above was not allowed to go unnoticed by President Madison, who used, in his annual message sent to congress on December 5, 1815, the following language: "In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches that so many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency which justify the belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens, whose interests are now at stake, it will become, at an early day, not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for the public defense, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures, where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our own

agriculture, and consequently impart and insure to that great fund of National prosperity and independence an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded."

The attention of congress being thus officially directed to a matter of such important interest, supplementing the multitude of like or even more emphatically pronounced sentiments from the press, the people and bodies of manufacturers, steps of investigation and, if possible, of remedy were immediately taken. On February 13, 1816, Mr. Dallas, secretary of the treasury, transmitted to congress an elaborate report on the subject of a general tariff of duties, comprehending a view of its incidents upon the peace establishment, a statement of the general principles for reforming it, including the means of enforcement and a schedule of articles, with the rates of duty proposed for the consideration of congress. The secretary also set forth the claims of the manufactures to protection, "which owed their existence, particularly those which had been introduced during the restrictive system and the war, exclusively to the capital, skill, enterprise and industry of private citizens." Their preservation from the ruin to which they were exposed had become, he declared, "a consideration of general policy, to be resolved by a recollection of past embarrassments, by the certainty of an increased difficulty of reinstating, upon any emergency, the manufactures which should be allowed to perish and pass away, and by a just sense of the influence of domestic manufactures upon the wealth, power and independence of the government." Mr. Dallas confesses that he was not able to secure all the information desired, but from such as came to hand he was able to arrange the manufactures of America into the following classes:

1. Those which were firmly and permanently established, and which wholly or almost wholly supplied the demand for domestic use and consumption, embracing the following articles: cabinet-ware and all manufactures of wood; carriages of all descriptions; cables and cordage; hats of wool, fur, leather, chip or straw, and straw bonnets; iron castings, fire and side-arms; cannon, muskets, pistols; window glass; leather and all manufactures of leather, including saddles, bridles and harness; paper of every description, blank-books and printing types.

2. Manufactures which, being recently or partially established, do not at present supply the demand for domestic use and consumption, but which, with proper cultivation, are capable of being matured to the whole extent of the demand. These embraced cotton goods of the coarser kinds, woolen goods of the coarser kinds generally, an

some of the finer kinds; metal buttons, plated wares, iron manufactures of the larger kinds, shovels, spades, axes, hoes, scythes, etc.; nails, large and small; pewter, tin, copper and brass manufactures; alum, copperas, spirits, beer, ale and porter.

3. Manufactures which were so slightly cultivated as to leave the demand of the country wholly, or almost wholly, dependent upon foreign sources for a supply. These comprised cotton manufactures of the finer kinds, muslins, nankeen, chintzes, stained and printed cottons of all descriptions; linen of all descriptions, linen cambrics, lawns; hempen cloths, sail cloth, Russian and German linens; silk goods of all descriptions; woolen goods of many descriptions; worsted goods of all kinds, stuffs, camblets, blankets, carpets and carpeting; hosiery of all descriptions, including knit or woven gloves; hardware and ironmongery, excepting the large articles; cutlery, pins and needles; chinaware, earthenware, porcelain; glass of all descriptions, except window glass and phials.

It was the recommendation of the secretary that "duties amounting, wholly or nearly, to a prohibition of similar articles imported, might be laid upon the first class, and a well-directed legislative patronage would not only preserve the second class, but speedily raise them to the condition of the first class. The cost to the consumer would, in the first case, be kept down by competition, and in the second would not be necessarily increased. The inconvenience would be but temporary, while the future advantages to the Nation would be great, and particularly to the agriculturist, who would thereby find a ready market in his own neighborhood for his cotton, wool and produce." On the third class the duty could be arranged simply with reference to revenue. The tariff duty as proposed by the secretary was from 10 to 33⅓, and, in one case, 40 per cent. higher on all the principal articles of manufacture, forty-four in number, than the rates finally adopted. On cotton goods, which already paid 12½ per cent., he proposed 33½, which was reduced to 25 per cent. On china, pottery and glass other than window, it was reduced from 30 to 20 per cent., and hammered bar and bolt iron from seventy-five cents to forty-five cents per hundredweight.

Extended space is given to this epoch in the history of our manufactures, because it was a starting place for the various measures of protection that have made themselves a part of American legislation and history. On the twentieth of February congress entered upon a serious consideration of a tariff bill, presented by Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina, chairman of the committee on ways and

means. The primary object of that measure was the encouragement of domestic manufactures, especially of wool and cotton. An extended and able discussion followed, in which it was clearly shown that while there was a difference of opinion as to the degree of protection required, or that should be granted in the passage of a tariff law, there was little debate as to the need and propriety of such a law at that crisis. "Many regarded the faith of the government as involved in the support of manufactures, created by its restrictive measures and the war, and which had, to so great an extent, been the dependence of the country during that period. A portion of the commercial and landed interests, which had suffered from the causes that created and sustained manufactures, now felt themselves entitled to be relieved from all unnecessary burthens in support of an industry which had thriven during their embarrassments. They were disposed to limit the duties to such rates and duration as was compatible with the object which all were disposed to cherish." The tariff law as finally passed fell very much short of that full measure of protection which the extreme advocates thereof had hoped, and demanded as their right, but was accepted by all as an advance upon the permanent duties to which they were about to return. "Although upon the whole as much calculated to benefit the farming and planting interests, which had opposed it, as the manufacturing, it doubtless averted the speedy ruin which would otherwise have overtaken several branches, and probably destroyed the cotton manufacture altogether."

The immediate good effects, however, were not sufficient to prevent the distress which had already taken hold on the manufacturing classes. The distress of the laboring classes was very great and threatening to become even greater. The culmination of disasters came in 1819, brought about by the unchecked importation of foreign goods on a vitiated state of the National currency. "A general paralysis now fell upon all branches of industry," writes one historian of that day. "The distress became more general and severe than had ever been known, and but little alleviation was experienced for several years to come. The banks suffered for lack of specie. Bankruptcies overtook the mercantile and shipping interests, whose merchandise lay on their hands, and whose ships could neither be employed nor sold, save at ruinous losses. Rents and the value of real estate were enormously depreciated. Farms were mortgaged, or sold at one-half and one-third their value. Factories and workshops were everywhere closed. Manufacturers were forced to abandon extensive and flourishing establishments, reared as if by magic in the last few years, and

with their operatives and multitudes of handicraft workmen entered into competition with the cultivators of the soil, and swelled the products of agricultural labor, for which there was no longer a market. The suffering among manufacturers was more severe in Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania than elsewhere. The number of persons thrown out of employment since the peace was variously estimated at from forty to sixty thousand, and, with their families, the number deprived of support was computed at one hundred and sixty to two hundred and forty thousand. The cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh suffered extremely, and the western country generally participated in the common distress. The extent of the suffering throughout Pennsylvania was forcibly portrayed in the report of a committee of the legislature appointed to investigate its causes and to prepare remedies. A memorial was also presented to congress from the western part of the state, complaining that manufactures were in the last struggles of dissolution, estates were sacrificed, families ruined, agriculture was declining, internal trade was extinguished, capital was dormant and thousands were idle. In Rhode Island, New York and other manufacturing districts similar reductions of labor, and sacrifices of mills and property for a fraction of their original cost, were quite common, many establishments being entirely broken up." All this naturally raised once more the question of renewed protection, and petitions and memorials began to flow in upon congress from all directions. The duties on imports were, however, about as high as that body felt justified in going. But the secretary of the treasury, on the eighth of February, 1819, reported on the propriety of laying specific duties upon articles then charged *ad valorem*, and proposed a schedule of such articles, with specific rates attached, greatly higher than the existing *ad valorem* duties. The matter was held in abeyance until the assembling of congress in December, 1820, when it assumed such form that action of some form had to at least be attempted. On the twenty-seventh of August of the previous year a convention of the Friends of National Industry, composed of delegates from nine states, had been held in New York city to take into consideration the deplorable condition of the manufactures of the country, and to inform congress of that fact. Their memorial was presented soon after the reassembling above described, and consisted of three recommendations: to abolish credits on impost duties; to impose a restrictive duty on sales at auction, and to alter and increase the duties on imported goods. "The practice allowed by law of giving one or two years' credits on

imposts upon East India and China goods, and the perversion of the system of auction sales from its original intention, it was conceived, exerted a most injurious effect upon the fair American trader, upon the manufacturer and the community in general, by encouraging speculation and flooding the market with cheap but worthless fabrics of silk, woolen, cotton and other materials, manufactured in the East Indies and in Europe expressly for such sales, and which, by their high finish, concealed their flimsy texture until they reached the consumer." Memorials were also presented from the American Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures of New York, and other bodies, with those of a contrary or opposing nature from the agricultural and mercantile interests of various sections of the country. The views of the last named classes largely prevailed over the actions of congress, and a bill for a moderate increase of duties, although it passed the house, was defeated in the senate, and so the whole matter was for the time postponed.

The fourth census, taken in this year, showed that although some branches of industry, of which cotton was chief, were to a certain degree prosperous, with indications of a general improvement, large losses had occurred during several preceding years. Capital and machinery were lying idle in all parts of the country, or employed at meagre profits, in the hope of an early change for the better.

The discussion of the question of protection as applied to the interests of the manufacturing classes, and its effect upon all classes, continued one of paramount importance. President Monroe, in his message to congress in December, 1823, said: "Satisfied I am, whatever may be the abstract doctrine in favor of unrestricted commerce (provided all nations would concur in it, and it was not likely to be interrupted by war, which has never occurred, and cannot be expected), that there are other strong reasons applicable to our situation and relations with other countries, which impose on us obligations to cherish our manufactures." It was not until 1824 that the generally growing public sentiment in favor of a better protection for the still struggling class became effective through the instrumentality of the National law. A bill was introduced in congress on January 9 by Mr. Tod, chairman of the committee on manufactures, and taken up for serious consideration on February 10. The duties proposed, according to Mr. Tod's explanation, "were to be laid upon two distinct classes of articles, one embracing silks, linens, cutlery, spices and others of less importance, which were by no means necessaries, and did not interfere with any home production or manufacture for which

the country was prepared. Most of these were charged with the rates recommended by the secretary of the treasury, and chiefly for revenue and to supply the deficiency occasioned by checking the excessive importations of other articles. But the important duties in the bill were for the purpose of protection, and included those upon iron, hemp, lead, glass, wool and woolen goods."

The bill was freely debated, Henry Clay, who was then speaker of the house, making a most able speech in its behalf. He graphically pictured the prostrate condition of every branch of domestic industry, and traced the cause thereof, as that of the suffering of the working classes, to the foreign policy of the government, enunciating it as his belief that "the true remedy" for all these ills "was to be found in the abandonment of that policy and the adoption of a genuine American system of encouragement to domestic industry, in imitation of the prevailing policy of other nations, which had always promoted their prosperity and depressed our own." James Buchanan of Pennsylvania followed Mr. Clay upon the same side, confining himself chiefly to the shipping, tonnage and iron interests. The ablest speeches upon the other side were made by Daniel Webster, who represented the commercial and shipping interests, and opposed high duties on hemp and iron. Representatives of the cotton states were not slow in their denunciation of the whole idea of protection, being incited thereto by the openly declared belief that foreign nations would no longer take American cotton if America refused to take foreign manufactures. An ally of some significance was given the measure when the committee of agriculture in the house reported in its favor. The bill, with amendments, finally passed the house on April 16, by a vote of 107 to 102. Some modifications were made in the senate, in which the house concurred, and the measure became a law. An act was also passed at the same session of congress suspending the discriminating duties of tonnage and import, so far as they related to the vessels, produce or manufactures of the Netherlands, Prussia, Hanseatic cities, Norway, Sardinia and Russia, so long as the United States vessels were exempt from like discriminations in their ports, and authorizing the President to proclaim reciprocal exemption from such duties, on evidence that any foreign nation had abolished its discriminating duties on goods and vessels of the United States.

Considerable capital, from various causes, had been led to investment in the manufacture of woolen goods. But the very step taken to make that manufacture a success led to its injury. The advance in duties on woolen goods in the tariff act of 1824, from 25 to 33⅓

per cent., was followed on the part of Great Britain by a reduction of the duty upon foreign wool from sixpence to one penny per pound, and soon after to one half-penny, for the express purpose of enabling the British woolen manufacturer to send his goods into the United States at a reduced cost. "As a consequence of the combined foreign and domestic competition—increased in the former case by the great improvements in machinery—the low price of wool in Europe and the revulsion of 1825, which stimulated the exportation of woolens under the various devices employed for evading the duties and breaking down the American manufacturer, the woolen interests at this time, as well as the agricultural branches connected with them, found themselves suffering under the severest depression and unable to struggle with the various adverse influences by which they were surrounded. The amount of capital employed in woolen manufactures had increased since the peace from ten millions to fifty millions of dollars in the present year. A corresponding increase had taken place in the number of sheep raised and in the production of wool, which found a ready sale so long as the manufacturer was prosperous. But by the ruin of the woolen manufacturer or the suspension of the mills, which at this time threatened to become general, the farmer found himself without a domestic market for his wool or his breadstuffs, at the same time that he was deprived of a foreign market for his products." The matter was, of course, laid before congress with all the stress and emphasis of statement that the situation required, and on January 10, 1827, a bill was reported from the committee on manufactures, having for its object the special protection of that branch. It was freely discussed, and, although receiving almost enough votes to secure its passage, failed to become a law.

Steps were immediately taken to arouse the attention of the country and incite congress to action before this great industry should be swept into entire ruin. A convention was held in Harrisburgh on July 30, attended by the friends of domestic industry from thirteen northern and New England states, where the matter was fully and vigorously discussed. A memorial was drawn up and adopted, and, with a draft of a bill covering the points desired, was laid before congress at its next session; and so far advanced had public and congressional opinion become, that a new tariff law providing for a higher schedule of duties and more fully protecting the imperiled interests was eventually passed.

The public meetings and discussions which had been for some time going on had aroused the hostility of the planters of the south to a

degree that no tariff measure or proposal had yet evoked, and there commenced that long-protracted and often violent struggle which proved that slavery was not the only question to draw a line of sectional division between the north and the south. Upon the meeting of congress in the winter of 1827 an effort was made to get at the actual facts of the situation as a basis for future action, and consequently a resolution passed the house on December 31, authorizing the committee on manufactures "to send for and examine persons on oath, concerning the present condition of manufactures, and to report the minutes of such examination to the house." The committee went speedily to work, calling an array of prominent and well-informed witnesses to the stand, and obtaining a great deal of valuable and interesting information. With the evidence thus obtained at hand, the committee offered a bill prepared with special regard to the protection of the woolen manufacturer, the wool grower, the farmer and the manufacturer of iron, by encouraging the consumption of domestic materials in preference to foreign, and giving a home command of the home market. The bill was discussed and amended, and on April 21, 1828, it passed the house by a vote of 105 to 94, and was sent to the senate, where it was further amended and passed, and finally became a law on May 19. This measure was really the first that was regarded by the American manufacturers as really protective of their interests, and that it had such effect was soon apparent by the attitude of the south and of England. Threats of retaliation came freely from the latter, while in the former public meetings were held and resolutions adopted to abstain from the use of everything produced in the tariff states, and in some cases going even so far as to declare against all communication with them. The discussion and agitation were continued and took on a most violent tone, threatening, to some extent, the harmony and perpetuity of the Union. Remonstrances against the law poured in from the south, some of the state legislatures even going so far as to take official action—that of Georgia adopting a solemn protest and demanding the repeal of the measure as "fraudulent, oppressive, partial, unjust, and a perversion of the powers of the government." South Carolina soon afterwards followed with like action, denouncing the act as "unconstitutional, oppressive and unjust," but at the same time explaining its attitude as "a desire to live in peace with their brethren, to do all that in them lies to preserve and perpetuate the Union of the states." Like action was taken by the law-making powers of Virginia, Alabama and North Carolina. A meeting of merchants was also held in Boston,

and resolutions adopted in condemnation of the law. The matter was referred to in the annual message of President Adams, in the following words, referring to English legislation of a retaliatory nature: "Is the self-protecting energy of this Nation so helpless that there exists no power to counteract the bias of this foreign legislation; that the growers of grain must submit to this exclusion from the foreign markets of their produce, and the shippers must dismantle their ships; the trade of the north stagnate at the wharves and the manufacturers starve at their looms, while the whole people shall pay tribute to foreign industry to be clad in a foreign garb; that congress is impotent to restore the balance in favor of native industry, destroyed by the statutes of another realm? More just and more generous sentiments will, I trust, prevail.

"If the tariff adopted at the last session of congress shall be found by experience to bear oppressively upon the interests of any one section of the Union, it ought to be, and I cannot doubt will be, so modified as to alleviate its burdens. To the voice of just complaint from any portion of their constituents, the representatives of the states and the people will never turn away their ears. But so long as the duty of the foreign shall operate only as a bounty upon the domestic article, while the planter and the merchant and the shepherd and the husbandman shall be thriving in their occupations under the duties imposed for the protection of domestic manufactures, they will not repine at the prosperity shared with themselves by their fellow citizens of other professions, nor denounce as violations of the Constitution the deliberate acts of congress to shield from the wrongs of foreign laws the native industry of the Union."

The discussion of the momentous question still occupied the people, and President Jackson, in his first annual message to congress in December, 1829, felt constrained to refer to it in the following terms: "To regulate its conduct so as to promote equally the prosperity of these three cardinal interests (agriculture, commerce and manufactures) is one of the most difficult tasks of government; and it may be regretted that the contemplated restrictions which now embarrass the intercourse of nations could not by common consent be abolished, and commerce allowed to flow in those channels to which individual enterprise, always its surest guide, might direct it. But we must ever expect selfish legislation in other nations, and are therefore compelled to adapt our own to their regulations in the manner best calculated to avoid serious injury, and to harmonize the conflicting interests of our agriculture, our commerce and our man-

ufactures. Under these impressions, I invite your attention to the existing tariff, believing that some of its provisions require modification. The general rule to be applied in graduating the duties upon the articles of foreign growth or manufacture is that which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries; and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point are controlling in regard to those articles which are of primary necessity in time of war."

In the discussions that arose in congress and before the public during the early days of 1830, over the tariff and the power of the general government to expend money on internal inprovements, the doctrine of state sovereignty and of state governments to annul any act of congress which they might deem an encroachment upon their reserved rights, began to take on a distinctness of expression they had not assumed before. In his second annual message to congress, President Jackson, who, as the chosen head and leader of the almost all-powerful Democratic party of the period, may be considered as expressing many opinions beside his own, touched upon the matter in the following words: "The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several states. The right to adjust those duties, with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The states have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having entirely passed from the states, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power thus surrendered by the states must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of congress, the combined acquiescence of the states and the general understanding of the people. . . The effects of the present tariff are doubtless overrated. both in its evils and its

advantages. By one class of reasoners, the reduced price of cotton and other agricultural products is ascribed wholly to its influence, and by another, the reduced price of manufactured articles. The probability is that neither opinion approaches the truth, and that both are induced by that influence of interests and prejudices to which I have referred. The decrease of prices extends throughout the commercial world, embracing not only the raw material and the manufactured article but provisions and lands. The cause must therefore be deeper and more pervading than the tariff of the United States. . . The present tariff taxes some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high; it undertakes to protect interests too local and minute to justify a general exaction, and it also attempts to force some kinds of manufactures for which the country is not ripe."

The controversy, however, went on with increasing clamor. On September 30, 1831, an anti-tariff convention was held at Philadelphia, and continued its deliberations until October 7, two hundred delegates from fifteen states being present. The result was the adoption of a series of resolutions expressing attachment to the Constitution, and declaring that the then existing tariff laws of congress, so far as they went in the protection of manufactures, were a manifest violation of the true intent and spirit of the Constitution, inexpedient, unequal, oppressive and unjust—especially the act of May, 1828, which was "oppressive to agriculture, commerce and manufactures;" that a solemn appeal should be made to the people to unite in obtaining such a modification of the tariff as might be essential to all the important interests of the people, and calculated to quiet the fears and satisfy the reasonable demands of every section of the Union. An address to the people covering the same points was also adopted, and a committee appointed to draft a memorial to congress. The memorial was prepared, as directed, by Albert Gallatin, and presented to congress in February, 1832.

On October 26 of the same year, 1831, a convention of Friends of Domestic Industry, to adopt their own appellation, was held in New York, for the purpose "of taking into consideration what proceedings might be necessary for the support and further extension of the American system, as involved in the protection of the various pursuits of domestic industry." Five hundred delegates were present, representing the New England and Middle states, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio and the District of Columbia. The results of the deliberations of this strong tariff organization were as follows: The appointment of committees to prepare an address to the people of the United States

affirming the constitutionality of a tariff that would protect the interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures; to prepare a memorial to congress enforcing the propriety of continuing the protection of domestic industry, whatever reduction of duties might be expedient on articles not conflicting with that industry; to inquire and report upon the effect of the existing tariff upon the agriculture, manufactures, mechanic arts, internal trade and foreign commerce of the country; to inquire and report concerning evasions of the existing revenue laws; to consider and report, severally, upon the production and manufacture of iron and steel, sugar and molasses, and other branches more or less concerned in tariff legislation. The information obtained as the result of these two great and significant gatherings was laid before congress, and formed the source of added debate and discussion as to the proper policy that should be pursued. A step toward a modification of the tariff laws so as to do the maximum of good and the least possible harm to any, was taken on January 9, 1832, when Henry Clay, recently chosen to the senate, offered the following resolution: "That the duties on articles imported from foreign countries and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced in the United States ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties on wines and silks, and that they ought to be reduced; that the committee on finance report a bill accordingly." To this Mr. Hayne, representing the advanced free trade sentiment of South Carolina, moved an amendment to the effect that the duties be so reduced that the public revenue should be sufficient to defray the expenses of government according to their then existing scale, after the payment of the public debt, and that a gradual reduction of the high protecting duties take place until the rates should be equalized on all imports. This proposition, after long debate, was rejected. Other attempts at a change were made during the session, the leading one of which lay in a bill reported by Mr. Adams, chairman of the committee on manufactures, "to alter and amend the several acts relative to duties on imports." This measure, after some amendments, passed the house on June 28, and became a law on July 14. It was not, however, to take effect until the third of the following March. Additions of some two hundred articles were made to the free list, enlarging it to about two hundred and seventy articles, which included wool costing less than eight cents a pound, the teas of China and India, a majority of the productions of the tropics, many drugs, dyes, chemicals, etc. The duties on a large number of articles were decreased, while they were increased upon a few, such as china, stone-

and earthenware. But it still preserved the characteristics of a protective measure, and, on the whole, was satisfactory to few. The expressions of opposition and discontent in the south became more open and violent. A States Rights and Free Trade convention was held at Charleston, South Carolina, on the twenty-third of February (1832), at which it was decided to circulate among the people information as to the new theory of "nullification" as a "legitimate, peaceful and rightful remedy for all oppressive and dangerous violations of the Federal compact." In an address to the people the most direct and unmistakable language was employed. The tariff bills already passed or then pending before congress were pronounced as attempts to fasten the restrictive system upon the country, and to produce, in practical effect, "a steady, discriminating *duty* of 50 per cent. on southern, and a *bounty* of 50 per cent. on northern, industry." Therein was also this declaration: "The state looks to her sons to defend her, in whatever form she may choose to proclaim her purpose to *resist*."

Another convention was held at Columbia on the twenty-fourth of the following November, at which the famous ordinance was passed to nullify such acts of congress as the state did not care to accept. It declared that the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 were "unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers or citizens," etc. It was further declared unlawful for any authorities of the state or of the United States to enforce the payment of the duties within the limits of the states; and the legislature was instructed to pass such acts as would give full force to the ordinance. The action of the people was prompt, but that of the National government and President Jackson equally so. "Addresses were issued to the people of the states, calling upon them to prepare for the crisis; and to the people of the United States, explaining the causes of their hostile attitude to the general government. An act of replevin was promptly passed by the legislature, and an act to empower the governor to employ the naval and military force of the state, and to subject all officers of the state to a test oath, with a view of enforcing the ordinance. The plan of taxation, in which the convention declared itself willing to acquiesce 'in a liberal spirit of concession, provided they were met in due time, in a becoming spirit, by the states interested in manufactures,' was the 'whole list of protected articles should be imported free of all duty, and that the revenue derived from import duties should be raised



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exclusively upon the unprotected articles; or that whenever a duty is imposed upon protected duties imported, an excise duty shall be imposed upon all similar articles manufactured in the United States!' The impolitic measures proposed by South Carolina in case this spirit of 'concession' was not met by a tariff substantially uniform on all foreign imports and limited to a revenue standards called forth from President Jackson, on the tenth of December, a proclamation warning the authorities of the consequences of following the dictates of the convention, and of the course he would be compelled to pursue. Under instructions from the state legislature, then in session, a counter proclamation of open defiance was issued ten days after by Governor Hayne, the late senator, who was succeeded in the senatorship by Mr. Calhoun, the reputed parent of the doctrine of state sovereignty, and of its legitimate fruit, nullification and secession, the latter having resigned the vice-presidency of the United States to occupy the senatorship. The nullification measures of South Carolina were condemned by different legislative and other public assemblies of states, north and south, many of which were as much opposed to the tariff as herself. The energy of the Executive was effectual in maintaining the authority of the laws; and on the eighteenth of March of the ensuing year another state convention rescinded the nullification ordinance, but passed another to nullify what was called the Force bill, for the collection of duties on imports, approved March 3, 1833." So ended the first attempt at rebellion on the part of South Carolina; but the evil seed had been planted, only to bear bitter fruit at a later day.

The threats and discontent of the south were not without their direct effects. Because of them and of the means now securely in the treasury for paying the remainder of the National debt, the President, in 1833, recommended to congress a reduction of the tariff duties to a strictly revenue basis, declaring that the adjustment was "due in justice to the interests of the different states, and even to the preservation of the Union itself," and that "the protection afforded by existing laws to any branch of industry should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the National independence and safety in time of war." The committee on ways and means of the house, several days after the reception of the message, reported a bill "to reduce or otherwise alter the duties on imports." Its purpose was the repeal of the act of 1832, which had not

yet gone into effect, and provided for an annual revenue of fifteen million dollars. The rates proposed were from 10 to 20 per cent., with variations in special cases; restored the duties on tea and coffee, and were favorable to the iron, coal, tobacco and several other interests. The bill was, after debate, recommended to a committee of the whole, with instructions to report in its stead a bill which had been offered in the senate by Mr. Clay, which was on the following day passed by the house, by a vote of 119 to 85. This was the famous Compromise act upon which so much hope of conciliation and reconciliation between north and south was based. That was carried also in the senate, on March 1, by a vote of 29 to 16, and became a law. It provided that "where the duties upon imports exceeded 20 per cent. on the value thereof, there should be deducted, after the thirty-first of December (1833), one-tenth of the excess above 20 per cent., and that a like reduction of one-tenth should be made every second year until the thirty-first of December, 1841, when one-half of the residue of such excess should be deducted, and the remaining half after the thirtieth of June, 1842, from which time the duties upon imports were to be 20 per cent. The valuation was to be made at the port of entry, and the duties were to be paid in cash, the credit system being abolished. Coarse woolens, costing not over thirty-five cents a yard, which, by the act of 1832, were admitted as negro clothing, at 5 per cent. duty, by way of concession to the southern states, were restored to the duty of 50 per cent. with other woolens, subject to the deductions provided for. Linens, stuff goods and silks (except sewing, which paid 40 per cent.) were admitted free of duty after June, 1842, as was also a considerable list of articles, including many chemicals, dye-stuffs, tropical products and raw materials." The act, as a whole, was for the time a practicable abandonment of a discrimination in favor of domestic industry.

For several years after the passage of this act of compromise, there were few attempts made in the direction of a change in the tariff. The growth of the industries of the country was steady and sure, interrupted only by local and minor causes, and by the great financial panic of 1837. The stage to which they had advanced by 1840 may be gained from the National census report for that year, from the figures in which it was estimated that the capital invested in manufacture reached the sum of $267,726,579. The following brief table will give the aggregate of the statistics of manufactures in the United States on the first of June of the year named:

	Capital Invested.	Value Produced.
Bricks and lime		$ 9,736,945
Carriages and wagons	$ 5,551,632	10,897,887
Cotton	51,102,359	46,350,453
Chocolate		79,900
Confectionery		1,143,965
Cordage	2,465,577	4,078,306
Hardware and cutlery		6,451,967
Drugs, medicines, paints, dyes, etc	4,507,675	4,812,726
Earthenware	551,431	1,104,825
Flax	208,087	322,205
Furniture	6,989,971	7,555,405
Granite		2,442,950
Glass	2,084,100	2,890,293
Hats, caps and bonnets	4,485,300	10,180,847
Iron, cast and bar	20,432,131	484,136 tons.
Machinery		$10,980,581
Metals, precious		4,734,960
Metals, various		9,779,442
Mills, flour, grist, saw, oil, etc	65,858,470	7,404,562 bar'ls. $76,545,246
Musical instruments	734,370	923,924
Leather, tanneries, saddleries, etc	28,532,191	33,134,403
Liquor, distilled and fermented	9,147,368	64,670,357 gals.
Paper	4,745,239	$ 6,153,092
Powder	875,875	8,977,348 lbs.
Printing and binding	5,873,815	$ 7,016,094
Ships and vessels		119,814
Silk	4,643,365	6,545,503
Soap and candles	2,757,273	
Sugar refineries		3,250,700
Tobacco	3,437,191	5,819,568
Wool	15,765,124	20,696,999

From a careful and able summary of the report, which seems to have been marked by the great variety of omissions of facts that should have been gathered, we make the following general condensations: The production of cotton goods was then the leading branch of pure manufactures, giving employment to over seventy-two thousand persons and requiring a capital of over fifty-one millions of dollars. In a comparison with careful estimates made by a convention of manufacturers, of the extent of the cotton manufacture in twelve states, in 1831, the number of factories had increased from 795 to 1,240; the number of spindles from 1,246,503 to 2,284,631; and the value of the manufacture from twenty-six to upwards of forty-six millions. Our dependence on foreign manufactures was still shown by the annual importation, on an average, of the nineteen years preceding 1840, of upwards of ten millions worth of cotton goods of all kinds, in consequence of which many of the New England factories were about to close. Less prog-

ress had been made in the manufacture of woolens, but the capital invested exceeded fifteen millions of dollars, employing over twenty-one thousand persons and yielding a product valued at over twenty million dollars. The regular manufacture of silk had been attempted, although the chief products in that line consisted of sewing silk, fringes, tassels, gimps, coach lace and other trimmings. The annual value of silk manufactures imported was very heavy, amounting on an average of the twenty years preceding 1841 to about eight and three-quarters millions of dollars, and for the year 1839, including raw silk and one-half the value of silk and worsted, to nearly twenty-three million. The iron manufacture constituted one of the great industries of the country, which, though temporarily depressed at the time, in common with most branches of trade and commerce, showed a gratifying increase in the past ten years. The official returns showed a satisfactory increase in the last ten years, and also in the next few years a severe check to this industry. The number of iron furnaces returned in 1840 from twenty-five states was 804. They produced 286,903 tons of cast-iron, of which amount about one-fourth was made into hollow-ware, machinery, etc., and the remainder into wrought iron, of which the total quantity returned by 795 blomaries, forges and rolling-mills was 197,233 tons. The total value of the iron made in the United States in 1840 was upward of twenty-two and three-quarters millions of dollars. Including miners, the entire business employed upwards of 30,000 persons and a capital of nearly twenty and one-half millions of dollars. The country was already supplied, by domestic manufacture, with the common qualities of steel for all the coarser kinds of agricultural and mechanical implements. Common English blister-steel was altogether excluded by American competition, which had considerably reduced the price within twelve years. Steel had been made that would bear comparison, for the finer articles of hardware, with the Danamera steel from England. The whole demand of the country for leather was supplied by domestic tanneries, of which 8,229, returned in 1840, employed 26,018 persons, and turned out between seven and eight million sides of leather, valued, with the product of all other manufactories, at $33,134,403. Enough hats and caps were made for home use and a surplus left for exportation. The American flint glass rivaled in solidity and elegance that of foreign countries. The glass manufacture altogether, including window-glass, glass bottles, etc., employed 3,236 persons in eighty-one glass-houses and thirty-four glass cutting establishments, in which were

produced a value of nearly three million dollars. The manufacture of flint glass, which from 1824 to 1836 had rapidly increased, had gradually declined with the reduction of the duty and, consequently, of the price under the Compromise act. The materials consumed were almost wholly domestic and of large value. Of soaps and candles, the American manufacturers, beside supplying the home market, had, including spermaceti candles, over a million dollars worth to export. They produced nearly fifty million pounds of soap, eighteen million pounds of tallow candles and three million pounds of spermaceti and wax candles. Salt was made in nineteen states to the extent of 6,179,174 bushels, employing a capital of $6,999,045. Domestic hardware, which, only a few years before, could with difficulty be sold without foreign labels, was now firmly established in popular favor. The value of hardware and cutlery made annually was nearly six and a half million dollars. American axes were acknowledged to be of unrivaled excellence. The machines for making cut and wrought nails and spikes and wood screws had effected a great reduction in the price of those articles, and soon rendered the country independent of importations. The value of machinery made annually was nearly eleven millions of dollars. Pins were made to the value of about $100,000 annually. The value of gilt, metal, lasting and other buttons of all kinds annually made was about one and a half million dollars. In the manufacture of brass clocks the country had no rivals. "But while the clock-makers, hardware manufacturers and others," says the authority from which the above summary was taken,* "were extending their enterprises and opening new markets for their products, the financial condition of the country was far from prosperous. Money was steadily flowing to England and other foreign countries; credit at home and abroad was nearly annihilated; labor was depreciated, and the profits of farm products were nearly 50 per cent. less than had been obtained but a few years before. Cotton had fallen to 7 cents a pound; pork and beef to $8.00 a barrel; wheat to $1.25 a bushel, and hams, lard and butter to from 6 to 7½ cents a pound. Farmers and planters were unable to pay their debts, and sheriffs' sales were universal where stay laws had not been enacted to protect the debtor from his creditor. The imports for consumption, which, in 1833, amounted to eighty-eight millions, and within three years rose to one hundred and sixty-eight millions of dollars, declined again, in the three years ending in 1842, to eighty-eight millions. The consumption of

*'History of American Manufactures,' Vol. II., page 427.

imports *per capita* rose from $6.25 in 1833 to $10.93 in 1842; had fallen in 1842 to $4.87 and the next year to $4.20. Excessive inflation of the paper currency and a spirit of reckless speculation were a consequence of the enormous importations. The bank circulation of the country, following the fluctuations in imports, rose from eighty millions in 1833 to one hundred and forty-nine millions in 1837, but on the reduction of imports fell, in 1842, to less than eighty-four millions. Banks were consequently in a state of suspension, and the Federal government was driven to the use of an irredeemable paper currency, and even with that found itself so totally unable to meet the demands upon it, that the President himself was unable to obtain his salary at the treasury, and was forced to seek accommodation from the neighboring brokers. In this emergency congress, notwithstanding the compromise previously alluded to, passed the tariff act of 1842, which largely diminished the list of free goods and established an average charge of 33 per cent. upon those dutiable. The passage of this tariff recognizing protection to American industry was followed by effects which an able writer on political economy has styled almost magical." Let us borrow the words of that writer—Henry C. Carey—in illustration of the results: "How wonderful were the effects of the tariff of 1842 will be seen upon a perusal of the following brief statement of facts: In 1842 the quantity of iron produced in the country but little exceeded two hundred thousand tons; by 1846 it had grown to an amount exceeding eight hundred thousand tons. In 1842 the coal sent to market was but one million two hundred and fifty thousand tons; in 1847 it exceeded three millions. The cotton and woolen manufactures, and manufactures of every kind, indeed, grew with great rapidity, and thus was made everywhere a demand for food, cotton, wool, tobacco and all other products of the field, the consequences of which were seen in the fact that prices everywhere rose; that money became everywhere abundant; that farmers and property-holders generally were enabled to pay off their mortgages; that sheriffs' sales almost ceased, and that the rich ceased to be made richer at the expense of those who were poor."

A brief glance may be taken at the various tariff measures of the next two decades. The new administration that came into power in 1845—that of President Polk—after the commencement of war with Mexico, proposed three important measures in relation to the duties: To abandon the protective theory in favor of a revenue theory—that is, to reduce the rates of duty, to levy them *ad valorem* only, to make

the rates uniform, and to make them payable in cash; the warehouse system, to facilitate the carrying trade, and the independent reasury, by which the cash duties were to be collected in gold and tsilver only. On April 14, 1846, a bill was introduced from the committee on ways and means, which was intended to provide for an adjustment of the imports to such a point as would collect the largest revenue without checking the importation or the course of trade. The bill was accompanied by another measure known as the "Warehousing act," which provided for the payment of duties in cash, and that goods might be deposited in the public stores, subject to the order of the owner, for one year, upon the payment of duties; that goods in bond might be transported to any other port of entry, and other provisions that had for their purpose the facilitation of the operations of commerce. These measures once more opened a question that was supposed to be settled, but that never is settled; and although there was the widest diversity of opinion, there was little debate, as the arguments upon both sides had been so often advanced there was thought but little use to refer to them again. The laws were passed, and went into effect on December 1, 1846.

In his annual message in 1856, President Pierce called attention to the annual report of Mr. Guthrie, secretary of the treasury, in relation to the necessity of reducing the duties, as the revenues were largely in excess of the wants of the government; and thereto was added the argument that as all duties were a tax upon the people, they should be reduced when no longer required for the public service. He advised the placing of all materials that enter into manufactures, such as were free in Great Britain, upon the free list; and also salt as a necessity for the western provision packers. A tariff bill in accordance with these suggestions was accordingly prepared, and reported to the house on January 14, 1857. After considerable debate and some changes, a bill was finally passed practically embodying the ideas as at first set forth, to go into effect on July 1 of the same year. The immediate effect of this measure was to check importation in the spring, and to cause a great accumulation of merchandise in bond to be released after July 1. The important reduction from 100 per cent. to 30 per cent. on spirits caused a large quantity to arrive, and the failure of the Louisiana sugar crop in that year added very greatly to the effect of the reduction of the duty upon sugar from 30 to 24 per cent. The "elements of revulsion" began to manifest themselves with the operations of the tariff, in the first months of which the goods in warehouses were put upon the market. The money pres-

sure that followed came in aid of the designs of the projector of the tariff, in reducing the revenue, which fell from $63,875,905 in the last year of the tariff of 1846 to $41,780,621 in 1858. This decrease of the customs, added to that of the land sales under the reaction of speculation, carried the revenue far below the wants of the government. The necessity of providing the government with means for its existence brought up again the question of a revision of the tariff. The situation of public affairs had become such by 1860-1861, that when the committee on ways and means brought forward a bill for an advance, it passed with little debate or opposition. It restored the highest protective character of the tariff, replacing the *ad valorem* with complicated specific duties, and went into operation at such short notice as caused it to operate upon goods ordered under the old tariff. The necessities of the War of the Rebellion, and the policy of the Republican party that was in control of the general government from 1861 to 1885, kept the country under a high protective tariff, only to become once more an open question for the consideration of the Cleveland administration, under the necessity of disposing of the immense surplus that had accumulated.

The decade from 1840 to 1850 was one of considerable importance to our country in the mechanical line, which is evidenced by the fact that within that period 5,941 inventions were patented in the United States, among which were two of transcendent importance—the magnetic telegraph and the sewing machine. In 1850 our government determined for the first time to make an accurate report, if possible, of the condition of the productive industry of the country, including all establishments that produced over five hundred dollars a year. The attempt was successful in a large degree, and the fact revealed that the capital then invested in manufactures exceeded five hundred and fifty million dollars, and that the annual product had reached ten hundred and nineteen millions of dollars. New York held the first position in the amount produced, and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania came next. The following figures are taken from that report:

Number of establishments	123,025
Capital invested	$ 533,245,351
Cost of raw material	555,123,822
Male hands employed	731,137
Female hands employed	225,922
Value of products	$1,019,106,616

Great as was this production, it increased during the next ten years more than 86 per cent. The total value of the manufactures of the

United States for the year ending June 1, 1860, reached an aggregate value of nineteen hundred millions of dollars. To produce this large aggregate, it is stated that one million one hundred thousand men and two hundred and eighty-five thousand women were furnished employment. Over seventeen million dollars worth of agricultural implements were manufactured during the year; and if we add to that the value of the shovels, spades, forks, etc., made chiefly in the New England and Middle states, and the cotton gins made principally in the southern states, we would have a total of $20,831,904 as the annual value of implements and machinery manufactured for the agricultural classes, exclusive of wagons, carts, etc. The iron ore mined was 3,218,275 tons, valued at $2,182,667. Ninety-seven blomary forges made 51,290 tons of blooms, valued at $2,623,178; the pig-iron made in 286 furnaces, from 2,309,975 tons of ore, was 987,559 tons, valued at $20,870,120. In the making of bar, sheet and railroad iron 256 establishments, employing a capital of nearly twenty millions of dollars and upward of nineteen thousand hands, produced from 656,803 tons of blooms, pig and other iron ore, 509,084 tons of iron, worth $31,888,705. Iron castings of all kinds were made in 1412 establishments to the annual value of $36,132,033. The manufactures of machinery, steam-engines, etc., exclusive of various kinds of special machinery, employed 1173 establishments, with a total capital of thirty-three and a quarter millions of dollars, and upward of thirty-seven thousand persons employed. Nineteen locomotive shops, built in the year about four hundred and seventy engines, valued at nearly five million dollars. Sewing machines were made in 74 establishments, to the number of 111,263, to the value of four and a quarter million dollars. The increase in steel making, the production of coal, the making of cotton and woolen goods, carpets, men's clothing, the manufactures of leather, etc., had kept even with that of the departments already mentioned; and the abundant advance and prosperity of later years was already foreshadowed. It was also during the decade of 1850-60 that petroleum in Pennsylvania was discovered and a new and afterward gigantic industry added to the resources of our country.

Before glancing at the industries of America at a period succeeding the great War of the Rebellion, it will be well to refer more specifically to the growth and advance of the commercial condition and relations of our country.

In colonial times, it was the avowed purpose of Great Britain to make her possessions upon this side of the sea yield her all the revenue

possible, without regard to the growth or permanency of enterprises attempted by the colonists. The colonies were required to buy of her, with disregard of all competing markets, and were not allowed to engage in pursuits which should interfere with the profits of the English manufacturer. The infant commerce of the colonies had scarcely been attempted in the ships that could be so easily and cheaply built on this side of the sea, when a series of trade regulations were adopted by England, that she might monopolize that trade. In that celebrated act of Charles II., entitled "an act for the encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation," it was decreed that "from and after the first day of April, 1661, no sugars, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dyeing woods, of the growth, produce or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia or Africa, shall be shipped, carried, conveyed or transported from any of the said plantations to any land, island, territory, dominion, port or place whatsoever, other than to such other English plantations as do belong to his majesty"—a measure designed to secure to the English markets all the produce of the colonies. This restriction was followed in 1663 by another equally burdensome, in which it was declared that "no commodity of the growth, production or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into the British plantations but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales or Berwick-upon-Tweed, and in English built shipping, whereof the master and three-fourths of the crew are English."

The enforcement of such laws at that period was a matter of no small difficulty, and a great deal of outside trade was carried on with the American colonies, despite their enactment. Lumber, fish, meats, horses and other live stock, tobacco, flour and agricultural products found their way to the West Indies, in return for molasses, silver and gold—which latter were sent speedily to England, to pay for the commodities purchased there. When peace was declared with France in 1763, the whale-fishery developed rapidly, employing before 1775 more than a hundred and sixty vessels. The general commerce of the country grew, despite the trade acts and other forms of discrimination, all of which was narrowly watched upon the other side of the sea. When the Stamp act was passed in 1764, and another in the following year, declaring null and void all written instruments used in the colonies unless executed upon stamped paper or parchment charged with a duty by parliament, one of the forms of American opposition came in a general declaration that all importations from Great Britain should cease—a threat that was so well carried into effect

that the great influence of the English merchant was brought to bear upon his government, and in a year the obnoxious measures were stricken from the book. Yet another movement of the same character was attempted in 1767, when still another bill was introduced in the British parliament imposing duties on glass, pasteboard, paper, painters' colors and tea. It was made a law, and the response was pointed and emphatic. Various meetings of colonial merchants were held, in which resolutions were passed declaring against the importation of the goods mentioned, and also against all trade with those who should import them—a boycott under another name. Resolutions were also passed for the encouragement of home manufactures, glass and paper being specially mentioned. British exports to America fell off one-third, and the merchants in the home country were again heard with such effect as to cause the withdrawal of five-sixths of the duties, leaving but a nominal levy of threepence per pound on tea, as a declaration that parliament had a right to such tax, for now the question had struggled well out of the realm of commerce and had become one of politics.

Events moved forward rapidly, and as early as the tenth of September, 1774, we see a Continental congress sitting in Philadelphia, and passing a pledge, in the form of ringing resolutions which declare that "under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of country" there shall be, after first of the December following, the importation of no goods whatever from Great Britain or Ireland, or British goods from any place whatever; "not to import or purchase any slave imported, after that time, after which they would wholly discontinue the slave-trade; not to import or purchase East India tea; to suspend the non-exportation agreement until September 10, 1775; to request merchants as soon as possible to order their factors in Great Britain not to ship any goods to them on any pretense whatever; to use their utmost endeavors to improve the breed and increase the number of sheep by killing them as seldom as possible, and not exporting them, but selling them on moderate terms to their neighbors who might need them; to encourage frugality, economy and industry, and promote the agriculture and manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; to discontinue and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, shows, plays, etc.; to use on funeral occasions only a ribbon or a piece of crape on the arm for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and a necklace for ladies, and to discourage the giving of gloves, scarfs, etc., at funerals." The resolutions also recommended venders of goods not to take advantage of

the scarcity to ask more than they had been accustomed to; that goods imported after the first of December ought to be either reshipped or stored at the owner's risk until the non-importation agreements ceased, or be sold, and the owner reimbursed the first cost and charges, the profits to be devoted to the Boston sufferers. Committees should be chosen in each county, city and town to carry out these suggested measures of patriotic self-defense and protection and to report all violations or refusals. It was made the duty of the committee of correspondence to frequently inspect the custom-house, and inform each owner of the state thereof; that all the goods made in the country should be sold at reasonable rates, and that no trade, commercial dealings or intercourse of any character should be carried on with any colony or province that did not accept and live up to these agreements. The public patriotically accepted these many conditions, and lived up to them until after their efforts for freedom were crowned with success.

American commerce had naturally felt the effects of the war, and lay in a prostrate and nearly ruined condition at its conclusion. With peace came a removal on the part of England of all legal restraints upon trade with the United States, and, as a result, the sudden revival of trade was noted. During the first two years of peace the imports to this country amounted to thirty million dollars, while the exports equaled but one-third of that sum. Steps to reduce this balance in English favor were immediately taken. The British government had decreed that no produce should be imported into its domains except in English bottoms, and in retaliation the American congress enacted that foreign commerce should not be landed upon our shores except from American vessels. The result of these measures was a treaty between the two nations by which the ships of each were given all the commercial privileges allowed their own. The discrepancy between our imports and exports was so far remedied that by 1790 our exports amounted to upwards of twenty million dollars, while our imports were in the neighborhood of twenty-three millions.

The complications arising out of the wars of England and France and the American Embargo act injured our commerce to a great extent, and it was a long time in recovering. Before it had once secured a foothold that should be permanent, the War of 1812 intervened. "Agricultural produce, finding no outlet, accumulated in warehouses; ships lay idle at the wharves; property depreciated and credits became over-strained. Something like a panic ensued upon the declaration of peace; but general business soon recuperated, owing to the

improvement brought about by the escape of penned-up agricultural produce, the establishment of the Bank of the United States and the imposition of a tariff on the heavy importations that followed the war." The various causes found in the above and in other events of the period increased our domestic exports, kept the balance of trade very nearly even and induced a period of unusually quiet trade. The average exports of domestic produce for each of the years from 1821 to 1830, inclusive, were $53,610,502; the average foreign, $22,964,-383; total average export per year $76,574,885; average import, $79,863,340. The manner in which Great Britain succeeded, by peaceful and purely mercantile means, in making her ports a medium for exchange between the United States and such countries as trade with the latter, was one of the great commercial features of the era, and will bear extended relation here. "Inducements were held out," says one eminent authority—Kettell—"by facilities of entry, and advances on merchandise to attract thither the produce of all nations, because, under such circumstances, not only did British manufacturers have within their reach the raw materials of all manufactures, but trading vessels had in those ample warehouses every variety of goods to make up an assorted cargo for any voyage in the world, and make of them the medium of selling British goods. Thus all the new countries of America, Africa and Asia offered markets which would absorb small quantities of a great variety of articles, but a cargo of any one of them would glut them. To make a profitable voyage, therefore, a cargo should be composed of such a variety of wares as would sell to advantage. . . The English warehouse system sought to supply a want here by attracting into them all possible descriptions of tropical and other produce. A ship might then make up her cargo for any part of the world at the smallest average expense, and every cargo was sure to be completed with British manufactures. Under such circumstances they could compete with any other nation. The advantage was so manifest that American ships would go out in ballast to England, to fit them for Asiatic markets. It resulted from this that England continued to be the recipient of most American produce, not only for her own use but for export elsewhere. With her large capital she advanced on the produce and so controlled it, becoming the banker for the Americans. The nations of the continent, slowly recovering from the effects of the long wars, began to manufacture such articles as found sale in the United States, while they did not purchase largely in return. China furnished teas and silks, and got its pay by bills drawn against American credits in London. The

new Bank of the United States operated the credit, giving the China merchant a six months' bill on London, which he took in preference to silver, which he before remitted. These bills were paid out for the tea, and by the Hong-Kong merchant, who received them, were paid to the British East India merchant for opium or raw cotton. By the latter it was remitted to London, where it was met by funds already provided through the United States bank, by sales of American produce. This centralization of trade in England, however, became inconvenient. The American ships that now began to carry cotton, tobacco, rice and some breadstuff to Europe had thence no adequate return-freights, because those countries did not as yet offer a good supply of merchandise. Soon, however, there sprang up an increasing migration to the United States from Germany, across France *via* Havre; and these passengers became a desirable return-freight, causing a change in the model of the ships engaged in the trade. By this means the freight was reduced, or rather, the ship could carry out cotton cheaper, since she was no longer compelled to return empty. The result was, therefore, cheapened transportation, in the same manner that the modification of the navigation laws, enabling ships to carry cargoes both ways, had cheapened freight."

From 1830 to 1837 the rapid and, in many cases, unreal and fictitious development of the west created the "Era of land speculation" which disturbed commerce and industry, made fortunes for the fortunate few, and ruined the many. New towns sprang up on paper in all directions, and an immense amount of capital was invested in sections where much of it forever remained a dead loss, and only a part came back in the legitimate advance of later years. Agriculture was neglected, while cotton became almost the only product that continued to increase in yield and export. Food exports not only fell to nothing, but in 1836 this rich agricultural country was actually compelled to import wheat from Russia. The reduction of the tariff, as had been already shown, let in a flood of foreign goods, paralyzing the manufacturing industries and doing damage to all. The miasmatic condition of commerce and trade was largely dispelled by the grand financial panic of 1837, which revealed to the people the unhealthful financial atmosphere in which they were existing, and while it meant ruin to many, it was a needed tonic for the whole. "Like all such crises in this and other countries," writes Professor Albert S. Bolles, the eminent political economist of Boston university, "it took even the business men two or three years to fully understand how it came about, and the people even longer. At length it was realized

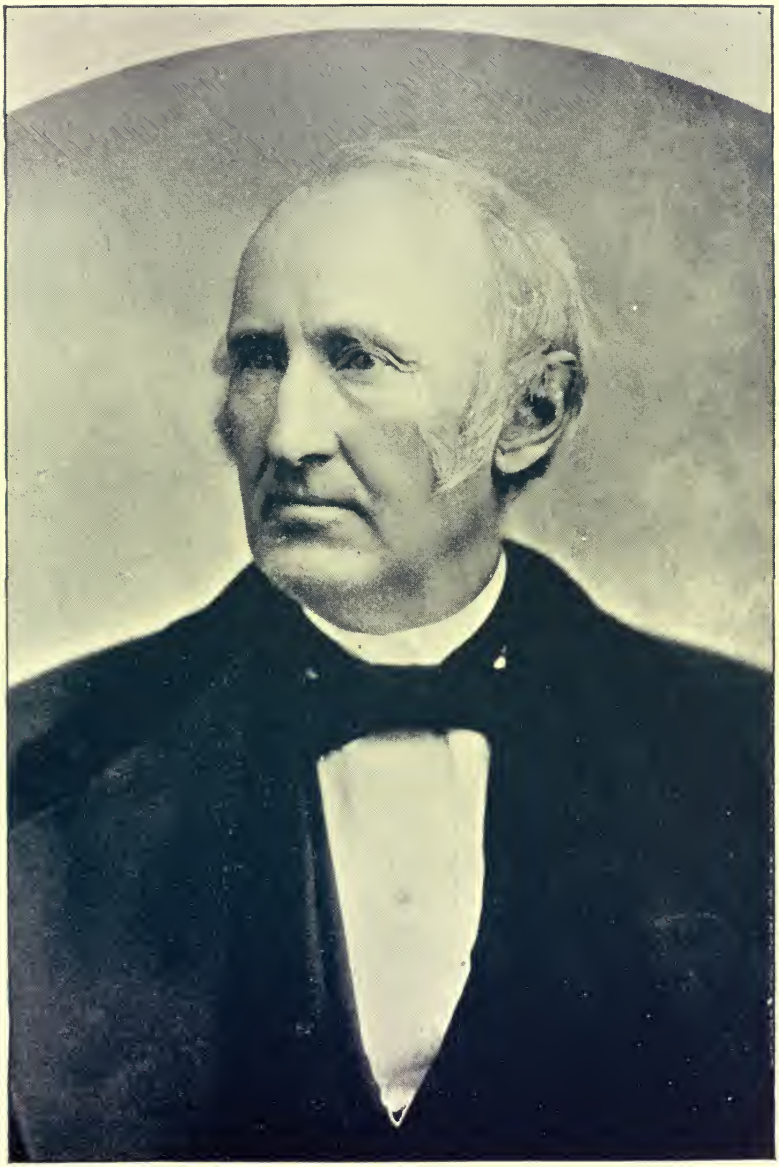
that while speculation in land or anything else, ample credits from home and foreign capitalists and plenty of bank-bills based upon credit gave a temporary and artificial prosperity to a nation, the only basis of real wealth was labor in the production of something to sell, and enough of it not only to supply our own consumption but also to send abroad to pay for what we bought there. Accordingly, personal and mercantile credits came to an end, individuals and merchants stopped running in debt and the country applied itself to productive industry. Our imports for the decade ending 1850 were slightly less than for the previous ten years, and our exports vastly more, and the balance of trade against us was cut down from $260,753,154 to $7,219,199 for the two periods. In the years 1813, 1821, 1825 and 1827, owing, in some cases, to abnormal influences, our exports had exceeded our imports, but only to a slight extent. In 1825 the excess was a little over three million dollars, which was more than in any of the other years here named. But in 1840 the country had so well mastered the teachings of the recent panic and hard times, that our exports exceeded our imports by twenty-five million dollars. We could not keep up this advantage, however. Thrice during the next decade did our exports exceed our imports; in 1842 the difference was $4,589,447; in 1844 it was $2,765,011, and in 1847 it was $12,102,984. Yet in the other years we ran behind enough to wipe this all out and remain $7,219,199 in debt to Europe, which, however, as we have already remarked, was a vast reduction compared with the previous ten years."

In 1846 the prohibition of the British government against the importation of American cattle and provisions was removed, while the duties on corn were reduced and finally abolished in 1849. The exportation of daily products, pork, beef, and grain began naturally to grow; and a powerful impetus was given in 1846 when the Irish famine made a demand unprecedented. American exports rose from one hundred and six million in 1841 to one hundred and fifty million in 1848. American produce was meanwhile securing a strong foothold on the other side of the sea, which it has since maintained.

The decade of 1850 to 1860 was one of remarkable prosperity in a commercial as it had been in an industrial direction, disturbed only by the financial crisis of 1857, the general effects of which upon our commerce was to somewhat diminish our exports and largely lessen our imports in the following year. The close of the decade saw the opening of the Civil war, which, although it made it unsafe to ship

goods under the American flag, did not prevent the shipping of American products on foreign bottoms. The whaling and fishery interests were greatly damaged, but the falling off in the line first named was due more to the discovery of oil in western Pennsylvania than to the danger from rebel cruisers. "The real harm done to commerce," says Professor Bolles, in connection with the quotation given above, "was the lessening of actual production and the impairment of our credit. The former effect was most marked in the stoppage of cotton culture and, consequently, of cotton exports. This is the principal explanation of the falling off of domestic exports. . . The capture of New Orleans opened up a small supply of the stored crop of 1860, which now began to find its way to market. The great bulk of the hidden cotton, though, was not obtained until 1865, and it figured in the exports of the following year. For four or five years after the war, cotton culture recuperated slowly; but since 1870 it has figured as prominently among our exports as before the war. The impairment of credit, and consequent high prices, lessened importation, but when the Rebellion was suppressed, confidence in the ability of American merchants to pay recovered and importation increased. The total dimensions of our trade from 1861 to 1865 inclusive was much less than from 1856 to 1860 inclusive, but the balance of trade was even more in our favor during the war period than during the corresponding interval before, so that the people of the country, in the capacity of private persons, more than paid Europe for what she sold us, by their labor. Two influences growing out of the war exerted a peculiarly stimulating effect on production, and so increased our trade immediately upon the termination of hostilities. One was the imposition of a heavy tariff on imports, which promoted manufacturing, and the other was the invention, manufacture and extensive use of labor-saving machinery for both agricultural and manufacturing purposes. These facilities were needed to replace the men called off by the army and navy. When the survivors came back, the new facilities enabled the country to hugely augment its production in all departments of industry. The effect was to greatly increase our export of food of all kinds, slightly increase our export of manufactures and lessen our importation of the latter."

The causes that lay behind the panics of 1837 and 1857 were largely the same as that preceding that of 1873—an over-production of manufactured goods, an increase of railroads beyond the needs of the country, speculation in oil lands, mining stocks and other means by which sudden riches were to be achieved, and an inflated paper cur-



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rency made to equal the demands of war times. As in other cases, the remarkable excess of imports over exports preceding the panic will be noted—in 1871 we exported fifty million more than we imported, and in 1872 we imported sixty-eight million more than we exported. When the immediate effects of the panic passed away, the country found itself on a firmer basis than before, and has enjoyed continuous prosperity and apparent financial safety from that day to the date of the present writing. The growth to which our manufacturing interests had attained rendered it necessary to seek new markets, and after the panic the large exportation of American goods to markets formerly occupied altogether by Europe was successfully attempted to India, China and the South American states. From a careful computation made by the New York *Times* in 1875, we take the following facts: "The value of our foreign exports can be expressed by nine figures; but the character of that branch of our commerce—the articles, quantities and values embraced—and its world-wide diffusiveness cannot fail to interest and instruct those not in the habit of making their own generalizations from confusing statistical tables. The entire value of merchandise exported from the United States during the last fiscal year, computed in National currency, was $693,039,054. The gold valuation of the same was $652,913,445, which is greater than the valuation of our foreign imports for the same period by over $57,000,000, and the balance of trade is consequently in our favor by that amount. Many of the articles enumerated in the list of exports which are grown or manufactured in the United States are also found in the list of articles imported from abroad. . . . As the United States furnish the principal market for the sale of British merchandise, so Great Britain and her dependencies offer the principal markets for our exported productions. We sent to the markets of that nation during the last fiscal year merchandise to the value of $440,945,870, which is nearly two-thirds of the entire value of all our exports for that period. Of that amount there was shipped direct to England $308,876,292, and to Ireland and Scotland $64,690,216. The value of merchandise received last year from Great Britain was $255,180,597 gold. Next to Great Britain, Germany is our best customer, $64,344,622 being our receipts for her purchases. To France and her dependencies we shipped $50,485,045 worth of merchandise, of which France received directly over $50,000,000 worth. Spain and her colonies paid us $33,505,495, of which there was from the mother country $11,643,715, and from Cuba $19,597,-981. To Belgium we sent merchandise valued at $20,197,515; to the

Netherlands, $15,156,309; Russia, $10,284,803; Italy, $8,378,666; Turkey, $2,549,493; Denmark, $2,430,791; Norway and Sweden, $2,385,088; China, $1,629,165; Japan, $1,808,107; Brazil, $7,562,-852; United States of Colombia, $5,123,845; Mexico, $4,073,679; Hayti, $4,265,686; Chili, $2,730,617; Peru, $2,518,494; Argentine Republic, $2,478,513; Venezuela, $2,384,133. The countries named are the largest markets for the sale and consumption of our products. The countries which purchased least from us are Greece, $32,668; Liberia, $123,463; San Domingo, $514,633, and the Sandwich islands, $623,280."

Returning once more to the manufacturing interests of our country, it will be possible in this connection to give only a few statistics from the census reports of 1870 and 1880, to show to what immense and far-reaching dimensions that branch of American industry has reached —figures that speak volumes of the advance made during the two decades above mentioned. The following are the totals for the year 1870:

Number of manufacturing establishments	252,148
Number of hands employed	2,053,996
Amount of capital invested*	$2,118,208,769
Amount of wages paid	775,584,343
Value of materials consumed	2,488,427,242
Value of products	4,232,325,442

The figures upon the same points of general information, as gleaned from the census report of 1880, are as follows:

Number of manufacturing establishments	253,852
Number of hands employed	2,738,895
Amount of capital invested	$2,790,272,606
Amount of wages paid	947,953,795
Value of materials consumed	3,396,823,549
Value of products	5,369,579,191

*In relation to that point, the census report says: "The census returns of capital invested in manufactures are entirely untrustworthy and delusive. . . The aggregate amount of capital invested in manufactures in the United States, as by the following tables, is $2,118,208,769. It is doubtful whether this sum represents one-fourth of the capital actually contributing to the annual gross product of $4,232,325,442."

THE UNITED STATES JUDICIARY.

BEFORE the establishment of the American Republic, the judges selected for the administration of justice in the English colonies upon this side of the sea were appointed by Great Britain. At first their term of service was limited only by "good behavior," which custom was abolished in 1761 because that government could not agree that the western dependencies should be recognized as possessing political rights equal to those admitted in the mother country. A short time after the retirement of Mr. Pitt in the year above named, the board of trade and plantations reported to the king that the system of appointments then in existence was subversive of all true policy, and tended to "lessen the just dependence of the colonies upon the government of the mother country." The idea met with the approval of the crown, and instructions were sent forth to all the colonial governments to grant no judicial commissions except "during pleasure." This made the judges the direct instruments of the king, the creatures of his caprice and the visible exponents of his power. This bold movement was not allowed to pass unchallenged by the sturdy men who were building their homes upon the western side of the sea, and we hear the assembly of New York declaring this as a step toward absolute despotism, and adding that while the new instructions held force there should be no money voted for salaries of the judges thus appointed. In a report of this action, made to the board of trade, the source of this vigorous opposition is traced to three "popular lawyers, educated in Connecticut, who had strongly imbibed the independent principles of that colony, and who calumniated the administration in every exercise of the prerogative and gained the applause of the mob by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people." This staunch and fearless trio consisted of William Livingston, afterwards governor of New Jersey; John Morin Scott, a leader among the Sons of Liberty in New York,

and William Smith, the historian. In 1762, in accordance with a recommendation of the board of trade, the plan of paying the judicial salaries from the royal quit-rents was adopted, which made the judiciary more than ever an instrument in the hands of the king, who instituted courts, named the judges, made removals and fixed the amount of salaries at his own free will and pleasure.

As to the forms of procedure and practice in colonial times, something should here be said, before passing on to the constitution of the courts under the new Republic. "Throughout colonial times," says Benjamin Vaughan Abbot, in his admirable essay on American jurisprudence, "it was understood that the administration of justice in the colonies was guided by the general laws and usages of England. Parliament claimed an authority over the colonies, which they repudiated, but it was never understood, even by advocates of parliamentary authority, that every act of parliament of general operation throughout England was necessarily of force in the colonies. At the outset, the existing laws and the established decisions in England formed a body of law which obtained authority by adoption in the English colonies, except so far as provisions of the charter or peculiar circumstances of the provincial situation prevented. This body of law was somewhat modified during colonial history by provincial laws, also by changes introduced by or adopted from new laws in England. The various colonies of English origin, therefore, possessed a common law composed of the English common law and statutes, and deducible from the reported decisions and authoritative text-books of English law, but varied in many of its applications to suit the circumstances or views of the American people. This has continued the basis of the jurisprudence of these communities since they have ripened into states. The Revolution, which repudiated the crown and parliament as the source of sovereign authority in the state, and accorded all allegiance to the people as the ultimate authors of civil government, did not repudiate or materially change the rules and methods of the law as then existing." Something as to the difference between those days and these, as to matters of practice, may also be interesting in this connection. Quoting from the same authority: "Contracts were enforced and personal wrongs redressed by courts of justice upon substantially the same general principles of what is right between man and man as now obtain; but how few were the occasions for judicial interference compared with what we now witness! How could there be any law of railway traffic, or of express and telegraph business, when there were no railroads, ex-

presses or telegraphs? Or many libel suits when there were so few newspapers? . . . The English law, as in force throughout the colonies generally, recognized and punished as crimes some things which have now ceased to be so regarded. Absence from church, apostasy and heresy were punishable. Witchcraft, prophesying, divination and sorcery in various forms were dealt with as crimes, upon the theory, now obsolete among jurists, that it was possible truth could be ascertained or real effects produced by human employment of supernatural or necromantic means; and so of 'multiplying the precious metals.' English laws, presumably in force in some of the colonies, punished some practices as being infringements of sound, honest trading which now pass unchallenged by any legal penalties—such as 'engrossing,' or the buying quantities of provisions by a speculator to enhance the market price; 'forestalling,' or hindering merchandise upon its way to market; and 'regrating,' or buying provisions within a market with intent to sell them within the same. So of exercising a trade without having served a due apprenticeship. Assembling in numbers to petition parliament was deemed in England to deserve criminal penalty; and a great variety of acts indirectly prejudicial to the stability of government were construed to come within the offense of treason."

When the British authority was deposed in the colonies, the control of the judiciary fell to the various states. In New York, Massachusetts and Maryland the appointment of judges, which had been held by the crown, was transferred to the governor and council, while in the other states it was lodged in the legislature. There was at that time no Federal judiciary, and congress was compelled to look to the state courts for even an interpretation of the articles of confederation; while in those articles the only declarations bearing upon the question of courts at all, are as follows:

"Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state."

"The United States, in congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts."

In accordance with the above permission, congress did, in 1781, establish courts for the trial of piracies and felonies on the high seas,

but there was no power for the enforcement of decisions in either case. This lack of sufficient judicial power that should extend throughout the states and to enforce Federal power was soon recognized as one of the inherent weaknesses of the confederation, and when the convention met for the formation of a constitution, there was little opposition to the creation of a judiciary system for the United States. The system that was introduced on May 29, 1787, as the "Virginia plan," proposed in its ninth resolution that "a National judiciary be established, to consist of one or more supreme tribunals and of inferior tribunals, to be chosen by the National legislature, to hold their offices during good behavior" and to have jurisdiction over all "questions which may involve the National peace and harmony." In a committee of the whole, held on June 4, the first clause, that a National judiciary be established, was passed in the affirmative, and by a declaration of June 13, the jurisdiction of Federal judges was limited to "cases which respect the collection of the National revenue, impeachments of any National officers, and questions which involve the National peace and harmony," the appointment of such judges to be given to the senate. On July 18 it was proposed to give the appointment to the Executive, with the advice and consent of the senate—as was finally decided upon—but the proposition was lost on July 21, when the judiciary resolution went unchanged to the committee of detail, except that in congress was to be vested the appointment of inferior judges. The report that came from this committee on August 6 did not in any essential degree change the jurisdiction or constitution of the judiciary, and it was not until the report of the committee of eleven on September 4, that the judiciary took its present form, the appointment of the judges being given to the President, with confirmation by the senate, and the power of trying impeachments being given to the senate. The question of jurisdiction had been previously settled, and was perfected by the committee on revision, appointed September 8. In their report it stands as finally adopted, and as it constitutes Article III. of the United States Constitution, as follows:

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and

equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crime shall have been committed, but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

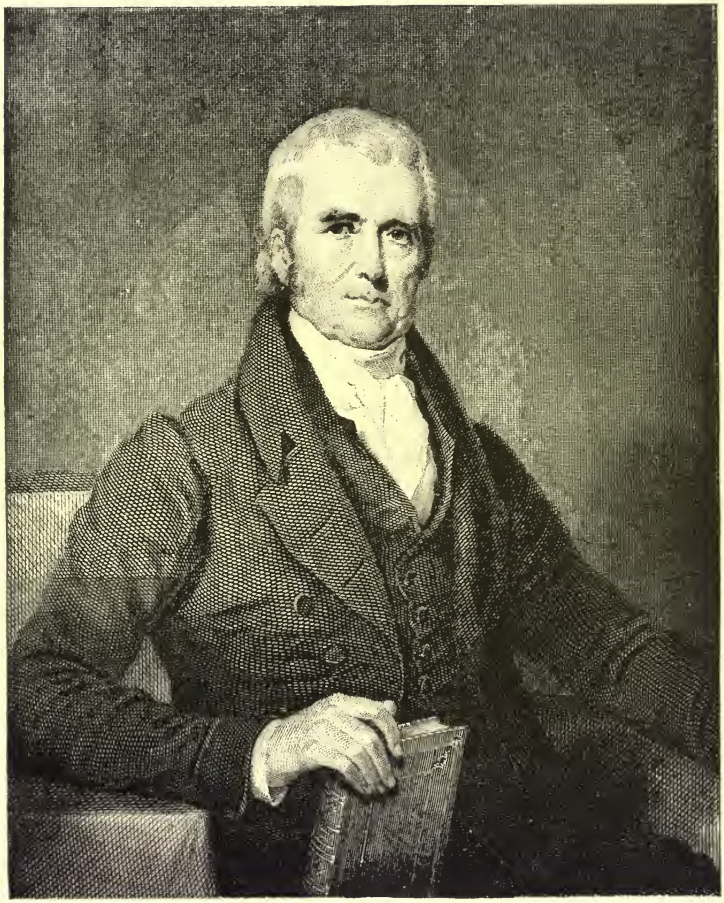
SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses of the same overt act, or on confession in open court. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainer of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained.

The following, constituting the Eleventh amendment to the Constitution, was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Third congress, on the fifth of September, 1794, and was declared in a message from the President to congress, dated the eighth of January, 1798, to have been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states:

ARTICLE XI. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

An interesting and learned statement of some of the consequences evolved from the declarations of the Constitution, as above given, has been made by an eminent authority, Alexander Johnston, and is hereby reproduced: "In the constitution of the Federal judiciary, two

points are to be specially noticed before considering its history and jurisdiction: 1. The supreme court itself was the only one which was imperatively called for by the Constitution; inferior courts were to be such as 'congress may from time to time ordain and establish,' but in all the courts the judges were to hold office during good behavior, and their salaries were not to be *diminished* during their continuance in office. Congress, by the Judiciary act of 1789, organized the district and circuit court system of inferior tribunals, from which scarcely any essential departure has since been made. The territorial courts are not a part of the judiciary contemplated by the Constitution, but are organized under the sovereign power of the Federal government over the territories; their judges, therefore, hold office for a term of four years. There are also consular courts, held by American consuls in foreign countries, such as Egypt and China, which have sometimes even acted as courts of probate; but these are entirely out of the scope of any constitutional view, and if defensible at all, can only be defended under the treaty power. 2. To create a judiciary and even to assign to it a jurisdiction did not seem sufficient to bind down the state courts which had hitherto been sole possessors of judicial power. The Constitution, therefore, further provides (in Article VI) that the Constitution, and the laws and treaties made by virtue of it, shall be 'the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' This, the most sweeping and energetic of the very few distinctly National features of the Constitution, seems hardly to have been taken at its full measure by the convention itself. There was no such provision in the Virginia or Nationalizing plan. It was first introduced in the Jersey plan June 15, and when brought up, June 27, by Luther Martin, then the most ultra of particularists, 'was agreed to *nem con.*' Nor was there any more opposition to the two slight changes, August 23 and 25, which brought the clause into exactly its present form. It seems to have been regarded mainly as a repetition of the *promise* of the states 'that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled,' which had been the only guarantee for the faithful observance of the articles of confederation. It would probably have amounted to no more than this but for the coincident creation of the Federal judiciary. The conjunction, accidental or purposed, of the two provisions had an effect that could hardly have been anticipated. By defining *law*, as well as the law courts, it vested in the Federal judiciary the power



JOHN MARSHALL.

to define the boundary line between Federal and state powers, and bound the states to acquiescence, when the consequences became apparent, and instant revulsion followed. Jefferson and the whole Democratic party at once denied the 'power of the Federal government thus to define its authority;' and on their accession to power in 1801, the 'supreme law' clause became a practical nullity until toward 1820, when the judiciary, under the lead of Chief-justice Marshall, again began its assertion. It met with renewed opposition, which was gradually weakened, until the close of the Rebellion left the 'supreme law' clause universally acknowledged."

The attention of congress, upon the ratification of the Constitution, was almost immediately turned toward the organization of the judiciary. On April 7, 1789, the day following the first permanent organization, a committee was appointed to prepare a bill for that purpose, and as a result of their labors, the first Judiciary act became law on September 24 of the same year. It provided for a supreme court to consist of "a chief-justice and five associate justices, to hold two sessions annually, in February and August, at the National capital; for district courts, each to cover within its jurisdiction a state or some defined part of a state; for circuit courts, each to cover within its jurisdiction several districts, to hold two courts annually in each circuit, and to be presided over by one of the supreme court justices and the district judge of the district; for a marshal and an attorney for each district; for an attorney-general of the United States, and for forms of writ and process." It is a renewed mark of the wisdom and practical knowledge of our early law-makers, that this system, patterned after no precedents, has proved itself so simple and yet so effective, that it remains in force to-day as to its main features and many of its details. The growth of the country, and the increase in the magnitude and importance of the interests involved, has caused the number of judges to be increased to nine—one chief-justice and eight associates—while a distinct class of circuit judges has been created. The territorial limits of the circuits have been variously modified, and the number of districts has been increased from fifteen to fifty-three.

The setting of this new machinery into operation was not, of course, accomplished without some friction, especially as the states which held tenaciously to their rights, as against those of the general government, were determined that the courts which held jurisdiction over them all should be kept within the strict limits of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The question almost immediately raised was

whether the circuit courts, presided over by supreme court justices, were "inferior courts," such as the Constitution had authorized congress to create. The doubt upon this point, and the discussion to which it led, resulted in the passage of an act on February 13, 1801, which organized a distinct class of circuit courts, with sixteen justices to preside over them. As the Federal party was in the ascendency, the appointees under this law, even to the clerks and inferior officers named under the law, were all taken from that party—a movement which naturally led the Democrats to believe and declare that the passage of the new law was not so much for the purpose of facilitating the administration of public justice and making the title of the courts clear under the Constitution, as a party scheme to provide life offices for a number of supporters of the dominant party, which now saw its hold upon public favor and patronage loosened. The story was widely circulated and generally believed that President Adams was kept busy until the last hour of the last day of his hold upon office, in signing commissions under this law, and the name "midnight judges" became a by-word and a term of reproach by which these new-made judges were greeted by the Democratic portion of the public. The question of removal of the obnoxious officials could hardly be maintained, as the declaration of the Constitution was against it; but the Democratic majority, now in control, concluded that were the courts abolished the judges would go likewise, and accordingly, on March 8, 1802, such a step was taken. The new courts were swept aside, and the old circuit court system was restored. An appeal was made to congress by those who had thus lost positions supposed to be secure for life, but no attention was paid to their plea. Under the Constitution, suits "between a state and citizens of another state" are placed within the jurisdiction of the supreme court; and suits were at once begun in that court against various states. In February, 1793, in the suit of a person against the state of Georgia, the supreme court decided that suits would lie against a state as against any other corporation. Georgia denied the right of any such decision and refused to appear, whereupon judgment was given for the plaintiff by default. Before any further steps could be taken, action was stopped by the adoption of the Eleventh amendment, already quoted. The jurisdiction of the court was thus limited to suits in which a state is plaintiff and a citizen or citizens of another state defendant. Another vexed question that arose in the early days of the National judiciary was that growing out of the last-hour appointments made by President Adams of certain justices of the peace for

the District of Columbia. President Jefferson, upon his accession to the Presidential office, refused to carry out and complete these appointments. An application was made to the supreme court to compel him to go forward in that direction, whereupon the court laid down the rule, to which it has since adhered, that "questions in their nature political, or which are by the Constitution and laws submitted to the Executive, can never be made in this court." By a careful observance of this cautious rule, the judicial has avoided unpleasant clashings with the other departments of the government.

Before looking at the history of the United States supreme court as such, a glance may be taken at some of the legal conditions holding in the various states in the early days of the Republic. When the Federal constitution was adopted, each of the thirteen states, with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were still operated under their charters, had made constitutions of their own. Georgia, which had adopted its constitution in 1777, had introduced some peculiar features. The legislature consisted of a single body; juries were made judges of both the law and the fact; no one could practice law except by special permission of the legislature, while the judges of the two higher courts were made elective by popular vote for terms of only one year, which was extended to three years in 1779. In Massachusetts, Maryland and New Hampshire the judges were appointed by the Executive. In New York and Pennsylvania appointments were made by the Executive and a council of appointment. In Delaware the duty was shared by the Executive and the legislature. In New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina the appointments were made by the legislature alone. The manner in which the National courts, the state courts and local courts work together in the same field, each independent, to a certain extent, of the other, but all joined together for one common end, has been thus fully but briefly stated by Mr. Abbot, above quoted: "The states have been divided by congress into judicial districts, of which there are now fifty-seven in all. Twenty of these districts are co-extensive each with one state. Fourteen states are divided each into two districts. Alabama, New York and Tennessee are each divided into three. For each district there is a district judge. The districts have also been allotted in circuits, of which there are nine, and for each circuit there is a circuit judge. These judges hold United States circuit and district courts at designated places throughout the states, systematic provision having been made for court-rooms, clerks, marshals and records, wholly independent of state legislation or control; so that everywhere individ-

uals concerned in controversies depending on National laws, or arising upon matters of maritime origin, or in which citizens of one state are pitted against those of another, may seek justice in a court of the Union, free, by its creation and surroundings and by all its precedents and traditions, from any undue influence or bias arising from differences among the states. To complete this statement of the National courts, it should be added that appropriate courts have been organized for the general administration of justice in the territories and the District of Columbia, throughout which the states cannot act; and a court of claims has been established for the determination of claims by citizens against the government of the Union. The organization of an appropriate system of tribunals in the various states is no less complete and thorough, though less easy to be described in brief. As to almost every state, it may be said that there is a supreme court, the judges of which separately visit various county-seats at stated times to hold jury trials, and afterwards meet and hold court together to review and correct the decisions made by each other upon their circuits. In New York, decisions of the supreme court may be reviewed in the court of appeals; but throughout the country generally the supreme court of each state is the highest court, and the decisions of the full bench of judges settle the law for that state upon all questions falling within the sphere of the state government. If the authority and powers of the National government are involved in the case, there is a mode by which it may be carried to the supreme court of the United States for final decision. For each of the counties into which the states are divided, there is, as a general rule, a court for the trial of suits, known as the court of common pleas, the county court, the circuit court for the county, or some similar name; also a court for the care of estates of deceased persons and superintendence of children and lunatics, and for other matters involving legal care of property without active lawsuits, which is differently styled court of probate, orphans' court, surrogates' court, and the like, in different states. One town in each county is designated by law as the county-seat where these county courts shall be held, and where all the judicial and public records of the law business arising in the county shall be preserved.

"The counties, again, are, except in some unsettled regions, divided into townships, and throughout these are justices of the peace, who have authority to try lawsuits involving small amounts, or founded upon minor wrongs. In many of the larger cities, where it has been found that the general system of justices of the peace and a county

court is not adequate to the judicial business of the place, additional courts for the city are established. Thus in New York, in Buffalo, in Cincinnati, in Indianapolis, there is a 'superior court;' in Brooklyn there is a 'city court;' and for similar reasons the justices of the peace are in some cities organized into quite a formal system of courts. For the trial of crimes there is, as a general rule, a similar arrangement. Petty offenses may be tried before a justice of the peace. For offenses of a higher but medium grade there is very often a court of sessions, or a criminal jurisdiction in the court of the county, or they are tried in a branch of the supreme court, sometimes bearing the old-fashioned name of oyer and terminer. We are so accustomed to hear allusions to these tribunals that their existence seems a matter of course. But in truth a great deal of organizing power and judicial and business ability have been required and displayed in establishing over so large a country so varied a chain of courts, coöperating in harmony to secure the administration of justice."

With the exception of the difficulties already enumerated, the National supreme court encountered little of a troublesome nature during the first three decades of its existence. The first great cause of trouble was removed by the adoption of the Eleventh amendment, and the court was careful thereafter to do little that should arouse the jealousy or opposition of the states. The War of 1812 and the questions growing out of it largely increased the feeling of nationalization, and the effect upon the judiciary could not but have been marked. The event which brought this feeling into clear light occurred in 1816. The twenty-fifth section of the act of 1789 had given a right of appeal to the supreme court from a final judgment of a state court in questions whose decision invalidated any law or treaty of the United States, or upholds a state law claimed to be repugnant to the Constitution, treaties or laws of the United States. In 1813 the Virginia court of appeals had refused to obey a mandate of the supreme court in an appeal of this kind, on the ground that no act of congress could, constitutionally, give any such right of appeal. The opinion of Judge Story, in the case of 1816, above referred to—Martin *vs.* Hunter's Lessee—upheld the constitutionality of the twenty-fifth section, and in so doing brought out for the first time to full view the "supreme law" clause of the Constitution with all its consequences—a view upheld with equal force by Judge Marshall in the case of Cohen *vs.* Virginia, in February, 1812. These, "and the almost cotemporary bank cases of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, in February, 1819, and Osborn *vs.* the Bank of the United States,

in February, 1824, roused immediate opposition. Their root doctrines were ably controverted by Judge Roane of Virginia, in a series of articles in the Richmond *Enquirer*, May 10 to July 13, 1821, over the signature 'Algernon Sidney;' were warmly dissented from by at least one of the supreme court justices; and organized opposition to them in several of the states was only checked by the overshadowing importance of the Missouri question. Nevertheless, the Federal judiciary swept on to the assumption of its full limits of power. In 1827, in the Ogden case, it overthrew the insolvency laws of the state; and in 1831 it brought the state of New York before it, at the suit of New Jersey, in order to decide a disputed question of boundary."* Some idea of the spirit with which this advance in the declaration of National power was received by the opposition can be gained from the following, taken from the *Democratic Review* of January, 1838: "Nearly every state of the Union in turn, has been brought up for sentence; Georgia, New Jersey, Virginia, New Hampshire, Vermont, Louisiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina (Delaware just escaped over Black-bird creek), all passed through the Caudine forks of a subjugation which has more than revived the suability of states. Beginning with Madison's case, there are nearly forty of these political fulminations from 1803 to 1834, viz., one each in 1806, 1812 and 1813, two in 1815, one in 1816, four in 1819, three in 1820, two in 1821, two in 1823, two in 1824, one in 1825, four in 1827, five in 1829, three in 1830, two in 1832, two in 1833, and one in 1834—a great fabric of judicial architecture as stupendous as the pyramids and as inexplicable."

Whatever undue development may have been feared in the direction indicated, it was checked somewhat in 1832 by the failure of the supreme court to compel obedience in the Cherokee case, and was still further arrested by the political revolution that occurred in the court itself during the period embraced by 1835 and 1837. The seats of two associate justices and of the chief-justice were, in that space of time, vacated by death or resignation, two new justiceships were created, and the various appointments made by two Democratic Presidents—Jackson and Van Buren—completely changed the complexion of the court in that regard. In 1845-6 three new vacancies occurred, which were also filled by Democratic appointments. The decision in the Dred Scott case, favoring the slave-holder and those who were afraid that the power of the National government was growing too great and too

* 'Cyclopedia of Political Science,' Volume II. page 649.

fully centralized, was still another evidence of the tendency of the court toward a conservative line of action. Yet this decision did not mean nullification or secession—the extreme of states rights doctrine—for, as it has been well said, "the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1861 found the National government divided in politics; congress and the President were Republican; the supreme court was unanimously Democratic, and two of its members, Catron and Wayne, were from the seceding states of Tennessee and Georgia respectively. Nevertheless, except in one instance, there was no sign of variance; the same court which had pronounced the Dred Scott decision unhesitatingly upheld the power of the National government to prosecute war against the Rebellion."

The circuits in the rebellious states were suspended during the war and afterwards, until 1867, when martial law had ceased to operate, for the reason stated by Chief-Justice Chase that "members of the supreme court could not properly hold any court, the proceedings or process of which was subject, in any degree, to military control." The supreme court also declined to consider appeals from the circuit courts that were held by certain district judges in the seceding states. The Reconstruction act that was introduced in congress in February, 1867, prohibited the granting of writs of *habeas corpus* in the insurrectionary states without permission from the military authorities in charge; but when passed in March it was minus that feature, but covered the same purpose by declaring that the punishment of violence and disorder should be by military commission. "As the process of reconstruction went on, its leaders began to entertain more misgivings as to the possible action of the supreme court. One McArdle, in Mississippi, had obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from a Federal circuit judge to the military commission which was trying him. The circuit court refusing to discharge him, he appealed to the supreme court, and it seemed likely that the fate of the whole scheme of reconstruction would be involved in the final decision of the court. An act of congress was therefore passed repealing that section of the act of February 5, 1867, which authorized such appeals in *habeas corpus* cases. The bill was vetoed March 25, 1868, and passed over the veto. A bill also passed the house to forbid a declaration of the unconstitutionality of any act of congress by the supreme court, unless two-thirds of the justices should concur; but it failed in the senate. The misgivings of congressional leaders had been unfounded. In December, 1868, the court fully sustained reconstruction by congress in the case of Texas *vs.* White. It was already becoming Republican in its

sympathies by new appointments. In December, 1869, there was still some doubt as to the political leanings of the court. It then decided against the constitutionality of the action of congress in 1862, in giving a legal tender character to the paper currency; but in March following, a new judgeship having been created by law, and another new judge having been appointed to fill a vacancy, the legal tender question was again introduced, and the previous decision was reversed by the votes of the two new judges. In 1873, in the slaughter-house cases, the court began its construction of the war amendments, and upheld the validity of congressional action under them."

The character of the men who have sat upon the supreme bench of the United States has been such as to raise it and its decisions to the highest point in the public confidence and respect; and through the long and troubled history of America, and amid all the varied and important interests that have been under consideration by the National judiciary, no taint of suspicion of any character has been laid upon a justice of the supreme court. The immense power which is lodged in the hands of that body has been uniformly used with discretion and care, and with as little evidence of personal or political bias as is possible for human kind to exhibit. The men who have held the office of chief-justice were, as a general thing, active in politics before entering upon the administration of their great trust, but dropped their partisanship in putting on the judicial ermine. As to the opportunity of power open to the court, it has been well said that "those of the supreme court cannot be paralleled or approached by those of any other judicial body which has ever existed. The imagination of a lawyer of earlier times could hardly have soared to the ideal of a court empowered to wipe out at a touch the legislation not only of great states like New York, equal in population and wealth to at least a kingdom of the second class, but even of that which is now the most powerful republic, and will very soon be the most powerful nation of the world. And the powers of the court are not based on its overmastering force, for it has always carefully avoided the use or even the suggestion of force. Its controlling influence, nevertheless, is firmly established, though very charily used. Congress and the President would resort to almost any expedient rather than have the supreme court formally pronounce against them. A law which this court has finally declared unconstitutional can be disobeyed or set at defiance with impunity all over the country, for no other court would allow a conviction under it; and, apart from both these considerations, the popular reverence for the court's wisdom and discretion is so



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deeply fixed that its final decision has been sufficient, as in the case of the general election law in 1879, to control even the passionate feeling of a great National party."

The chief-justices of the United States, with the dates of their appointments, have been as follows:

John Jay of New York, September 26, 1789.
John Rutledge of South Carolina, July 1, 1795 (rejected).
William Cushing of Massachusetts, January 27, 1796 (declined).
Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, March 4, 1796.
John Jay of New York, December 19, 1800 (declined).
John Marshall of Virginia, January 31, 1801.
Roger Brooke Taney of Maryland, March 15, 1836.
Salmon Portland Chase of Ohio, December 6, 1864.
Morrison R. Waite of Ohio, January 21, 1874.
Mellville W. Fuller of Illinois, April 30, 1888.

The first associate justices of that court were appointed on September 26, 1789, and were as follows:

John Rutledge of South Carolina, William Cushing of Massachusetts, John Blair of Virginia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and Robert H. Harrison of Maryland.

Among the most prominent of the associate justices who have been members of that court, the following eminent lawyers may be named:

William Patterson of New Jersey, 1793-1806.
Samuel Chase of Maryland, 1796-1811.
Bushrod Washington of Virginia, 1798-1829.
William Johnson of South Carolina, 1804-1834.
Thomas Todd of Kentucky, 1807-1826.
Brockbolst Livingston of New York, 1806-1823.
Joseph Story of Massachusetts, 1811-1845.
Gabriel Duval of Maryland, 1811-1836.
Smith Thompson of New York, 1823-1843.
John McLain of Ohio, 1829-1861.
Henry Baldwin of Pennsylvania, 1830-1844.
James M. Wayne of Georgia, 1835-1867.
Phillip P. Barbour of Virginia, 1836-1841.
John Catron of Tennessee, 1837-1865.
Peter V. Daniel of Virginia, 1840-1860.
Samuel Wilson of New York, 1845-1872.
Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, 1846-1851.
Robert C. Grier of Pennsylvania, 1846-1869.
Benjamin R. Curtis of Massachusetts, 1851-1857.

Nathan Clifford of Maine, 1858-1882.
David Davis of Illinois, 1862-1877.
Noah H. Swayne of Ohio, 1862-1881.

The original jurisdiction of the United States supreme court, as defined in Article III of the Constitution, covered but two cases in which suits could have a beginning in it—those affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state should be a party. Under the Eleventh amendment, as already described, the state can only be a party as plaintiff; but the power to issue writs of error to state courts often brings a state as defendant before the supreme National tribunal. The Judiciary act, passed in 1789, endeavored to add to the original jurisdiction of the court in the issuing of writs of mandamus, but by a decision of the court itself, it was found that congress was not constitutionally empowered to make that extension. In the matter of appellate jurisdiction, the original jurisdiction of the circuit and district courts is necessarily covered, whose cases come into the supreme court on appeal. This includes "all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; controversies to which the United States shall be a party; controversies between citizens of different states, and between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states;" and Federal questions, or "all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority." It was also provided by the act of 1789 what admiralty jurisdiction should be given to the inferior courts, which was for a long time held as extending no further than the ebb and flow of the tide. The following digest of this branch of the history of our National judiciary gives a great deal of information in brief space: "The growth of inland navigation began to suggest the idea that the admiralty jurisdiction should properly extend to navigable rivers and lakes also. In 1825, in the case of the steamboat *Thomas Jefferson*, the supreme court, following English definitions, declined to assume any inland admiralty jurisdiction. The act of congress of February 26, 1845, gave such jurisdiction, in cases of tort and contract, in the case of vessels of more than twenty tons engaged in commerce on lakes and navigable waters between different states or with a foreign nation. In 1851, in the case of the Genesee chief, the court upheld the act and Federal courts at once proceeded to act under it. Since that time, however, the court has swerved toward the opinion that the admiralty jurisdiction had never been limited to the ebb and flow of the tide; that neither the act of 1789 nor that of

1845 was intended as a restraining act; and that inland maritime jurisdiction is fully conferred by the Constitution itself. This has been the fixed doctrine of the court since 1866-8. The idea that the Federal courts possessed a common law criminal jurisdiction was held by the first corps of supreme court justices, and was not formally disavowed for many years. Since 1810 the criminal jurisdiction of the judiciary has been limited to offenses against acts passed under such powers of congress as those to lay and collect taxes, etc., to regulate commerce, to punish counterfeiting and felonies committed on the high seas, and to govern the territories. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which gave congress power to enforce them by appropriate legislation, have enlarged the criminal jurisdiction of the judiciary also. Circuit courts: the original jurisdiction of these courts comes under the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court. From the final decision of the circuit court, when the matter in dispute exceeds the value of five thousand dollars, an appeal lies to the supreme court. The amount was two thousand dollars until May 1, 1875, when it was increased by the act of February 16, 1875. Patent and revenue cases are not limited as to the amount involved."

The number of associate justices as originally arranged was five. In 1807 this number was increased to six; in 1837 to eight; in 1863 to nine; decreased in 1865 to eight, and to seven in 1867; and increased to eight in 1870. Besides these associate justices, who, with the district judges, were to hold circuit courts, there is now a distinct class of circuit judges, nine in number. Court in each district may be held by the associate justice alone, by the circuit judge alone, by the two together or by either one with the district judge. Though the territorial courts are not, in a strict sense of the word, a part of the Federal judiciary as contemplated in the Constitution, an appeal can be taken from them to the supreme court.

During the progress of National events, a number of changes in connection with the judiciary have been proposed. On March 1, 1805, John Randolph offered the following amendment to the Constitution: "The judges of the supreme court and all other courts of the United States shall be removed by the President, on the joint address of both houses of congress requesting the same, anything in the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding." The measure was postponed to the following session, was again introduced February 24, 1806, but never came to a final vote. It was reintroduced January 29, 1811, by Mr. Wright of Maryland, but the house declined to consider it. Mr. Sanford of New York advanced it still

once more in the senate on March 18, 1816, but it met with little support. On January 14, 1822, Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky offered the following proposed amendment: "That in all controversies where the judicial power of the United States shall be so construed as to extend to any case in law or equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States or treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, and to which a state shall be a party, and in all controversies in which a state may desire to become a party, in consequence of having the constitution or laws of such state questioned, the senate of the United States shall have appellate jurisdiction." The proposition never went so far as to receive a test vote. The proposition was made in 1831 and again in 1835 to so amend the Constitution as to limit the term of office of the Federal judges, but in the first case it was voted down, while in the second it was not even considered.

Of the changes in the membership of the supreme court that have occurred of recent date, the following are of the most importance: On December 6, 1887, President Cleveland filled the first vacancy in the court that occurred in his administration, by the appointment to the office of associate justice of L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, who was then holding the office of secretary of the interior in the Cleveland cabinet. Although a Democrat, he was confirmed, after some delay, by the Republican senate, and took his seat. Upon the death of Chief-Justice Morrison R. Waite (noted at length on page 465 of this volume), on the morning of March 23, 1888, there were many able men proposed for the place; but the President kept his counsel, and finally made his choice for that eminent office by naming Melville W. Fuller, a prominent member of the Chicago bar, whose record is fully given elsewhere (page 494 of this volume). This nomination was made on April 30, 1888, and, after some delay at the hands of the Republican senate, was confirmed on July 30, and on October 8 he was sworn into office and took his seat. The appointment gave general satisfaction to the American bar and to the people, and the new chief-justice was recognized as one fully able, by learning and ability, to discharge the duties of the high position to which he had been called.

EMINENT AMERICANS.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

NO more honored name than that of Adams appears in American history, and certainly no family line has produced a larger number of illustrious sons, who have given their services and their genius to public affairs; and in every case their espousal of any cause has been upon the side of right and that the good fortunes of their country might be promoted. While it was given to two of that name to reach the highest office of our government, a service equal to any performed by them and a career of extended and eminent usefulness was reserved for the patriot and leader among men, whose name is discovered above. Later generations have so willingly and zealously searched the past, that history has come at last to assign to Samuel Adams a part in the making of our Nation hardly surpassed by that of any one individual connected with those stirring scenes and days of heroic achievement. He was born in Boston on September 27, 1722, of a family known even then as eminent in colonial affairs, and was reared under the severe yet loving direction of a mother, who instilled into his young mind a love for those principles of virtue upon which her whole life was laid. From the earliest days of boyhood he was an attentive listener to the discussions that were going on about him during that long period in which the colonies were being unconsciously prepared for the bold stand and brave struggle of later days; and that these lessons were treasured and bore fruit in after time, the rich legacy of his life to the cause of the people abundantly attests. At the age of fourteen he entered Harvard, and graduated four years later. While his father had intended him for the ministry, his natural

bent of mind suggested another direction, and that desire was given up when the time arrived in which he should make personal choice of a career. While his whole soul was given to the discussion of political questions, his time was somewhat devoted to business, as partner of his father in the malt-house conducted by the latter in Boston. He early became interested in politics, which finally became the chief interest of his life. He entered public life as an opponent to parliamentary authority as opposed to the rights of the citizens. This bias of mind was discovered at an early period, his thesis upon taking his degree of A. M. being "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?"—a question answered by him in the affirmative. As his business ventures were not successful, he became tax collector for Boston, which position gave him an acquaintance with all the residents of the place. He took an active part in all town meetings, and became looked upon as a leader from an early day. He was the author of the instructions given by the people of Boston to their newly-chosen representatives in 1764—"the first decided protests from any part of America against Grenville's scheme of parliamentary taxation"—while he was chosen in the year following as one of the three representatives in the general court of the town of Boston, a position of honor and responsibility to which he was again and again returned during nine years. Upon his entry to the house he was given the office of clerk, which not only gave him a needed addition to his meagre income but added to his influence. From the first he took a leading part in the debates, and drew up many of the papers that were from time to time put forth by the house in the famous Bernard and Hutchinson controversies—an office for which "his fluent and eloquent pen, and the mixture in his character of caution with fire, courage and determination, admirably fitted him."

Mr. Adams was recognized by foes as well as friends as beyond the reach of bribery of any character, and a contemplated proposal of the purchase of his influence by the gift of an office was abandoned, on the ground that his rejection would follow as a matter of course. As the evidence became more and more certain that the English parliament was determined to raise a revenue in America by taxes on trade, in opposition to the certain rights of the colonists, Mr. Adams became one of the leaders in opposition, and it was by his pen that the petition of the Massachusetts general court to the king, their letter of instruction to their agent in England and a circular letter to the speakers of

the popular branch of the various colonial assemblies, requesting a consultation for coöperation and mutual defense, were drawn. As early as 1769 he is on record as boldly declaring, in a Boston town meeting, that, "Independent we are, and independent we will be!" The following characteristic illustration of his determination and boldness has been related: Upon the occasion of the Boston massacre of 1770, he was made chairman of a committee appointed to wait upon the governor and council with the vote of a town meeting that nothing could restore order and prevent bloodshed but the immediate removal of the regular troops from the town to their old position upon the island. It was replied that the colonel in command was willing to remove one of the regiments, if that would placate the people. "Sir," was Adams' sturdy response, "if the lieutenant-governor, or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of the departure of the troops will satisfy the public mind or restore the peace of the province." His energy prevailed, and both regiments were removed.

When General Gage entered the harbor of Boston on May 13, 1774, Adams was presiding over a town meeting, called for the purpose of taking into consideration the new Port bill, of which the people had just been informed. In the June following he was appointed one of the five delegates from the general court to attend the proposed Continental congress at Philadelphia; and when Gage dissolved the court, the patriots immediately began the organization of a distinct government of their own. In the larger field offered by the Continental congress, the enlarging powers and expanding courage of Adams found a more fitting field for display and usefulness. His record there was such as to stamp him one of the foremost men and patriots of his time. He remained in congress during the eight ensuing years of trouble, and in all acts of resistance and aggression against the British rule was foremost, fearless and effective. His part in putting the Revolution into motion was equal to that of any man in the Nation, and to John Hancock and himself was reserved the high honor of being excluded from the promise of pardon which General Gage extended to all in rebellious Massachusetts who would submit. He was active, in connection with John Adams, in the formation of the state constitution of Massachusetts that was adopted in 1780. In 1788 he was a member of the convention called by his state to consider the Federal constitution and its adoption. He was, it need hardly be said, an active member in that body, and, although many

of the features in the new and stronger compact of union did not receive the support of his judgment, he was led to its support on the understanding that several of the amendments afterwards made a part of it should be adopted. In the year following, Mr. Adams was chosen lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, which position he held until 1794, when he was advanced to the governorship, as the successor of John Hancock. In 1797 he declined to serve longer in that capacity, and returned to private life, being led thereto by growing age and infirmities, and the fact that while he was largely republican in principles, the Federal party was largely predominant in his state. Six years of life were left him, in which he had leisure to review the wonderful changes that had occurred in his native land, and to receive the thanks and praise from a generation for which his compeers and himself had done so much. He died on October 2, 1803.

While the chief claim of Samuel Adams to the love and respect of the generations of Americans that have come after him may be found in his services as a patriot anterior to and during the dark days of the Revolution, he was also a useful citizen in many other respects, showing by his example and teachings the respect he had for probity and uprightness of conduct in all relations of public and personal life. In personal appearance, he has been described to us as "of common size, muscular form, light blue eyes, fair complexion and erect in person. He wore a tie wig, cocked hat and red cloak. His manner was very serious. At the close of his life, and even from early times, he had a tremulous motion of the head, which probably added to the solemnity of his eloquence, as this was in some measure associated with his voice. Having inherited no fortune and being without a profession, he was, almost down to the close of his life, without resource, except in the salaries and emoluments of office, never large, and only eked out by the industry and economy of his wife." In the closing years of his career, the death of his only son, Samuel Adams, who had served as surgeon through the war, served to furnish him with enough for maintenance, through the payments due for that son's services. He was a conservative in religious matters, holding closely to the end to the tenets of Calvinism. "At a time," says Edward Everett, "when the new order of things was inducing laxity of manners and a departure from the ancient strictness, Samuel Adams clung with greater tenacity to the wholesome discipline of the fathers." He loved sacred music, was fond of conversation and possessed a large fund of interesting anecdote. He was married in 1749 to Elizabeth, the daughter of Rev. Samuel Checkley of Boston. She died

in 1757, and in 1764 he married Elizabeth Wells, daughter of an English merchant who had settled in Boston in 1723.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

THE eminent statesman and financier whose name is given above left a deep impress upon his times, and in some respects had an extensive influence upon his adopted country. He was born in the island of Nevis, West Indies, on January 11, 1757, and by his mother's side was of French Huguenot descent. His father had left Scotland, and began his career in the new world in the mercantile business, in St. Christopher. He failed in that and passed the remainder of his life in poverty. The mother of Alexander died in his childhood, and he passed into the care of relatives of hers at Santa Cruz, where his opportunities for education were limited, but where he made good use of such books and other means of instruction as fell in his way. When twelve years of age he began his career in a counting-house at Santa Cruz, where he closely and industriously applied himself, although confessing that the occupation was by no means suited to his tastes or desires. At an early age he showed signs of that strong individuality and bright intellect that were afterwards put to such good use in behalf of his adopted country. In 1772, when but fifteen years of age, he wrote so graphic an account of the great hurricane by which St. Christopher was visited, that it was placed in print, and won such attention from the public that his friends decided to give him an education, and he was accordingly sent northward to New York, for that purpose. He entered a grammar school at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and a few months later was enabled to enter King's college. It was his purpose to become a physician, and in addition to his regular studies, he attended a course of lectures on anatomy. When the differences between the colonies and England arose, young Hamilton warmly espoused the cause of the former, and soon made his influence felt in aid of the cause he supported. At a meeting held in New York, to compose differences as to the selection of delegates to the Continental congress, on July 6, 1774, he made his first recorded public speech, and soon after became one of the correspondents of the leading organ of the patriots. Upon the appearance

of a pamphlet severely attacking the proceedings of the congress at Philadelphia, Hamilton responded to it in a like manner; and when a rejoinder was issued, he replied to it with a second pamphlet that the public unhesitatingly credited to John Jay. In March, 1776, although not yet twenty years of age, he was commissioned captain of an artillery company raised by the state of New York. In the campaigns that ensued, he bore an important part, attracting the attention of Washington, who honored him with a personal acquaintance, taking part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was finally promoted to a position upon Washington's staff, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He assisted his commander-in-chief in his varied and extensive correspondence, and soon came to be looked upon as one on whom implicit reliance could be placed. He took an active part in the battles of Germantown and Brandywine, and upon their conclusion was dispatched on a confidential mission to Putnam and Gates, to hasten forward the reënforcements which those officers had been ordered to send to Washington—a mission which required considerable firmness on the part of Hamilton to execute.

In 1780 Hamilton was married to a daughter of General Phillip Schuyler—a connection that gave him an added position and influence in New York. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and was soon after elected a delegate to congress. He took an active part in the settlement of the various questions growing out of the war, and was soon recognized as one certain to make his mark in public life. He soon resigned his seat and proceeded to New York city, where he entered upon the earnest practice of his profession. He took part in establishing the Bank of New York, the first institution of the kind in the state, and was chosen one of its directors. He was chosen in 1786, by the state legislature, a member of the convention at Annapolis, and while serving there, drafted the address to the states which led to the convention of the year following, by which the Federal constitution was formed. He was next elected a member of the New York legislature, where he made himself a power in the advancing of various measures for the public good, and in settling others that threatened to disturb the public peace. He was made one of the delegates to the convention to revise the Articles of Confederation, which met at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787. While he had an ingenious and original plan of his own for the government of the Union then about to be formed to replace the Confederacy, he used all his influence to perfect and make effective the plan finally decided upon, becoming one of a committee to revise its style and arrangement. When it was

sent before the people for ratification, his pen and voice were made effective in its favor.

When the Union was formed and Washington chosen President, he called Hamilton to his cabinet as secretary of the treasury—a position for which he was eminently qualified, and in which his greatest service to his country was given. He prepared an elaborate report on the public debt and the reëstablishment of the public credit. "That debt," it has been said, "was of two descriptions—loans obtained abroad and certificates issued for money lent, supplies furnished and services rendered at home. As to the foreign debt, all agreed that it must be met in the precise terms of the contract. As to the domestic debt, the certificates of which had largely changed hands at a great depreciation, the idea had been suggested of paying them at the rates at which they had been purchased by the present holders. The report of the secretary took strong ground against this project. He considered it essential to the reëstablishment of the public credit that the assignees of the certificates should be considered as standing precisely in the place of the original creditors; and the funding system which he proposed, and which was carried in the face of a strong opposition, was based on this idea."

The secretary also favored the assumption, on part of the general government, of the debts contracted by the states in the prosecution of the war. He also proposed an excise duty on domestic spirits, and the creation of a National bank with a capital of ten million dollars. He advanced the idea of protection to American industries in the levying of duties on imports, and presented a masterly argument in support thereof. The advancing of these radical measures called forth a determined and stormy opposition, laid him open to the charge of favoritism to the moneyed classes and caused an alienation between Mr. Jefferson and himself. After having persuaded congress to adopt a system for the gradual redemption of the public debt, he resigned his office on January 31, 1795, and resumed the practice of his profession in New York. When the difficulties with France that grew out of a ratification of Jay's treaty had reached a point little short of war, and a French invasion was apprehended, Washington accepted the position of commander-in-chief of the army only upon the condition that Hamilton should be made major-general, which would throw upon the latter the details of the organization of the army. On the death of Washington, on December 14, 1799, Hamilton became chief in command, but as peace was arranged, the army was disbanded, and he resumed once more the practice of law.

When the Presidential contest between Jefferson and Aaron Burr developed a tie, the influence of Hamilton was cast in favor of the first-named; and when Burr sought an election as governor of New York, he was defeated, and charged the responsibility therefor upon the influence of Hamilton. Determined to avenge the slight thus put upon his ambition, he forced Hamilton into a quarrel, and despite the efforts of the latter to avert a difficulty which he felt to be groundless, his self-respect at last compelled him to meet Burr and accept the challenge which the latter had forced upon him. The meeting occurred on July 11, 1804, at Weehawken, on the Hudson, opposite New York, and at the first fire, Hamilton received a wound from which he died on the following day. The loss to his country of one of such brilliant intellect and who had rendered such able service in the field, in the halls of legislation and the cabinet, was mourned as a National calamity, and as second only to that which had so recently occurred when the father of his country was laid away to rest. The ignominy which fell upon Burr because of this needless death, which was the outcome of a quarrel he had forced with no other end in view, cast upon him a blight that was never removed in life, and that has followed his memory beyond the grave.

Hamilton's abilities and force of character need no extended description or eulogy in the light of the various and diversified services he was called upon to give the public from time to time. No one who was not remarkable in all that goes to constitute a statesman and popular leader could have stood in the fore-front of affairs so long, nor have had so wide an influence upon his age. He was under the middle size, thin in person, erect in carriage and courtly and dignified in bearing. His figure was well proportioned and graceful, complexion fair, voice musical and manner frank and cordial. He excelled both as a writer and a speaker. His widow survived him half a century, dying in 1854, at the age of ninety-seven.

JOHN HANCOCK.

ANOTHER son of New England, who won a fame that time has not lessened nor distance dimmed, was John Hancock, the Boston merchant, who became the Revolutionary patriot and gave a service of the greatest value to his country. He was of Puritan de-

scent, his grandfather, the Rev. John Hancock, being a man of great ability and vigor, and a religious and moral force of no uncertain quality in New England. The son of the divine and father of the subject of this sketch also bore the same honored name, and was also a minister. The John Hancock of the third generation was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, on January 12, 1737. The death of his father in his childhood caused a breaking up of the family household, and the boy of seven was taken to Lexington and received into the family of his grandfather. A wealthy uncle, Thomas Hancock, a merchant of Boston, provided for his education at the Boston grammar school, and afterwards at Harvard college, where he graduated in 1754. He was taken directly into his uncle's counting-house, where, we are told on no less an authority than that of John Adams, "he became an example to all the young men of the town. Wholly devoted to business, he was as regular and punctual at his store as the sun in his course." The sudden death of his uncle in 1764 made of the young man a comparatively rich man, as he inherited the business and co siderable other property. "The position of a successful, enterprising merchant, in those days," as has been said by his biographer, "was one of considerable importance, even alongside of the lawyers and members of the government, who constituted the *élite* of provincial society. Hancock, too, had the prestige of wealth and the family piety, for there were no persons of more consequence in old New England than the clergy. He started upon life then, when he came into possession of his uncle's fortune, with eminent advantages. He had been put in the way of a good education, had profited by ten years of prosperous trade and had enjoyed some opportunities of foreign travel in connection with the business." The place his uncle had occupied in the business and social world of Boston was honorably and successfully upheld by the nephew, who made friends in all directions, and was liberal and patriotic in the use of his influence and wealth. He was soon chosen one of the selectmen of the town, and in 1766 was elected to the general court. A pronounced Whig, he soon became a leader in that party, using all the powers at his command for the advancement of the people's cause. He became one of the active members of that famous North End club, of which Samuel Adams was also a member, and his spirit and the feeling in which he approached the struggle so near at home were foreshadowed in his declaration made in the discussions of that body: "Burn Boston and make John Hancock a beggar, if the public good requires it!" He was an active participant in the preliminary scenes of the Rebellion, in op-

position to the tax on tea and other acts that called out the popular resistance. He was chosen orator of the day on the fourth anniversary of the Boston massacre, and we may be certain that his address was of no uncertain tone, and boded no good for the governing powers, against which the people were being so solidly arrayed. In 1774 he was elected to the first provincial congress at Concord, and was made the president thereof. Ill health alone prevented his being sent to the Continental congress at Philadelphia, but in the season following he was made one of Massachusetts' delegates to that historic body.

Just previous to the meeting of that body occurred the battle of Lexington; and it was the supposition in Boston at the time that the movement of the British troops that precipitated that fight was specially made for the purpose of capturing Hancock and Samuel Adams. They came near being captured, as they were, at the time of the expedition, lodged in the house of Rev. Jonas Clark, at Lexington. Word being brought at midnight by Paul Revere, the militia were assembled, and the "shot that was heard round the world" was fired, and the Revolution set ablaze. By the urgent advice of friends, Hancock and Adams retired to Woburn, where they were safely hidden. They were accompanied upon their flight by a young lady of Boston, Miss Dorothy Quincy, daughter of Edward Quincy, to whom Hancock was then affianced, and to whom he was married a few months later.

As an outcome of the affair at Lexington, Governor Gage issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who were in rebellion, with the exception of Adams and Hancock, whose offenses were declared to be "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." No better introduction than this could have been carried to Philadelphia by the Massachusetts delegates, and when Peyton Randolph resigned the presidency of the congress, John Hancock was promptly elected to the vacancy.

When the choice of a commander-in-chief of the army came up, there were some who would have been pleased to have seen Hancock chosen, and John Adams hints that his colleague had aspirations in that direction, and was not pleased at the selection of Washington. He gave an honorable service in his congress, and the bold signature which he affixed to the Declaration of Independence may be taken as the sign and seal of his patriotic willingness to accept any responsibility or face any danger that duty to his country might demand. In 1777 ill health compelled him to resign his seat in congress, and in

1778 he was appointed by the general court of Massachusetts major-general of the state militia. In that capacity he commanded the second line in the expedition of General Sullivan for the recovery of Newport. In the autumn of 1779 he was made a member of the Massachusetts convention, sitting at Cambridge, for the formation of a state constitution, and on the adoption of that instrument was chosen governor, holding that office—with the exception of the term of Governor Bowdoin—during the remainder of his life.

A signal service was performed by Hancock while he was president of the Massachusetts State convention, on the adoption of the Federal constitution, which met in January, 1788. The action of a state that had wielded so great an influence as Massachusetts from the incipiency of the Revolution was watched with great anxiety, the more so as it was known that there were strong influences at work in the state in opposition to the ratification of that measure. The anti-Federal party comprehended the mass of the people and was opposed to it, and there were also elements of dissatisfaction and dissent growing out of the recent Shay's rebellion and the separation of the state of Maine. Only five states had as yet accepted the Constitution—Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia and Connecticut. It was thought that New York and Virginia would be influenced by Massachusetts, and we find Madison writing from New York to Washington in tones of alarm. "A rejection of the new form by that state," said the great leader in reply, "would invigorate the opposition not only in New York but in all those which are to follow; at the same time it would afford materials for the minority, in such as have actually agreed to it, to blow the trumpet of discord more loudly."

The deliberations of the convention had been carried forward some three weeks, with the result as yet in doubt, before Hancock's old enemy, the gout, would allow him to appear in the body. He made his presence felt with effect when he did appear. He brought with him a series of resolutions, conciliatory in tone and embracing the declaration "that all powers not expressly delegated to congress are reserved to the several states," and the enunciation of the rights of trial by jury, which were afterwards adopted among the early constitutional amendments. An earnest and convincing speech was made in support of the proposition to ratify, and after a time the measure was carried and the name and influence of Massachusetts were added to those states in favor of the Union. Hancock and Adams, who were leaders in the party of opposition, voted in the affirmative, and thus gave a

service to their country, the value and extent of which can only be measured in the light of American history of to-day.

The career of John Hancock was closed forever by his death at Quincy on October 8, 1793. His eminent public usefulness was recognized in the honors paid to his memory. His life history has become one of the treasured possessions of the people. He was a man of unusual common sense and decision of character; his manners were polished and address easy; he was liberal, affable and easy of approach. He was eloquent as a speaker, and his addresses displayed not only deep thought but a practical business sense sure to convince the judgment of those about him. As a presiding officer, he was dignified, impartial, quick of apprehension, and sure to command the attention and respect of those over whom it was his duty to preside. He employed his fortune liberally to public uses, gave large sums to Harvard college, and was munificent to the building and decorations of the Brattle Street church. He dressed well, lived well and was not averse to display in the personal appointments and equipments about him. John Adams has said of him: "Mr. Hancock had a delicate constitution. He was very infirm; a greater part of his life was passed in acute pain. He inherited from his father, though one of the most amiable and beloved of men, a certain sensibility, a keenness of feeling, or, in more familiar language, a peevishness of temper that sometimes . . . afflicted his friends. Yet, it was astonishing with what patience, perseverance and punctuality he attended to business to the last. Nor were his talents or attainments inconsiderable. They were far superior to many who have been more celebrated. He had a great deal of political sagacity and penetration into men. He was by no means a contemptible scholar or orator. Compared with Washington, Lincoln or Knox, he was learned."

PATRICK HENRY.

THIS distinguished orator, whose life clearly proves that he was an orator and much else, was born in the county of Hanover, Virginia, on May 29, 1736. Both father and mother were well supplied in mental endowments, the first named being county surveyor, colonel of a militia regiment and county judge. The son evinced small desire toward the acquirement of an education, although his parents took

the matter in hand, and he was compelled to acquire some knowledge of mathematics and the classics. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to a country tradesman, and at the end of a year his father set him up in trade, in connection with an elder brother. The venture came to naught, and after a profitless season of farming and another attempt at store-keeping, he decided to enter upon the study of the law. A few weeks were given to the preparation for this important undertaking, when he presented himself before the judges for examination, and was only admitted on the promise to further pursue his studies before entering upon actual practice. But business came to him slowly, or not at all. He had some time before been married to a Miss Shelton, and several children were dependent upon him for support. He was compelled to make his home with his father-in-law, who kept a tavern at Hanover Court-House, and assisted in the care and management of the house, as part recompense for his maintenance. But there were qualities and forces in his intellectual armament that were sure to make him known, if the opportunity for their use should be presented. That opportunity came; and as his heart and sympathies were on the side of the people, he became, within his own neighborhood for a time, and in a larger sense as events and his powers developed, the champion of the popular cause. The event that at last brought him, when twenty-seven years of age, into immediate public notice, has been thus briefly summarized: In 1755, a year of severe drought and of serious financial embarrassment because of the French war, the Virginian house of burgesses had decreed that all debts due in tobacco, then largely used as currency, should be paid either in kind or in money, at the rate of 16s. 8d. for the one hundred pounds of tobacco, or 2d. per pound. This law was universal in its application, and was to remain in force for ten months. The effect was felt in the reduction of all fees and salaries to a moderate amount in money, which bore especially upon the clergy of the Established church. They were each by law entitled to sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco per annum, and the act deprived them of about two-thirds of what was their due. The result, however, was for the time accepted; but when, in 1758, a similar law was passed, a heated discussion arose between the planters and the clergy. An appeal was taken by the latter to the king, who declared the act void. Suits were commenced by the clergy in various counties to recover the loss which they had been already compelled to suffer. The county of Hanover was selected as the point at which the test case should be made. In this case the court, on demurrer, declared in favor of the plaintiff. The Rev. John Maury, and

the case then stood upon a common writ of inquiry of damages. The defense considered their chances at an end, and, for want of a better known and more learned lawyer, and almost as a matter of form, secured Patrick Henry as their lawyer. He knew, as they did not, the feeling of the people against the clergy, and made his preparations accordingly. A large crowd had assembled, and after the case had been calmly and clearly stated by Peter Lyons, a distinguished lawyer, who represented the other side, Henry arose to reply. "The array before him," as one has said, "was terrifying to a youthful and inexperienced man, and the presence of his father in the chair of the presiding magistrate did not lessen the embarrassment of his position. His exordium was awkward and confused. He visibly faltered. The crowd, whose sympathies were all on the side which he represented, hung their heads and gave up the contest. The clergy smiled and exchanged glances of triumph. The father of the speaker almost sank back in his seat. But a change suddenly took place in the demeanor of everyone. All eyes were drawn to the youthful orator. His confusion had passed away; his form rose erect, and the mysterious and almost supernatural transformation of appearance which his contemporaries spoke of passed over him." Patrick Henry had at last discovered his mission and learned something of himself, of which even he had never dreamed. He won the cause of the people then and there; the jury gave one penny in damages, and the people carried the young lawyer through the streets upon their shoulders. Thenceforth his career was assured; he had all the practice he could attend to, and applied himself to his profession and books with unwonted zeal and activity. A public career was soon opened to him, at a time when his peculiar powers and unquestioned courage would be of signal service to the cause of his country. He was made a member of the house of burgesses in 1765, when England had reached the climax of oppression upon the colonies by the passage of the Stamp act. The leaders in politics, society and business in Virginia were opposed to extreme measures, although willing to sanction any form of opposition that would not place their colony in too open rebellion. Renewed protests and petitions to the crown were proposed and urged by the conservatives, in the hope that some method of peaceful adjustment would be reached; and it was in the midst of this peaceful discussion that Henry threw a firebrand. He had hurriedly written upon the fly-leaf of a law book a series of resolutions that well expressed the popular thought, but were in advance of the sentiments of the leading members of the assembly. They contained none of the

platitudes that had proven themselves so powerless, and but served as an invitation to new forms of oppression, and suggested no new petition or protest. They declared that the house of burgesses and the executive possessed "the exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony," and that, consequently, the Stamp act and all other acts of parliament affecting the rights of the American colonies were unconstitutional and void. This was indeed an advanced position for those days, and even the most urgent among the patriots were disposed to meet their introduction with opposition. It was in the fiery debate thus called for that occurred one of the most dramatic episodes in American history. In the midst of his speech Henry thundered: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—" "Treason!" cried the speaker, and "Treason! Treason!" echoed from all parts of the house—"may profit by their example! *If this be treason, make the most of it!*" The resolutions were carried by a majority of one.

Patrick Henry became from thenceforth one of the trusted and most powerful leaders in the popular cause. He soon after returned to the practice of his profession, but the rapidly succeeding events called him once more to the front. In 1769 the advocates of resistance, led by Henry, Jefferson and the Lees, so advocated their cause that the dissolution of the house was ordered by the representative of the crown. Henry and his friends assembled in the old Raleigh tavern, in Williamsburg, and drew up articles in which they pledged themselves against the use of British merchandise—a paper which was very generally signed. In 1774 Henry was chosen one of the delegates from Virginia to the new general congress at Philadelphia, where he was from the first recognized as one of the leading champions of popular rights and constitutional liberty. With the spring of 1775 came new advances on the part of the people toward the great struggle of the Revolution. Henry was a member of a convention that met at Richmond, where he moved that the militia should be immediately organized and the colony placed in a condition of defense. It was the opposition to this measure that called forth that wonderful burst of eloquence long since a household word through all the land: "There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" The resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice. Events moved rapidly. In accordance

with orders from England, Lord Dunmore, on the night of April 20, removed all the powder of the colony from the magazine at Williamsburg. The people flew to arms, and a force assembled at Fredericksburg, disbanding only upon an assurance that the powder would be restored. Henry saw that the moment had come to strike and was prompt in his movements. Calling together the militia of Hanover county, he placed himself at their head and marched upon Williamsburg. They were met upon the way by an agent of Lord Dunmore, who paid them for the purloined powder, whereupon the troops marched home again. But the standard of rebellion had thus been raised in an overt act against the power of the king. No course was left open between abject submission and actual war. Lord Dunmore abandoned Williamsburg and sought refuge on board an English man-of-war. In July a convention was held at Richmond and organized a committee of safety, endowed with almost absolute power. Two regiments were immediately raised, and Henry was made colonel of one and placed in command of both. Henry soon after resigned his commission because the direction of an important and hazardous expedition was committed to hands other than his own, where he thought it should have been lodged. He was a delegate to the convention which met in May, 1776, and directed the representatives of Virginia in the general congress to propose to that body to "declare the united colonies free and independent states." He was soon after elected the first Republican governor of Virginia, and he was thereafter the careful ruler and statesman rather than fiery and earnest orator and leader. He filled the office until 1779, when he was no longer eligible. He was again sent to the legislative council, and on the termination of the war was again made governor, serving until 1786, when he resigned. Two years later he was made a member of the convention to ratify the Constitution, and opposed that measure with all the fire and earnestness of his nature. In 1795 he was appointed by Washington secretary of state, but declined the position, as he also did that of envoy to France, which President Adams offered him. He also refused an election as governor of the state. In 1799 he had so far concluded that the Union did not mean the destruction of the liberties of the states, that, at the earnest request of Washington and others, who feared the result of the "resolutions of '98" just passed, he became a candidate for the state senate and was elected. But he never took his seat, as his long labors were soon brought to a close. He died at Red Hill, Charlotte county, on June 6, 1799.

It has been well said that Patrick Henry was "the mouth-piece of

the Revolution." His eloquence and power to move men at will were added to a moral courage of the higher order and a will that knew no obstacle and stopped at no resistance. He translated the dumb thought of the people into words, and his utterances wrought upon them, because he spoke not merely to them but as an echo from their own souls. Tall, spare, striking in appearance, grave in aspect but of great flexibility of countenance, with a voice full, clear and melodious, he was eminently fitted by nature for the part he was to play, and it is the undivided verdict of posterity that he played it well.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THE life of no man found worthy of record in American history, perhaps, has had so wide an influence for good upon the successive generations of the youth of our country as that of the author, philosopher and statesman whose name is found in the above caption. What community is there, east or west, that does not contain successful and respected men, whose first impulse in the direction of energy and thrift was received by a delighted perusal of that autobiography that takes hold upon the young interest with something of the fascination of 'Robinson Crusoe,' and that is as simply and as directly told? The struggles, the resolution and the triumphs of the one have become a guide and an incentive to the many. Benjamin Franklin was useful in many ways to his day and generation, and that usefulness has been continued far into the future in a manner that he had small reason to expect.

Franklin was of English descent, traced back through a line of hardy and honest blacksmiths of the village of Ecton, in Northamptonshire, to the middle of the sixteenth century. His father emigrated to New England in 1682, in search of the religious freedom that, as a non-conformist, he could not enjoy at home. The father was originally a dyer, but in his new home in Boston became a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler. The son Benjamin, the youngest, with the exception of two daughters, of a family of seventeen children, was born in Boston on January 17, 1706. The older sons being apprenticed to various trades, this youngest was intended by his father for the church, and upon being placed at school when eight years of age, made such progress that his father was justified in the

attempt. But narrowing circumstances at home compelled an early withdrawal, and at ten he was placed at regular employment in the shop. He so little liked the work, that he made frequent threats of running away to sea, and to prevent this, his father bound him apprentice to his brother James, to learn the printer's trade. The thirst for knowledge was strong upon him, and he read much. At the age of sixteen he had mastered arithmetic without assistance and studied navigation, and ventured upon several articles which, when published anonymously, excited interest and brought forth inquiries as to the authorship. Differences with his brother caused him to secretly leave for New York, where, at the age of seventeen, he found himself without friends or money. Finding nothing to do, he went on to Philadelphia, where he arrived, "after some difficulty and danger, at the foot of Market street at nine o'clock on a Sunday morning. He had one dollar and about a shilling in copper coin. The latter he gave to the boatmen. He bought three rolls of bread, and ate one as he walked up the street with the others under his arms, and his pockets stuffed with stockings and shirts. Thus equipped, he passed by the house of his future father-in-law; his future wife was at the door, and remarked the awkward and ridiculous appearance of the passer-by. He gave his rolls to a poor woman and walked idly into a Quaker meeting-house, where he fell into a comfortable sleep." He found employment in a printing office, but soon fell under notice of the governor of the province, Sir William Kieth, who accidentally saw a letter he had written, which gave evidence of unusual superiority, sought him out, and, to his amazement, offered to set him up in business for himself and give him the public printing. Upon assurances of the governor he went to England for the purchase of an outfit, but found that he had been deceived, as Kieth had no means with which to carry out his promise. Alone and penniless in a strange land, he made such use of his time as was possible, working, writing and all the time learning, until in July, 1726, when he departed once more for America, and landed at Philadelphia on October 11. He secured employment in a dry goods store, and on the first of September, 1730, was married to Miss Read, the young woman referred to above. In connection with a partner who had money, he founded the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and soon became a man of mark and influence in the colony. "His great intelligence and industry, his ingenuity in devising better systems of economy, education and improvement, now establishing a subscription and circulating library, now publishing a popular pamphlet on the necessity of paper cur-

rency (having previously invented a copper-plate press, and engraved and printed the New Jersey paper money), and presently also his valuable municipal services, rapidly won for him the respect and admiration of the colonies." In 1732 he commenced the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac," which was profitably continued for twenty-five years.

It was not long before he was called into public life by an election to the clerkship of the assembly, and was soon after appointed postmaster of Philadelphia. He still had time for study and philosophical investigation, becoming the founder of the University of Pennsylvania and of the American Philosophical society, inventing the economical stove which bears his name, and making those experiments in electricity that established a connection in substance and effects between the electric force and the lightnings of the heavens. In 1750 he was elected to the assembly; became a commissioner for the making of an Indian treaty; in 1753 became assistant postmaster-general for America, and in 1754, when the French war was impending, he was chosen as deputy to the general congress at Albany. He was the author of a plan of union for the colonies, which the convention unanimously adopted, but which the board of trade of England rejected as altogether too democratic. Many services of a minor but useful nature were performed by him during these years, of which space will permit no special mention. He was sent to England with a statement of grievances on part of the people of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland and Georgia, arriving in London on July 27, 1757. He remained there five years, busy and contented and occupying himself in measures for the good of his people, and reached home in November, 1762. New troubles having, meanwhile, arisen between the province and its proprietaries, he was again appointed agent to the king, and reached London early in December, 1764. It was a season of anxiety upon both sides of the sea. "The project of taxing the colonies had been announced, and Franklin was the bearer of a remonstrance against it on the part of the provincial government of Pennsylvania. He was indefatigable in his exertions to prove the unconstitutionality and impolicy of the Stamp act, and when the repeal of this obnoxious measure was attempted, he underwent an examination before the house of commons. His conduct made it an everlasting record of his firm and patriotic spirit, of his wise and prompt foresight, the semblance of an almost inspired sagacity. The repeal of the Stamp act was an inevitable consequence." He worked for his country in directions other than that described above, and

reached America May 5, 1775, only a few days after the battle of Lexington. A member of the Continental congress, and upon the committees on safety and foreign correspondence, he gave a most valuable service to his country, his learning, wonderful common sense and industry making him a peer in usefulness to the ablest and most brilliant member of that body. He assisted in drafting the Declaration of Independence, and was one of its signers. He was soon sent as commissioner from the new Nation to France, where he was soon honored and appreciated, and where he succeeded in concluding the treaty of February 6, 1778. He was one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate peace between America and England, and had the extreme gratification of signing the treaty on November 30, 1782. He also concluded treaties with Sweden and Prussia, and in 1785 was enabled to once more return to his native land, where he was received with the highest honors. When eighty-two years of age, and at a time when he might well have pleaded rest and exemption from further toil, he was chosen a delegate to the convention for forming the Federal constitution, and gave an active and effective service to the labors of that body. He served, also, as president of a society for political inquirers, writing much upon the themes under discussion, and drawing out of his rich and ripe experiences wisdom for the guidance of those who should come after him. Worn with age and illness, he still had the good of the people in mind, and at the age of eighty-four we find him writing to Washington: "For my personal ease, I should have died two years ago; but though those years have been spent in excruciating pain, I am glad to have lived them, since I can look upon our present situation." Death came to his relief at his home in Philadelphia, on April 17, 1790. No greater honor could have been paid the memory of one born to the purple than was given this beloved statesman and philosopher. Twenty thousand and more attended his funeral; every mark of public and private respect possible was paid throughout America, while in Europe the general loss was hardly less recognized.

This outline sketch of the career of Benjamin Franklin, of necessity brief, covers a theme upon which books without number have been written. One of the most remarkable of men, he had a wonderful career at a great epoch in the world's history, performing so many diverse duties well that one feels certain he would have been the master in any profession or line of life he might have specially chosen. As a man of letters, his name became a household word; as a scientist, he made one of the most famous and remarkable scientific discoveries



W. B. ALLISON.

on record, while the practical character of his mechanical studies are found in the lightning-rod and the stove in use everywhere even to-day; as a law-maker, he was bold, yet careful, trustful of the people, yet wise in the providing of safeguards; while as a diplomat, he secured results for his country that perhaps no other man of his age could have so well fulfilled. His memory is preserved with almost phenomenal freshness, not only because he was a great man but also one of the most striking and unique figures to be seen in America's gallery of great men.

"Is it necessary," one writer asks, "to describe the person or draw the character of Franklin? His effigy is at every turn; that figure of average height, full—a little plethoric, perhaps—the broad countenance beaming benevolence from the spectacled gray eye—the whole appearance indicating calmness and confidence. Such in age, as we all choose to look upon him, was the man Franklin. Within, who shall paint him, save himself, in the small library of his writings, the mingling of sense and humor, of self-denial and benevolence, the whimsical, sagacious, benevolent mind of Franklin, ever bent on utility, ever conducting to something agreeable and advantageous; the great inventor, the profound scientific inquirer, the far-seeing statesman; masking his worth by his modesty; falling short, perhaps, of the loftiest heights of philosophy, but firmly treading the path of common life, sheltering its nakedness, and ministering in a thousand ways to its comforts and pleasures."

JOHN JAY.

JOHN JAY, who has been well called "the Christian patriot of the Revolution," and who first occupied the honorable and responsible position of chief-justice of the United States, was of Huguenot descent, one of his ancestors, Pierre Jay, being a prosperous merchant of Rochelle, who escaped from France with a portion of his property, and retired to England. His son, Augustus, made his escape to Charleston, South Carolina, from whence ill health drove him to a more congenial resting place in New York. He there found employment as a supercargo, and in 1692 we are informed of his taking passage for Hamburg, in a vessel which was "captured by a French privateer and carried into St. Malo, when, with other prisoner, she was

confined in a dungeon in the district, from which he managed to escape, making his way in safety to Rochelle, to be a second time smuggled out of his native country in a foreign vessel." He eventually returned to New York, where he married, and died at a good old age. His son, Peter, married a Miss Van Courtlandt, the descendant of a Protestant exile from Bohemia. Securing a fortune from a mercantile life, he purchased an estate at Rye, Westchester county, where he retired. His eighth son, John Jay, the subject of this sketch, was born in New York on December 12, 1745.

The culture, piety and grave good sense that prevailed in the parental household had their influence upon the son all through his busy after-life. He was taught at an early age by his mother, and at the age of eight was sent to the school of a French clergyman at New Rochelle; and after careful preparation at the hands of a private tutor, was sent to King's college, now Columbia, from which he graduated with honors in 1764. Choosing the profession of the law, he entered the office of Benjamin Kissam, a leading practitioner in New York city, where he studied until his admission to the bar in 1768. He soon entered upon a busy and profitable practice, his standing even at an early age being shown in his appointment as secretary of the commission designated by the king to settle the boundary between New York and New Jersey. In 1774 he married Sarah, the daughter of William Livingston, afterwards the first governor of New Jersey.

As the struggle between the king and colonies approached its culmination, the young barrister was found upon the side of the people, taking part in the deliberations demanded by the situation, and giving his active service wherever it could be of use. He was a member of the committee which proposed a congress of deputies from the colonies in general, and when, out of this and like movements in other states, the Continental congress met in Philadelphia, he was found among its members—one of the youngest, if not the youngest member of that famous body. It was his pen that wrote the "Address to the People of Great Britain," described as a "model of calm, just, forcible statement, eloquent by its simple truthfulness and sincerity." A suggestive sentence may be quoted therefrom, as illustrative of its tone and temper. "In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and trans-

mitted the rights of men and the blessings of liberty to you, their posterity."

He was also a delegate to the Second congress, which met in the following year, where he prepared the "Addresses to the People of Canada, of Jamaica and Ireland." The reason that his name does not appear upon the Declaration of Independence may be found in the fact that during the session of 1776 he was recalled by his state to its own convention, of which he was a member, and where his services were specially required. When the war opened, he was made a colonel of militia, and was unwearied in his endeavors to uphold the cause of his country, in the state of which he was a citizen. He gave many evidences of his zeal in minor services that need not be enumerated here. His chief work at that period, however, was in the convention charged with the formation of the Constitution of 1777. That instrument was largely the work of his own hands, its property qualifications embodying his favorite maxim, that "those who own the country ought to govern it;" and he would have urged the adoption of other provisions, one of which would have been against the continuance of domestic slavery, had he not been absent from the convention at its final adoption, because of the fatal illness of his mother.

When the new Constitution was adopted and set to work, Jay was the first chief-justice of New York thereunder. Upon opening the first term of court at Kingston, he made an eloquent and learned address, in which he glowingly sketched the progress of the Revolutionary struggle, giving the praise therefor to the Ruler of the universe, and at the same time pointing out the grand principles in the new Constitution, by which security was given to the rights of conscience and private judgment.

Under the state constitution, none of the state judges were allowed to sit in congress, except on certain specified occasions, and as a consequence, Mr. Jay vacated his seat in that body. In 1778, however, such an occasion arose as was provided for in the above. He was again sent to congress, and upon the resignation of Mr. Laurens, was chosen its president. In consequence of this new demand upon his time and attention, he resigned his place upon the bench. In 1779 he was chosen to carry on European negotiations of a character similar to those that, as a member of the secret committee of correspondence, he aided to conclude with France. He was sent as minister plenipotentiary to Spain, with instructions to accomplish an alliance with that nation, if possible. Leaving America in October, he reached his destination, and entered upon what proved

to be a wearisome and disheartening task. "Had he not been assisted," as one historian says, "by Franklin in Paris and the French loan, the case would have been well-nigh hopeless, while Spain was driving her hard bargain for the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, which congress was weak enough, at last, to send directions to Jay to yield. The clause was, in consequence, actually inserted in the plan of a treaty, with the proviso, however, introduced by Jay, that should the treaty not be concluded before a general peace, the United States would not be bound to surrender the navigation." The negotiations for peace arose before any further steps were taken, and in the summer of 1782 Jay joined his fellow-commissioners at Paris. The duties connected therewith occupied the greater part of the ensuing year, Jay remaining in Paris until the final treaty was signed on September 3, 1783. He declined the position of first American minister to the court of St. James, which was tendered him, as he believed it belonged by rights to Mr. Adams, whose services had been so long and ably given.

Mr. Jay then returned to America, in the summer of 1784. He was immediately selected by congress as secretary for foreign affairs, which important and delicate trust he fulfilled until the Confederation passed away and the Union took its place. He was one of the strongest advocates for the adoption of the Constitution and the new order of things; and in a letter to Washington under date of January 7, 1787, we find him suggesting the present division of the powers of government, with a "leaning to a stronger consolidation than was adopted," and advising "that the acts of the new convention should be considered conclusive, without fresh agitations and indorsements in the several states already represented." While he was not a member of the convention which framed that Constitution, he gave his loyal support to the instrument when presented for ratification, writing many able papers in its support and defense.

When the Federal government entered upon its long and brilliant career, Mr. Jay was appointed first chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States. Previous to taking his place upon the bench, however, he served for a time as secretary of state, until Mr. Jefferson could arrive from abroad. In 1792 he was nominated for governor of New York, and received a majority of the popular vote, although an informality in the returns conferred the honor upon Clinton. Growing difficulties in our relations with Europe compelled action of some sort, and accordingly, Jay was sent to England in the hope that he might negotiate a satisfactory treaty. He sailed on May 12, 1794.

By November the desired treaty was concluded and signed. It was obnoxious in the highest degree to that class in America who sympathized with the French Revolution, and denounced by them in the severest terms. "Copies of the treaty were publicly burnt by the people in New York and Philadelphia; Virginia was obstreperous in indignation, and a Democratic society in South Carolina lamented the want of a guillotine for its author. The very sanctity and good faith of the Constitution was invaded in congress, in an attempt to defeat its provisions in the house of representatives." Despite all this clamor, the treaty was ratified and became the law of the land.

Unpopular as the measure was, it had little perceptible influence in New York, which announced to Jay, on his return home, his election to the governorship. He accordingly resigned the chief-justiceship, and entered upon the administration of his new duties. He held the office for six years, proving anew by his course therein his devotion to duty, ability and Christian principles. In 1801, when fifty-six years of age, he retired to the quietude of private life, to pass the remainder of his days upon the family estate, in Bedford, Westchester county. For nearly thirty years he was left to enjoy his books, the management of his estate, the intercourse of friends and the love and praise of a people for whom, in various important trusts, he had done so much. On the noon of Sunday, May 17, 1829, he peacefully passed away.

The life of John Jay was such as to prove him not only a model citizen in all that relates to his public career but a Christian gentleman as well, in all that relates to both private and public life. His literary abilities were of a high order. His mind possessed a philosophical touch, as shown in the character of his writings. His devoutness tempered all his acts; he was generous; and there is nothing in his career that shows him to have ever been actuated by mean or selfish motives.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

PHILIP SCHUYLER, a major-general in the Revolutionary war and a citizen of the early Republic, foremost in many good works, was of Dutch descent, his ancestors being among the Hollanders who, in an early day, made their residence at New Amsterdam, afterwards New York. His grandfather, Colonel Peter Schuyler, was

mayor of Albany, commander of the Northern militia, agent of Indian affairs and president of the Provincial council—a man of position in the colony and of great influence with the Indians. The subject of this sketch was born at Albany, New York, on November 22, 1733. The death of his father when he was quite young threw his education into the hands of his mother, a lady of rare cultivation and great force of character. At a proper time he was sent to a seminary at New Rochelle, where he learned French, and proved himself a ready pupil in mathematics, military engineering and political economy. When only twenty-two years of age he entered the army, because of the breaking out of the French war, commanding a company of New York levies, under Sir William Johnson, at Fort Edward. Three years later he accompanied Abercrombie's expedition against Ticonderoga, attending Lord Howe as chief of the commissariat department. In 1764, the war having ended, he was appointed by the general assembly of New York one of the commissioners to arrange the boundary line between that colony and Massachusetts. Four years later he was elected a member of the general assembly, and remained a member of that body until its powers gave place to the form of government required by the Revolution. His course in that body was that of an outspoken patriot. On March 3, 1774, he offered a series of resolutions declaring against the act of the English parliament that imposed duties for raising a revenue in America, that extended the jurisdiction of admiralty courts and created other grievances of which the colonists complained. The resolutions met with opposition, but Schuyler's course in their presentation and defense gave him a hold upon the regard and confidence he was never afterwards to lose. In 1775 he appeared at the Continental congress in Philadelphia, and was immediately appointed one of four major-generals in the first organization of the Continental army. He accompanied Washington as far as New York, when the latter went to the headquarters of the army at Cambridge. Upon arriving at New York, he was ordered by Washington to take command of all troops in that department, and to look after the general military affairs of the province. In June he was ordered by congress to take active measures to secure possession of the frontier. He proceeded to Ticonderoga, where he assumed command of the New England troops there assembled. He set earnestly at work in preparation for an invasion of Canada, and pending the conclusion thereof, attended, as Indian commissioner, a conference with several tribes in the vicinity. Being informed of a movement of the enemy, he hastened to Ticonderoga,

where he found that Montgomery, who had been left in charge, was already in motion on Lake Champlain. Schuyler was, at this point, seized with a severe bilious fever, that prevented him from taking an active part in the campaign. Transferring the command to Montgomery, he was compelled to content himself in forwarding supplies to the army, and in otherwise providing for their support. "To command men in the field," says one of his biographers, "was a light task, with all its responsibilities, to the work of getting them there. To this duty, with all its train of attendant provisions in supplies and equipments, General Schuyler now devoted himself. His central position threw the work upon his hands. He had an extended line, stretching into the Indian country, beset with enemies, to watch over, from the Hudson to St. Lawrence, while he was to be acquainted with every movement in Canada. Forts were to be garrisoned, men to be raised, and, what was more, paid and provisioned, with a defective commissariat and a half supplied treasury. Arms and ammunition, also, were wanting; like Lafayette and others, Schuyler pledged his own personal credit to the public wants. The service upon which he was engaged was not a brilliant one; it makes no appearance in bulletins and gazettes, but, especially at this period of the war, it was all in all. To keep an army alive was the great effort, waiting the opportunity for illustrious deeds. In all the exploits of the region bordering on the Hudson and the lakes and extending into Canada, though other generals might bear the appointment, their success, their very existence, rested upon the exertions of General Schuyler, who at Albany or Fort George, or along the line, was constantly engaged in feeding and recruiting their armies." He was especially burdened by these labors during 1776, in his attendance upon the forts, negotiations with the Indians, the repression of Tories and in securing the means of general defense. Trouble between himself and the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire unfortunately arose, growing out of his conduct of affairs and the failure of the Canadian expedition, which, complicated with other matters in connection with his military command, led him into a brief misunderstanding with congress. He reminded that body that it had failed in what he considered its duty to him, and in turn received a rebuke from that body for the tone and temper of his epistle. As he was still a member of congress, he immediately took his seat and demanded an investigation into his conduct in the army. The result was an investigation which reflected the greatest credit upon his course, and by which amicable relations were once more restored. He was returned to his old command, and

devoted himself with renewed energies to the labors and dangers of the situation. Making special efforts for the defense of Ticonderoga, he was on his way to its aid with men and supplies when he was met by the intelligence of its surrender by St. Clair. July and early August were passed in extraordinary efforts to collect troops, prepare means of defense, and for the meeting with the army of General Burgoyne, which was on its way from Canada. Just at this period, when he was fully prepared for the foe, and upon the eve of the engagements of Saratoga, with the victory already half secure, he was superseded in command by General Gates, New England influence having at last prevailed against him. He accepted his fate manfully, only asking the privilege of serving his country still, upon a field in which he had already done so much. He soon after resigned his commission in the army, but was not allowed to retire to private life. He once more took his seat in congress, as a delegate from New York, where his military experience was of great service. In 1780 he was one of a committee appointed to confer with Washington on reforms needed in the army, made such member by the suggestion of Washington himself.

Upon the establishment of independence and the return of peace, General Schuyler became a member of the New York senate. He favored the adoption of the United States Constitution, and was one of the first senators from New York when that instrument went into operation. He then served until 1791, when he was again elected to the New York senate, where he greatly interested himself in inland navigation, and became one of the founders of the system of American canals. In 1797 he was returned to the United States senate as the successor of Aaron Burr. Failing health soon required his retirement to private life. He died at Albany on November 18, 1804, at the age of seventy-one. No better estimate of his life and character can be given than that of Chancelor Kent, who said of him in 1828: "If the military life of General Schuyler was inferior in brilliancy to that of some others of his countrymen, none of them ever surpassed him in fidelity, activity and devotedness to the service. The characteristic of all his measures was utility. They bore the stamp and unerring precision of practical science. There was nothing complicated in his character. It was chaste and severe simplicity; and, take him for all in all, he was one of the wisest and most efficient men, both in military and civil life, that the state or the Nation has produced. His spirits were cheerful, his conversation most eminently

instructive, his manners gentle and courteous and his whole deportment tempered with grace and dignity."

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

ANOTHER member of the Revolutionary group was Benjamin Lincoln, whose name and fame are forever linked with the history of his country. He was of worthy ancestors, his father being a member of the Massachusetts general court and of the council. He was born at Hingham, in the state named, on January 24, 1733. After receiving a common school education, he turned his attention to farming, in which capacity his life would, undoubtedly, have quietly continued had times of peace prevailed. He had attained the position of town clerk and of justice of the peace for the county and province when the forebodings of war called him to a higher trust. He was elected in 1772 to the provincial legislature, and was one of the earliest to counsel armed resistance to the aggressions of Great Britain. When General Gage, in 1774, ordered the general court to be indefinitely postponed, Lincoln was made a member of the provincial congress that met at Concord and Cambridge, and became the secretary of that body. He was made a member of the committee on supplies that was in permanent session. When the provincial congress was resolved into the general court, he was appointed a member of the council. Some idea of the spirit in which he approached the great struggle already at hand can be gained from the following, taken from the instructions, drawn by his hand, from his town to its representatives in the Massachusetts legislature: "You are instructed and directed at all times to give your vote and interest in support of the present struggle with Great Britain. We ask nothing of her but peace, liberty and safety. You will never recede from that claim, and, agreeably to a resolve of the late house of representatives in case the honorable Continental congress declare themselves independent of Great Britain, solemnly engage, in behalf of your constituents, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, support them in the measure."

Lincoln had seen service already in the militia, and in 1776 he was made a major-general by act of the Massachusetts legislature. After slight service near Boston, he was called by Washington to New York, joining the latter at Harlem Heights, and conducting his

division in the retreat through Westchester. When Washington crossed to New Jersey, he was left in command with Heath. They were together in the unsuccessful movement against Fort Independence, after which Lincoln joined Washington at Morristown. Upon the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, he was appointed major-general by congress in February, 1777. In July of the same year he was chosen by Washington to proceed to the Northern army, to take command of the Massachusetts troops, collecting to reinforce Gates, who was at that time awaiting attack from Burgoyne. He was stationed at Manchester, Vermont, to receive the new eastern recruits and get them in shape for war, and operate on the rear of the British army. He conducted affairs with success, and, upon the eve of the victory of Saratoga, was summoned to Gates' aid. Obeying the command, he reached camp on the twenty-second, when he was placed in command of the right wing of the army. A time of waiting ensued, when the seventh of October came and with it the first of that series of attacks which resulted in the surrender of the British army. His command was not in action on the first day, but was advancing on the second, when the enemy fell back. While making disposition of a portion of his force, he was unexpectedly met by a party of the foe, who opened a heavy musketry fire. A ball severely fractured General Lincoln's right leg. He was carried to Albany, where it was at first thought amputation would be necessary; but a portion of the bone was removed and he recovered, although one limb was thereafter shorter than the other.

Hardly awaiting a complete recovery, he reported to Washington in August, 1778. A month later he was appointed by congress to the command of the army in the southern department. He reached Charleston in December, where the prospect before him was dark indeed. Soon after his arrival, Savannah fell into the hands of the foe, which, with the possession of Georgia, made South Carolina in extreme danger. The British were superior in forces, having some four thousand in all, while the Americans did not reach near that number. Lincoln took his position on the Savannah, in order to protect the borders of the state. After some preliminary movements, the British entrenched themselves at Stono, where Lincoln went forth to attack them with an army of twelve hundred men. The battle opened on June 20, 1779. The movement was not successful, Lincoln retreating, with an equal loss to both sides. Affairs remained in quietness until D'Estaing arrived with his fleet, when an assault of Savannah was determined upon. The admiral was to land his forces below the

city, while Lincoln was to approach from the other side and effect a junction. That movement was successfully made, and on September 16 the city was required to surrender, which demand was refused. The attack was made on October 9, and was attended by great disaster. Nearly a thousand men fell; the Frenchman was wounded and withdrew, and Lincoln made his way to Charleston.

Sir Henry Clinton and the British fleet invested Charleston in April, and, although everything possible was done for the defense of the place by the mere handful of men in charge, it surrendered when on the point of starvation. Lincoln was allowed to go on parole, which was terminated in November by an exchange for General Phillip, who had been captured at Saratoga. He was detailed by Washington for recruiting service in Massachusetts, after which he joined him in the operations in the vicinity of New York, which preceded the march to Yorktown. Thither Lincoln led the army, through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the Chesapeake, and thence to Virginia. He commanded a division in the field operations, "and at length had his share of victory, of which fortune had so often deprived him. He was appointed to conduct the fallen enemy to the field where they were to lay down their arms, and—a proud recompense for the day of surrender at Charleston—the same terms of capitulation were arranged for the reversed parties as on that occasion."

In October, 1781, General Lincoln was appointed secretary of war, which office he administered with success until the close of the war. He then retired once more to the farm from which he had been so long absent, where he remained until 1784, when he was called forth to act as commissioner for New Hampshire in the making of a treaty with the Penobscot Indians. Two years later he was sent by Governor Bowdoin in command of the troops for the suppression of Shay's rebellion, in which he was successful. He was elected lieutenant-governor of his state, and was afterwards made collector of the port of Boston by Washington, who had been his firm and staunch friend through many years. He held the office for twenty years, its quietude being only twice interrupted—once in 1789, when he was sent as a commissioner to treat with the Creek Indians on the frontier of the southern states, and once in 1793 upon a like mission to Sandusky, on the southern borders of Lake Erie. He was compelled to resign office because of failing health, and two years afterward, on May 9, 1810, his busy life was ended in death. He had been eminently useful in many ways, and his memory was honored by the generation which saw him pass away, as it has been by all those that have come

after. He was temperate and moderate in his views of public questions, but tenacious for that which he believed to be the right. He had a natural taste for science and literature, although not what even in those days would have been called a cultured man. He wrote several papers, which have been preserved in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical society, of which he was a member.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

THIS fighting hero of the Revolution was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on January 7, 1718, in which place his grandfather had settled direct from England. Reared upon a farm in the old New England days, his lot in the beginning was that of a thousand boys about him. "Little education in literature, much in the development of a hardy, vigorous constitution in his contest with the soil and the actual world about him, he was fond of athletic exercises, an adept in running and wrestling, in which he proved himself more than a match for his village companions." The many stories told in illustration of his courage and strength in boyhood days are familiar to all and need not be repeated here. Before he reached his majority he was married to a daughter of John Pope of Salem, and took possession of a farm at Pomfret, in eastern Connecticut.

Ready for an emergency, he gathered about him a band of neighbors, on the breaking out of the French war, and reported to the American commander before Crown Point. He so bore himself in this campaign that in 1757 he was commissioned major. In 1758 he was again in the field, under command of Abercrombie, and greatly distinguished himelf in that unfortunate expedition. While engaged with a reconnoitering party near Ticonderoga, he was captured by the Indians, and was at the stake with the fire lighted, when a French partisan, Molang, in command of the savages, rescued him and sent him a prisoner to Montreal. He was finally released and allowed to return to his friends and home. In the year following, he accompanied Amherst's campaign against Montreal as lieutenant-colonel. In 1762 he was in charge of a Connecticut regiment in Lord Albemarle's attack upon Havana. The transport upon which himself and men had embarked was wrecked upon a reef of the island, but a landing by rafts was safely effected and a camp established on the shore. Upon his return home, Putnam was

engaged in a campaign against the Indians, with the rank of colonel. When the war was ended, he retired to his farm once more and passed some time amid the quiet of rural scenes.

As soon, however, as the news of Lexington reached Pomfret—two days after that fatal event had occurred—Putnam unyoked his team and hastened to offer his service to his country, without even a change of dress or other preparation. He was placed at the head of the Connecticut forces, with the rank of major-general, and "stood ready at Cambridge for the bloody day of Bunker's Hill. He was in service in May in the spirited affair checking the British supplies from Noddle's island, in Boston harbor, and resolutely counseled the occupation of the heights of Charlestown. When the army of Prescott went forth, on the night of the sixteenth of June, to their gallant work, he was with them, taking no active command, but assisting where opportunity served. He was seen in different parts of the field, but his chief exertions appear to have been expended upon the attempted fortifications of Bunker's Hill, where he met the fugitives in the retreat, and conducted such of them as would obey him to the night's encampment at Prospect Hill."

Putnam had been made a major-general by congress ten days before this battle was fought. He continued to serve at the siege of Boston, and when the British proceeded against New York, was placed by Washington in command of the latter city until his own arrival. He gave himself industriously to the execution of plans for the defense of the city, and in August, upon the sudden illness of Greene, he was placed in command at the battle of Long Island. In January, 1777, he was ordered to Philadelphia to make provisions for its defense. In the May following, he was placed in command of the post at the Highlands for the execution of a similar task. It was while here that an event occurred that exemplifies his promptness, sternness and swift discharge of even an unpleasant duty. A British lieutenant, Edmund Palmer, had been arrested while in the American camp in disguise, and was tried as a spy and ordered to be executed. Sir Henry Clinton, with headquarters at New York, sent a flag of truce up the river and asked for the release or exchange of Palmer. To this Putnam made the following characteristic reply:

HEADQUARTERS, 7 August, 1777.

Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within our lines; he has been tried as a spy, condemned as a

spy and shall be executed as a spy, and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S.—He has been accordingly executed.

Putnam was arranging for an early attack upon New York, but his plan was frustrated when Washington, in September, ordered the withdrawal of a portion of his command to be used in support of the army in Pennsylvania. Putnam objected to being thus weakened, and a somewhat sharp correspondence ensued between himself upon the one side and Washington and Hamilton upon the other. In the spring following, he was relieved of his command in the Highlands and was ordered to Connecticut to supervise the raising of the new levies. He was stationed in the ensuing winter at Danbury, where the famous episode of Horse Neck occurred. While upon a visit to one of his outposts, he was so beset by Tryon and a body of British troops that escape was possible only by a horseback plunge down a steep declivity, seemingly impassable both to horse and man. The descent was made in safety and he escaped.

In 1779 General Putnam was again in the Highlands, looking after the defenses then erected at West Point. In the winter of that year he had been upon a visit to his family in Connecticut, and was on his return to the army at Morristown when he was stricken with paralysis. His right side was so disabled that there was an immediate end to his active, patriotic career, although he lived a number of years after, dying at Brookline, Connecticut, on May 29, 1790. He was a man of action, courage and patriotic devotion to his country. His whole life was one scene of stirring activity, full of remarkable episodes of danger and escape.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

ANOTHER eminent soldier of the Revolution was Nathanael Greene, who was born on May 27, 1742, in Warwick county, Rhode Island. His family were among the early settlers of that colony, having made their home in the wilderness soon after the banishment of Roger Williams. His father was proprietor of a forge and mill, to which industrial pursuits he also added the profession of

a Quaker preacher. The son was an eager student of any form of learning at command, but not unmindful of business demands while engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. He was married in 1774 to Miss Littlefield of Block Island, and made his home at Coventry, where he had been already established by his father as the director of a mill. He was a leading man in that community, establishing its first public school, and being chosen, in 1770, a member of the general assembly. He had a taste for military knowledge and life, and was a prominent member of the Rhode island militia organization. Upon the breaking out of the War of the Revolution, he was given command of the troops of the colony, with the rank of major-general, and was soon after advanced to the position of brigadier-general in the Continental service. He made the acquaintance of Washington, and always stood high in the good opinion of his chief.

After a short service of no special import at Boston, Greene was transferred to New York, and took up his position at an important point on Long Island. He was here seized with a severe attack of illness, which compelled him to relinquish his command for a time. He recovered, however, in time to take an active part in the retreat through Westchester. He had now attained the rank of major-general. He was in important commands in the attacks upon Trenton and Princeton, and performed gallant service at the Brandywine. He was entrusted with the left wing in the attack upon Germantown, and by his energy the troops were saved from a defeat. At the earnest request of Washington, who had discovered that he was possessed of unusual executive ability, General Greene accepted the position of quartermaster-general, with the understanding that he should not sacrifice by the position his right of command in the army. He retired from that office in 1780, and was assigned a command in the next engagement. He led the right wing in the battle of Monmouth, and performed brilliant service in turning into a victory what at first had promised defeat. He was with Sullivan in the operations about Newport; and at Springfield, in June, with a small force, withstood the attack of Knyphausen, who came against him with superior numbers. It was of this engagement that Hamilton so eloquently said: "The veteran at the head of a veteran army, baffled and almost beaten by a general without an army, aided, or rather embarrassed, by small fugitive bodies of volunteer militia, the mimicry of soldiership."

In September of the same year, 1780, Greene was made president of the board of officers by whom the sentence of death was passed upon

Major André. He was soon after assigned to the command at West Point, made vacant by the flight of Benedict Arnold, but was almost immediately summoned away by Washington, and given command of the Southern army in place of Gates, after the disaster at Camden. "It was an undertaking," to borrow the language of one historian, "of delicacy and peril, which would have disheartened a less discreet or persevering commander. The British forces were in possession of both Georgia and South Carolina; the issues of numerous encounters had been in their favor; they had been successful against Frenchmen and Americans united; in three campaigns they had been victorious, and remained masters of the field. Savannah had first fallen into their hands; Charleston, once preserved by Rutledge and Moultrie, had yielded to the overwhelming pressure of Clinton; then came the savage forays of Tarleton, rousing the fiery spirits of Marion and Sumter, who waited their hour of victory." The outlook before Greene was none of the brightest, but he never lost heart or courage, and went bravely forward to any fate that might be in reserve. He arrived at Charlotte in early December, where he found Gates with only two thousand men, badly clothed and provisioned, and short of adequate military supplies. Arranging matters as best he could for the supplying of these deficiencies, he divided his little army into two parts, advancing with one-half into South Carolina, where he took up a position on the Pedee, while Morgan was placed in command of the other. A series of operations ensued, in which the Americans were upon the defensive, followed by a number of engagements small in themselves but important as to their consequence, for the British were at last mostly confined to Charleston and the neighboring island of St. Johns, while "the prowess of Greene and the native defenders of the region prevented their again securing a foothold in the interior. It was difficult to say which army was in the greatest straits; the troops of Greene were suffering the want of everything an army should have, and the occupants of Charleston were straitened in the siege for want of provisions." The end of this state of affairs came on December 14, 1782, when the British evacuated Charleston and Greene and his little army marched in and took possession. In the spring following, peace was declared, and Greene was allowed to return to the home from which he had been absent so long. After a short time there, he returned to an estate upon the Savannah, presented him by the Georgia legislature, in grateful remembrance of his service; and the only thing that arose to disturb the quiet of his last years was the fact that he had given persona!

securities for the payment of his troops, which largely involved his personal fortunes. He was stricken by sunstroke while about his plantation, and died on June 12, 1786.

HORATIO GATES.

HORATIO GATES, whose greatest achievement in connection with the War for Independence was the victory at Saratoga, was a native of England, the place and date of his birth not being definitely known, except that the latter was in 1728. His first appearance in connection with American history was when, as captain of a King's Independent company, he joined Braddock's expedition in 1755. It was there he met Washington, and the acquaintance had a great deal to do with his course and fortune in after years. He was wounded in that engagement. His life between that period and the Revolution has been thus described by Washington Irving: "For two or three years he was with his company in the western part of the province of New York, receiving the appointment of brigade major. He accompanied General Monckton, as aid-de-camp, to the West Indies, and gained credit at the capture of Martinico. Being dispatched to London with tidings of the victory, he was rewarded by the appointment of major to a regiment of foot, and afterwards, as a special mark of royal favor, a majority in the Royal Americans. His promotion did not equal his expectations and fancied deserts. He was married and wanted something more lucrative; so he sold out on half-pay and became an applicant for some profitable post under government, which he hoped to obtain through the influence of General Monckton and some friends in the aristocracy. Thus several years were passed, partly with his family in retirement, partly in London, paying court to patrons and men in power, until, finding there was no likelihood of success, and having sold his commission and half-pay, he emigrated to Virginia in 1772, a disappointed man; purchased an estate in Berkeley county, beyond the Blue Ridge; espoused the popular cause, and renewed his old campaigning acquaintance with Washington."

When war with England was declared, Gates offered the service of his sword to his adopted country, and upon the recommendation of Washington, he was appointed adjutant-general of the Continental army, with the rank of brigadier-general. He was at first employed

in the organization of the army, and when the early disasters occurred upon the Canadian border, he was entrusted by Washington with special dispatches to congress, detailing the condition of affairs in that region. He was promoted to a major-generalship in May, 1776, and assigned command of the forces in Canada. He assisted in the operations there conducted by General Schuyler, and was afterwards at liberty to join Washington in his camp upon the Delaware. He was requested by Washington to once more take his old post as adjutant-general, but although he gave assent, he never assumed the position. He was ordered to Ticonderoga to support Schuyler, but felt that he had been overlooked for another, and, as we are told on the authority of Irving, "made his way to Philadelphia and gained access to congress with his complaints, under plea of communicating intelligence of importance. When he began to state his grievances, the house became excited, and he withdrew in indignation." When the news came of Burgoyne's advance and the abandonment of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, the New England influence, ever hostile to Schuyler, was brought to bear in Gates' favor, and he was appointed to the command of the northern department in Schuyler's stead. He took command in time to reap a harvest of victory from seed that others had already surely sown. The retreat of Burgoyne was followed soon by his surrender.

In the November following, General Gates was appointed president of the board of war, in which position his influence was used against Washington, rather than in his aid. Upon the formation of "Conway's Cabal"—fully told elsewhere in this book—its expressed purpose was to place Gates in the place of Washington, and its failure only brought mortification and shame upon those by whom it was planned. Gates was engaged in no special operations until in June, 1780, when he was called by congress to take command of the southern department. The surrender of Lincoln to Clinton had already occurred, while Cornwallis was resolutely pushing his army toward the north. The whole campaign of Gates was one of disaster. He pushed his men forward before they were ready in any sense of the word, and on the thirteenth of August was at Clermont, within twelve miles of Camden, where his crowning disaster occurred. On the same day Cornwallis reached the British camp from Charleston, and on the fifteenth both leaders left their camp, Gates to establish himself at a point nearer the enemy, where he might coöperate with Sumter, and Cornwallis for the purpose of surprising his enemy. A collision occurred between the advance guards, when both sides

retired to await the coming of daylight. In the morning the engagement commenced, and resulted in the complete defeat of the Americans. General Gates was soon after relieved by General Greene, and retired to his home in Virginia to await the result of a court of inquiry, ordered by congress for the investigation of his course in the south. He was acquitted and restored to his rank before the close of the war. Upon the return of peace he again returned to his farm, and soon after freed all his slaves and made his home in the city of New York. In 1800 he served one term in the legislature of that state, and died in New York city on April 10, 1806.

JAMES OTIS.

JAMES OTIS, one of those by whose eloquence and leadership the way for the Revolution was paved, was born at Great Marshes, afterwards West Barnstable, Massachusetts, on February 5, 1725, of an honorable and well-known family of English descent. He received his degree in college in 1743, and, after a year and a half devoted to the study of literature, entered upon the study of law, and, upon admission to the bar, entered practice at Plymouth, soon after removing to Boston. He married Ruth Cunnigham, the daughter of a merchant. He was early an advocate of the people, and in May, 1761, was chosen a member of the legislature. He soon found an opportunity of defense of the rights of the people as against the aggressions of the authorities. In 1762 a question arose concerning the right of the governor and council to appropriate money without having first obtained the consent of the house. The matter in issue, outside of the principle involved, was small—concerning the expenditure accrued in manning the one armed sloop of which the colony was possessed. By the instance and pen of Otis a remonstrance was drawn up, in which he declared that such act was "taking from the house their most darling privilege—the right of originating all taxes. No necessity can be sufficient to justify a house of representatives in giving up such a privilege, for it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be if both could levy taxes without parliament." The word "Treason!" was cried out while this sentence was being read, and the governor sent the address back with

the request that this obnoxious sentence be stricken out. The episode, however, shows how far Otis was already in advance of a majority of those about him.

Upon the adjournment of the legislature, Otis published a remarkable document, entitled "A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives," in which he declared for the rights of man in words of burning eloquence and power. "How many volumes," declares John Adams, "are concentrated in this little fugitive pamphlet, the production of a few hurried hours, amidst the continual solicitations of a crowd of clients—for his business at the bar at that time was very extensive and of the first importance—and amidst the host of politicians, suggesting their plans and schemes, claiming his advice and directions. Look over the 'Declaration of Rights and Wrongs,' issued by congress in 1774. Look into the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Look into the writings of Dr. Price and Dr. Priestly. Look into all the French constitutions of government, and, to cap the climax, look into Mr. Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense, Crisis and the Rights of Man.' What can you find that is not to be found in solid substance in this 'Vindication of the House of Representatives?'"

In 1764 Otis published yet another tract, "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved," which excited considerable discussion and debate, was reprinted in England and even discussed in the house of lords. He was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation in the Stamp Act congress, which met at New York in October, 1765, and was neither silent nor idle in that body. The next year he was chosen speaker of the legislature, but the choice was negatived by Governor Bernard. When that body, in 1767, offered vigorous opposition to the British measures of taxation, Otis and Samuel Adams stood side by side in their fearless attacks upon king and parliament. When the British sent a body of armed men to Boston, he was chairman of a town meeting held in the Old South church, and made an eloquent address from its pulpit. He counseled measures of moderation, but declared that should resistance be necessary, it should be carried to the death. The troop appeared, and when the general court met its building was surrounded by armed men. The members refused to act while thus menaced, and met from day to day only to adjourn, until the governor removed the court to Cambridge, out of the armed precinct. Meetings of the representatives were held in the chapel of Harvard college, where Otis made many eloquent speeches in favor of the cause he had so warmly espoused. An episode that occurred at this period, and was significant not only of Otis' course under provo-

cation but of the feeling and temper of the time, has been thus briefly described: "The house, having the proof in their hands of the misrepresentations of Governor Bernard to the home government, requested his recall, which, indeed, had already been determined upon by the ministry. Other letters of Bernard and his advisers also came to light through the hands of the colonial agent in London. In these the popular leaders were severely commented upon, Otis, of course, among the rest. The stigma wore upon his sensitive, overwrought mind, and he determined to resent it publicly. He published an advertisement in the *Boston Gazette* of September 4, 1769, in which he arraigned the commissioners of the customs by name—Henry Hutton, Charles Paxton, William Burch and John Robinson—as scandalous maligners in representing him 'as inimical to the rights of the crown and disaffected to his majesty, to whom I annually swear, and am determined at all events to bear true and faithful allegiance.' He, therefore, having in vain demanded personal satisfaction, 'humbly desires the lord commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his principal secretaries of state, particularly my Lord Hillsborough, the board of trade and all others whom it may concern, or who may condescend to read this, to pay no kind of regard to any of the abusive representations of me or of my country that may be transmitted by the said Henry, Charles, William and John, or their confederates, for they are no more worthy of credit than those of Sir Francis Bernard of Nettleham, baronet, or any of his cabal, which cabal may be well known from the papers in the house of commons and at every great office in England.' The next evening after this poster had appeared, Otis entered the British coffee-house, where Robinson, one of the commissioners, was sitting with a number of army and navy officers. An altercation immediately ensued, when Robinson struck Otis with a cane. In the confusion the lights were extinguished, and Otis, without any protector among the friends of Robinson, when the fray, or rather gross assault, came to an end, was taken home wounded and bleeding. He was found to have a deep wound on the head, inflicted by a sharp instrument. As several bludgeons and a scabbard were found on the floor, it was not unnaturally thought that he was the victim of a murderous assault. To bring his assailant to an acknowledgment, Otis instituted a suit against him, in which he was awarded two thousand pounds damages; but he would not receive it, saying, 'It is absolutely impossible that I should take a penny from a man in this way, after an acknowledgment of his error.'"

The remainder of the life awarded to James Otis is marked only by

its sadness, a cloud of darkness gradually spreading over the mind once so bright, and commonplaces or wanderings taking the place of eloquence so thrilling. Only occasionally, at lucid intervals, would his genius shine out with a clear ray. John Adams writes of him in 1770: "Otis is in confusion yet; he loses himself; he rambles and wanders like a ship without a helm. . . . I fear he is not in his perfect mind. The nervous, concise and pithy were his character till lately; now the verbose, roundabout and rambling and long-winded."

He occasionally appeared in the legislature afterwards, but took no important part. Recognition of his past services was had in an official declaration of his "great and important services, which, as a representative in the general assembly, through a course of years, he has rendered to this town and province, particularly for his undaunted exertions in the common cause of the colonies, from the beginning of the present glorious struggle for the rights of the British constitution." These declarations were made in 1770, when ill-health compelled his retirement. He recovered sufficiently to be again elected, but was soon compelled to retire again to private life and there permanently remain. His mind was clouded, but he was never violent, and upon occasional seasons was in many respects his old self. His end came suddenly, by stroke of lightning, as he stood by a window, on May 23, 1783.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

RICHARD HENRY LEE was a descendant of one of the best known and most highly respected English families that helped to plant the Old Dominion in the wilds of America. He was born on January 20, 1732, at Stratford, Westmoreland county, Virginia. The boy's education was begun at home, after which he was sent to a school in Yorkshire, England. He returned at the age of nineteen with a fair classical and English education, and for a time devoted himself earnestly to the excellent library his father had collected. Although a young man of culture, he was also one of action, and when Braddock was arranging for his expedition, Lee reported himself with a company of men, of whom he had been chosen captain, ready to take the field; but the English general thought he had no use for volunteers and sent the young leader and his men home. When Lee

was twenty-five years of age, he was made a justice of the peace for his county; and in 1761 was elected to represent Westmoreland county in the house of burgesses. He soon reached a position of influence in that body, and was on the side of popular liberty in the long agitation that preceded the declaration of war. In 1764 we find him writing to a friend in England, in relation to the Stamp act: "But after all, my dear friend, the ways of Heaven are inscrutable, and frequently the most unlooked-for events have arisen from seemingly the most inadequate causes. Possibly this step of the mother country, though intended to oppress and keep us low, in order to secure our dependence, may be subversive to this end." When the act passed, he was one of the foremost in Virginia to suppress any attempt to make it effective in the colony. In 1773 he proposed by resolution in the house a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry, for the purpose of understanding the views of England and to keep up communication with the sister colonies, north and south. He was chosen a member of the Continental congress of 1774, and was soon one of those engaged in the preparation of the several addresses which were among the early labors of that body. He was returned in the following year, and distinguished himself by his energy, intelligence and eloquence. He was chairman of the committee appointed to prepare Washington's commission and instructions as commander-in-chief of the American forces. He was the author of both the first "Address to the People of British America" and the second "Appeal to the Inhabitants of Great Britain;" and in the latter may be found these brave and significant words: "Yet conclude not that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or vest your parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our Constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers, equal foes to British and American freedom, have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favor, yet men trained to arms from their infancy and animated by the love of liberty will afford neither a cheap nor easy conquest. Of this, at least, we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain, since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy."

It was to Richard Henry Lee that befell the honor to move, on June

7, 1776, that famous resolution that paved the way for the more extended declaration of July 4:

"That these United colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

In 1777 Lee was compelled by ill health to retire to private life, but was returned to congress in 1778, retired again in 1780, and again returned in 1784, when he was chosen to the position of presiding officer. In the meanwhile, he had been employed in the assembly of Virginia. In 1787 we find him once more a member of congress, where he was one of a committee which reported the famous ordinance for the government of the territory of the northwest, in which was the provision against slavery. He voted to submit the proposed Constitution to the people, but vehemently opposed its adoption; and on its adoption was one of Virginia's first representatives in the senate of the United States. In 1792 ill health caused him to resign his seat in that body and retire again to private life. He died at Chantilly, Westmoreland county, on June 17, 1794. His life was one of public usefulness, and his devotion to his country was such as to make him a conspicuous figure in a gallery of eminent men.

JOSEPH WARREN.

JOSEPH WARREN, one of the first of the many heroes to give his life in the service of his country upon the battlefields of the Revolution, was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, on June 11, 1741. He graduated at Harvard in 1759, studied medicine, and, when sufficiently advanced, commenced the practice of his profession at Boston. He was an earnest opponent to the course of England toward the colonies, through the press and in the clubs, making himself felt in the arousing of public opinion for the conflict he was sure must come. He was selected to deliver the address upon the second anniversary of the Boston massacre—an undertaking, as has been said, "in presence of the colonial court and council, and the very soldiery who were the subjects of comment, which might well be considered the very forlorn hope of political oratory." He was also selected for the same task in 1775, at a time of great public excitement and personal danger. He

spoke in the Old South church, the very pulpit stairs being crowded by soldiers of the garrison. "While he was speaking, a captain of the Royal Welch Fusileers, seated on the stairs, held up to the orator's view several bullets in the palm of his hand and attempted to banish the audience by the cry of fire. Warren gracefully extinguished the menace by dropping his handkerchief over the minatory hand."

In 1772 Warren was a member of the committee of correspondence of Boston, and when a meeting was held at Suffolk in the hope of checking the threatened military occupation of Boston Neck, he prepared the address sent to Governor Gage. He was elected a delegate to the Provincial congress, and, in the absence of Hancock at Philadelphia, was chosen its president. He was also chairman of the committee of safety, in which capacity he served with activity and efficiency. When the British troops made their fatal movement on the eve of the battle of Lexington, it was Warren who dispatched William Dawes and Paul Revere to sound the alarm and to acquaint Adams and Hancock of the danger of capture in which they were placed, and it was a part of his plan that caused the famous signal light of the North church steeple to be hung aloft. As he left Boston that night, he turned to a friend and said: "Keep up a brave heart. They have begun it—that either party could do; and we'll end it—that only one can do." When the British returned from that fight, he was at Cambridge, in the committee of safety, which he left to take a part in the pursuit of the fleeing troops. He had a narrow escape from death, a bullet carrying off a curl on the side of his head.

On May 27 Warren served as one of Putnam's volunteers in the skirmish of Noddle's island, and on June 6 he superintended an exchange of prisoners between the Americans and British. The fourteenth of the same month saw his appointment by the Provincial congress to the rank of major-general. When the fight of Bunker Hill commenced, and Prescott and Putnam were making so gallant a stand against superior forces, Warren hastened to the point of danger to give what aid he could. He was met by Putnam, who asked for orders. The response was that he had none to give, and had only come to make himself useful where he could. Prescott also tendered him the command, when he replied, "I came as a volunteer to learn from a soldier of experience." He was one of the last in the trenches of that famous fight, and at the very beginning of the retreat was struck by a bullet in the forehead and instantly killed, on June 17, 1775. His end was that of a hero, and as such he was sincerely mourned and as such will be forever remembered.

WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

WILLIAM MOULTRIE was another of those brave men by whose daring the America of to-day was made possible. Born in England in or near 1731, he was brought to South Carolina while very young. Little is known of his boyhood, and we first find him engaged in the long continued wars between the colony and the Cherokees, where he distinguished himself in many a hard-fought field. He was one of the foremost in the colonial resistance to England, and when the Provincial congress of South Carolina met at Charleston in January, 1775, he was numbered among its delegates. When active work in the field was inaugurated, he was made colonel of the Second regiment of infantry, employing himself diligently in the collection of ammunition and the erection of batteries for the defense of Charleston. In February Moultrie was ordered to take command of the fort in process of erection on Sullivan's island, which he determined to hold at all hazards against the strong force of British now brought against the city. When the attack was made, on the twenty-eighth of June, Moultrie had but four hundred and thirty-five men and thirty-one guns, but was short of ammunition. The battle commenced with a discharge of shells, which, we are told, "produced little effect, the balls hitting the mark, indeed, but sinking, as they struck, harmlessly imbedded in the soft palmetto. On the other hand, the fire returned told with fearful emphasis. Carefully husbanding his scanty ammunition, Moultrie, coolly smoking his pipe, directed his men, who were stripped to their work, to single out the flag-ship. The *Bristol*, indeed, suffered woefully. So the day wore on. The sun went down and the fiery conflict was not yet abated. At nine o'clock the admiral withdrew his ship from the range and the day was over. Charleston was delivered." Because of this effective defense, Moultrie was advanced by congress to the position of brigadier-general in the regular army.

During the many operations that ensued in the south, more fully recounted elsewhere, Moultrie was one of the leaders upon whom the people depended, and who could always be trusted to do his very best. Upon the surrender of Charleston by Lincoln, he became a paroled prisoner. In June, 1781, he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he remained until the February following, when he was exchanged, and proceeded to South Carolina, where he visited the camp of Marion and Greene and had the pleasure of seeing Charleston once more surrendered into American hands. At the conclusion of the war he

returned to his plantation, which he found plundered and devastated in the fortunes of war. In 1785 he was chosen governor of South Carolina, and again in 1794. On September 27, 1805, he died at Charleston, when near seventy-five years of age.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

THIS war governor of Connecticut, who contributed so much toward the success of the Revolution and so ably seconded the efforts of those in the field, belonged to a family that had already been of great service to the people in more than one capacity. He was born on October 12, 1710, at Lebanon, Connecticut. He graduated at Harvard in 1727, and inclining naturally toward the ministry, was licensed and commenced to preach. Upon the death of his elder brother, he was called upon to assist his father, and that fact made of him a man of business rather than a divine. He eventually carried on extensive operations at home and abroad, and acquired a considerable fortune. His entrance upon public life occurred in 1733, when he was made a member of the general assembly, and was returned by successive elections. In 1739 he was chosen speaker of the house, and in 1740 was advanced to a membership in the council, and continued without interruption therein during the ten ensuing years. He had, meanwhile, also held the offices of assistant-judge of the county court, judge of the county court of Windham and judge of the probate court of the same district.

Upon the breaking out of the war with France, in 1739, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of one of the militia regiments, and, although he took no active part in the field, was very active as a commissioner and in other capacities, in furthering the operations of the war. From that time until the period of the Revolution he was busily engaged in his private and public affairs, becoming chief-justice in 1768, deputy governor from 1766 to 1770, and in the last year governor. He aided the patriot cause from the first by every means in his power. "Essentially a man of business," says his biographer, "skilled in affairs, he turned his attention as naturally to the exigencies of the times as to any new questions which might arise in the course of his ordinary duties or commercial enterprise. To his clear perception, the Revolution was a foregone conclusion, rapidly incorporating itself in

substantial existence, and he cheerfully assisted the growth of the spirited infant, born not without the protections of the gods. In his conduct in the assembly on occasion of the protest against the loyalist governor, Fitch, on the test question of the Stamp act in 1765, through all the preliminary scenes, in his official proclamation of a fast in 1774—a Puritan New England state paper sounding the notes of remonstrance and revolt—his advocacy of and correspondence with the Continental congress of the same year, we find him the calm, considerate, zealous friend of American liberty."

When war was actually declared, he was able, as governor of a state of vital importance in the condition of affairs, to do much in aid of the patriot cause. In recruiting for the service, in supplying men and stores, in advice to Washington, who was his intimate friend, in pacifying the Indians, and in a hundred other ways needless to enumerate here, he made his abilities and patriotism felt with abundant effect. Not until the surrender of Cornwallis and the close of the war did he permit himself a thought of rest, but when that desired event was reached, he laid aside the cares of office and entered the retired quiet of a good old age. He died at his home in Lebanon, on August 17, 1785, beloved by all who knew him, and honored everywhere in that new Nation which he had aided to create.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY, who gave his young life to the cause of his country, was born of an excellent family, near the town of Raphoe, Ireland, on December 2, 1736. He received a liberal education at Trinity college, Dublin, and at the age of eighteen entered the army. He was in Amherst's expedition in America, in 1758, and upon its conclusion served with his regiment in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain. He was next ordered upon the expedition to the West Indies, where he bore himself with honor. In 1763 he was permitted to return to England, where he favored the colonists' side in the discussions then conducted with such vigor upon both sides of the sea. In 1772 he sold his commission and proceeded to New York, with the purpose of making America his home. He was soon after united in marriage to a daughter of Robert R. Livingston, a justice of the supreme court of the colony and father to the

future chancelor of the same name. He then retired to a pleasant farm home on the Hudson, where he remained in study and amid the engagements of social life until the time when all men who loved their country were called to action in her defense. Although of birth other than American, Montgomery's heart was with the colony which had now become his home, and his voice or sword were ready for her service. He was chosen a delegate to the convention of the province, held at New York in April, 1775. His military career made him more fit for the field than in the less active scenes of legislation, and when the army was organized and the command placed in the hands of Washington, Montgomery was appointed a brigadier-general.

When the expedition to Canada was determined upon and the approach by two routes chosen—that by Lake Champlain and the Kennebec—the charge of the first-named fell upon Montgomery, because of the sudden illness of General Schuyler, his superior in command. He entered upon the discharge of his difficult and perilous task with all the energy of a resolute nature, and in the capture of St. Johns and other operations by which the way to Montreal was opened to the American arms, he displayed such gallantry and skill that congress promoted him to a major-generalship. When Arnold, with energy and resolution of a superior character, had forced his way to Quebec, Montgomery used the utmost expedition to come to his aid. In December, with a force that, at the close of his forced march through the wilderness, numbered but three hundred men, and with means far inadequate to the task to which he had been set, he joined Arnold's little army before the great citadel. No more disheartening situation could be imagined. The already small army of patriots was exposed not only to the severity of a Canadian winter, with inadequate shelter and clothing, but smallpox also broke out in the camp, and many brave lives were given up. Despite all these discouragements, Arnold and Montgomery determined upon storming the British works, and waited only for a favoring opportunity for the attempt. It was agreed that the outer defenses of the place should be attacked by various small parties, while a combined assault should be made upon one of the most accessible gates. One of the southerly approaches to the lower town was assigned to Montgomery. On December 30 a threatened snow-storm seemed to offer the desired opportunity. Before the dawn of the following morning the little bands assembled at their various stations. That assigned to Montgomery consisted of Campbell's New York regiment and a body of Massachusetts militia. He led them through a heavy snow-storm

from Wolfe's Cove to a point where a fortified block-house stood, protected by a stockade. A cannon loaded with grape was fired as the approach was made, with desperate effect, Montgomery being instantly killed, and by his side Captain Macpherson and Captain Cheeseman of New York. The news of his death was received throughout the colonies with tears and lamentations. Congress decreed the honor of a funeral oration in honor of his memory; a monument was set beneath the portico of St. Paul's church in New York, and signal marks of affection and respect were witnessed in every portion of the land.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

SO far the heroes of the Revolution have been those whose deeds were performed upon the land, and we turn now to one whose exploits upon the seas equaled, in daring and glory, those performed anywhere in the long period from Lexington to Yorkton. John Paul, or John Paul Jones, by which appellation he is best known in history, was the son of a gardener in Scotland, and was born on July 6, 1747, at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean. Little chance of education could have been afforded him, as at the age of twelve we find him an apprentice to a Mr. Younger, merchant in the American trade, who sent him on a voyage to Virginia, where an elder brother of the boy was established at Fredericksburg. The early failure of his employer set him adrift, and in lack of better employment he sailed upon the *King George*, engaged in the slave traffic; and at the age of nineteen he was chief mate of the *Two Friends* of Jamaica, engaged in the same infamous business. He soon revolted at the infamy of his occupation, forsook it and returned to Scotland. On the voyage home the chief officers of the vessel died of fever, and John Paul took command of the vessel and carried her in safety to the owners. He was immediately placed in command of the ship, the *John*, and sent upon another West Indian voyage, "in the course of which," as we are told by his biographer, "an incident happened which gave him, for some time, an ill name and diverted him from his country. He had occasion to punish the carpenter, Mungo Maxwell, for some infraction of duty, by flogging. Maxwell complained to the authorities at Tobogo, without redress, and the whole affair would have been thought of no conse-

quence had not the complainant died shortly after, not, indeed, of his wounds, but of a West India fever. The report gained ground that Captain Paul had killed him. In consequence of the annoyance from this affair or other difficulties, Paul left Scotland, finally, in 1771, never to return to it, save to carry terror among its population. He proceeded to London, found employment in the West India trade, and in 1773 settled himself for awhile on the estate of his brother, to whom he had now become heir. This was a grand turning point of his career, and to signalize it properly, Paul, who was of somewhat a fanciful turn, added the name of Jones to his proper appellation, John Paul."

When the navy of America was organized, in 1775, John Paul Jones was made a lieutenant on the flag-ship *Alfred*, and when the new squadron made the attack upon the island of New Jersey, he rendered signal service. He was soon after advanced to the command of the *Providence*, carrying twelve guns and seventy men. He was engaged on various expeditions, transporting troops, conveying merchantmen and harassing the commercial interests of the enemy whenever opportunity offered. His course was crowned with such success that he was placed in command of the *Alfred* and other vessels sent upon an expedition to the eastward, which resulted in the capture of important prizes and damage to the fisheries at Causo. On June 14, 1777, he was appointed to the command of the *Ranger*, and sent across sea to take charge of a vessel which was to be provided by the commissioners at Paris. He reached Nantes in December, but was disappointed in obtaining the larger craft, and was compelled to remain content with the *Ranger*. On April 10, 1778, he grew tired of inaction, and sailed from Brest on a cruise in British waters. He committed various depredations upon the enemy, and on April 24 captured the sloop-of-war *Drake*, of twenty guns, after a severe engagement. He carried his prize safely into Brest. Arrangements were soon after completed in France by which a small fleet was furnished, of which Jones was to take command. Five vessels were provided and, as we are told, "an old Indiaman, the *Duke de Duras*, fell to the lot of Jones. In compliment to Dr. Franklin, one of the commissioners, and especially in gratitude for a hint which he had accidentally lighted upon in an odd number of that philosopher's almanac, to the effect that whoever would have his business well done must do it himself—a suggestion by which Jones had greatly profited in giving a final spur to his protracted negotiations—he changed the

name of his vessel, by permission of the French government, to *Bon Homme Richard.*"

On the fourteenth of August his little fleet set sail. His vessel was unseaworthy, her armament defective, and in her crew Englishmen and foreigners outnumbered the Americans. When off Flamborough Head, he suddenly fell in with the Baltic fleet, protected by two British cruisers, the *Serapis* and the *Scarborough.* Jones never hesitated, but prepared for action. The combat between the *Richard* and the *Serapis* deserves a detailed description, as it is one of the most remarkable encounters between armed foes that ever occurred on sea or land. It occurred by moonlight, on a tranquil sea, and within sight of the shore which was thronged by thousands of spectators. The account of that contest has been thus briefly given: After various preliminary maneuvers on the part of the British commander to shelter the merchantmen, the engagement began at half past seven in the evening with a series of attempts of the *Bon Homme Richard* to come to close quarters with her antagonist. At the first broadside of Jones' vessel, two of the old eighteen-pounders mounted in her gun-room burst, with fearful destruction to the men. This accident compelled the closing of the lower ports, and produced a still greater inequality between the combatants than at the start, for the *Serapis* was not only a well-constructed, well-furnished man-of-war, thoroughly equipped, while the poor *Richard* had every disadvantage in these respects, but the absolute weight of metal was, at the outset, greatly in favor of the Englishman. The *Richard* then passed to the windward of the *Serapis*, receiving her fire, which did much damage to the rotten hulk of the old Indiaman. Jones next attempted a movement to get into position to take his antagonist from stem to stern, which resulted in a momentary collision. There was an effort to board the *Serapis*, which was repulsed, when Captain Pearson called out, "Has your ship struck?" and Jones instantly replied, "I have not yet begun to fight!" The ships then separated and were brought again to a broadside encounter, when Jones, feeling the superior force of the *Serapis* and her better sailing, was fully prepared to take advantage of the next position, as the ships fell foul of one another, to grapple with his opponent. He himself assisted in lashing the jibstay of the *Serapis* to the mizzen mast of the *Richard.* The ships became now closely entangled for their full length on their starboard sides. So near were they together, that the guns of one touched the sides of the other, and in some places where the portholes met, the guns were loaded by passing the rammers into the opposite vessel. Every discharge in this



EDWIN M. STANTON.

position was, of course, most deadly, and told fearfully upon the rotten timbers of the *Richard.* The *Serapis* poured in her fire below from a full battery, while the *Richard* was confined to three guns on deck. She had efficient aid, however, in clearing the deck of the *Serapis*, from the musketry and hand-grenades of her men in the tops. One of these missiles reached the lower gun-deck of the *Serapis*, and there setting fire to a quantity of exposed cartridges, produced a destruction of life—an offset to the fearful loss of the *Richard* by the bursting of her guns in the opening of the engagement. The injury to the *Richard* from the wounds inflicted upon her hull was at this time so great that she was pronounced to be sinking, and there was a cry among the men of surrender; not, however, from Jones, who was as much himself at this extremity as ever. Seeing the English prisoners who had been released below, more than a hundred in number, rushing upon deck, where in a moment they might have leaped into the *Serapis* and put themselves under their country's flag, he coolly set them to working the pumps, to save the sinking ship. Human courage and resolution have seldom been more severely tried than in the exigencies of this terrible night on board the *Richard.* Jones continued to ply his feeble cannonade from the deck, leveled at the mainmast of the adversary. Both vessels were on fire, when, at half past ten, the *Serapis* struck.

The loss of the *Richard* was fully one hundred and fifty, nearly one-half the men she had engaged, while that of the British was, at least, one hundred and seventeen. The *Richard* was so riddled that she could not be saved from sinking; her gallant crew and prisoners were transferred to the *Serapis*, and in the forenoon of the following day she went down forever. Meanwhile, the other vessels had captured the remaining British man-of-war, and the prizes were carried to the Texel. Jones found himself a hero, and in October, 1780, left for America, bearing with him an elegant sword, presented by the king of France. He reached Philadelphia in February, 1781. He was received with lavish expressions of congratulation and praise. Washington complimented him by special letter, and congress gave him permission to accept the Cross of the Order of Military Merit which the French king had tendered him.

Because of disappointment in that he was not given command of the *America* and the *South Carolina*, Jones joined the French squadron on a West India cruise. When peace between England and America was declared, he returned to France, where he realized a large sum of money for the prizes he had captured. He returned to America in

1787, when congress ordered a gold medal to be struck in his honor, and gave him a letter of recommendation to Louis XVI, in whose service he desired to engage. Upon reaching Europe, he was induced to enter the service of the Empress Catharine, and was in command for a time on the Black sea, in a war against the Turks. Various half-fulfilled purposes of future renown and usefulness flitted through his mind, all of which were ended by his death on July 18, 1792, at Paris, of dropsical affection of the heart. His remains were laid at rest in that great city; the National assembly made of his funeral an occasion of public mourning, and his life and deeds were made a theme for new inspiration to the people of France in their earnest yearnings for liberty.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

BETTER had it been for Benedict Arnold had he, also, fallen in the assault upon Quebec that ended the life of Montgomery, as his name would then have been linked in eternal glory with that of his brother-in-arms, rather than with the never-ending infamy with which it is associated. Yet the dark deed of a later time should not detract from his brilliant services in the early days of the Revolution, nor dim the lustre of the deeds of daring he performed before temptation led him from the path of honor.

He was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on January 3, 1740. His early training was as a merchant, although his restless energy and ambition for distinction illy fitted him for so quiet a course of life. When the Revolution opened, he was as patriotic and eager as any in the service of his country, and being captain of a company of militia, he marched them to Cambridge, Massachusetts, when the news of Lexington reached him, and offered them and himself for any duty or danger to which they might be assigned. He was made a colonel, and was of considerable assistance to Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Reference has been already made to the expedition he led in connection with Montgomery to Quebec, and the arrangements made for storming that well defended place. In that assault he was severely wounded in the leg. He was advanced by congress to the position of brigadier-general, in reward of his services in that campaign. During the following spring and

summer he was still located on the northern frontier. Organizing a small fleet on Lake Champlain, he met the British in desperate combat on October 11, 1776, and although showing great skill and courage, he was defeated by overpowering numbers. He succeeded, however, in running his vessels ashore and setting them on fire, when he retired with his forces to Ticonderoga.

When congress soon after appointed a number of major-generals, Arnold was omitted, although he and his friends believed he deserved the honor equally with any of the five who were named. He was disappointed and angered, and even a personal letter of explanation from Washington failed to remove the sting. Congress finally advanced him to a major-generalship, although the injury done in the first place was not altogether repaired, as he was still left below the other five. Brilliant work upon his part ensued. In the summer of 1777 he was again ordered to the Northern army, and by a movement full of genius and courage relieved Fort Stanwix, which was besieged by a large force of British and Indians. In the second battle of Bemis Heights, he entered the field without the permission of Gates, whose purpose seemed to be to ignore him, and led a desperate charge against the Hessians. In this he was severely wounded, but was sufficiently recovered by June, 1778, to accept the command of Philadelphia, which had recently been evacuated by the enemy. He was in that position nearly a year, and governed with such imperious sway that charges were made, and in January, 1780, he was sentenced by a court-martial to a reprimand, which was gently administered by Washington. He was already in secret correspondence with the enemy, although professing the utmost devotion to the cause of his country. Upon his own solicitation he was given command at West Point, where he entered upon his duties on August 3 of the year last named. The correspondence for a year and a half past carried on between himself and Sir Henry Clinton, who was in charge of the British forces at New York, began now to take definite form; and in September negotiations had been so far conducted that Arnold requested a personal interview, at his own headquarters, with Major André, who had conducted the correspondence on behalf of Clinton. On the eighteenth, the day designated for this conference, the arrival of Washington at West Point disarranged these preconcerted plans somewhat, but the conference with André was finally held on the night of the twenty-first, at the foot of Clove mountain, near Stony Point. André was given papers disclosing the plans of the works at West Point and the strength of the garrison, and on his way back to the

British lines was captured, and the evidence of Arnold's treason found upon his person. The papers were sent to Washington, but before action could be taken, Arnold was apprised of André's capture and made his escape to the British. His conspiracy was thus nipped in the bud and a most fatal blow to the American cause averted. André went to execution and Arnold received the reward of his infamy. He was made a major-general in the British army, and on several occasions aided in expeditions against his old companions-in-arms. When the war ended, he proceeded to England, and was paid a large sum of money by the English government. He was shunned and despised even by those whose cause he had espoused, and failed in several attempts to enter business. He finally died in loneliness and obscurity, at London, on June 14, 1801.

JOHN STARK.

JOHN STARK was of Scotch descent, and was born at Londonderry, New Hampshire, on August 28, 1728. When sixteen years of age he was taken captive by the Indians and was taken to St. Francis, on the St. Lawrence, where he was ransomed for one hundred and three dollars. Some time was devoted to the life of a hunter, and on the breaking out of the French war he was made a lieutenant on the American side, and because of bravery and the exhibition of true soldierly qualities, was soon after promoted to the position of captain. He was with Amherst, and in the campaign of 1759 was engaged in opening a road through the wilderness from Crown Point to the Connecticut river. His whole soul was thrown into the Revolutionary struggle, being a member of a New Hampshire committee of safety; and when the news of Lexington came flying up among the granite hills, ten minutes had not elapsed before he was in his saddle and out in a hot search for volunteers. He was elected colonel of the first formed New Hampshire regiment. At the battle of Bunker Hill he was in command on the left wing, where he performed gallant service; and after the action he was posted on Winter Hill, where he remained until the British abandoned Boston. He was then transferred to New York; was one of Sullivan's expedition, and was afterward stationed in the neighborhood of Ticonderoga.

General Stark was next transferred to the army of Washington, and

in the movement upon Trenton distinguished himself in leading the advance guard. He took part at Princeton. When promotions were made he was overlooked, and in hot anger he resigned his commission and went home, where he still gave aid and encouragement to the cause. When Burgoyne's army was moving southward, Stark with his neighbors hastened to offer their services to repel the advance. The first movement of troops was assigned to him, which he accepted on condition that the command should be considered a local one, subject only to orders from the authorities of his state. He assumed command of the force gathered at Bennington, and awaited the appearance of the enemy. When he heard that they were upon the road, he moved forward promptly to meet them. Some skirmishing ensued, and on August 16 the forces met in real battle. Stark made the attack, which is thus graphically described in the language of Washington Irving: "At the sound of firearms, Stark, who had remained with the main body in camp, mounted his horse and gave the word 'forward!' He had promised his men the plunder of the British camp. The homely speech made by him when in sight of the enemy has often been cited: 'Now, my men, there are the redcoats. Before night they must be ours, or Molly Stark will be a widow!' Baum soon found himself assailed on every side, but he defended his works bravely. His two pieces of artillery, advantageously planted, were very effective, and his troops, if slow in march, were steady in action. For two hours the discharge of firearms was said to have been like the constant rattling of the drum. Stark, in his dispatches, compared it to 'a continued clap of thunder.' It was the hottest fight he had ever seen. He inspired his men with his own impetuosity. They drove the royalist troops upon the Hessians, and pressing after them, stormed the works with irresistible fury."

Congress gave General Stark a vote of thanks for his brilliant victory, and forthwith made him a brigadier-general. He was busy thenceforth until the close of the war, in both the northern and eastern service. He took part in the battle of Springfield; was at one time in command at Rhode Island and at West Point, and was a member of the court-martial by which Major André was tried and sentenced. Upon the close of the war he retired to his home, followed by the admiration and respect of the whole country. He lived nearly forty years after the Revolution, and in illustration of his sturdy and stirring disposition, we are told that "he was destined even to be stirred by the vicissitudes of a third war. When the French cannon, which he had captured at Bennington, were surrendered by Hull to

the British at Detroit, he sighed for his old vigor, that he might take the field again." He died, when ninety-four years of age, at his home in Manchester, on May 8, 1822.

ETHAN ALLEN.

ETHAN ALLEN was an active and moving force among the strong and uncultured men among whom his lot was cast, and his aid, through that personal influence, to the Revolution was of the most signal importance. He was born in Connecticut in 1739, and passed a childhood and youth like those of the great mass of pioneer youth about him. In 1763, in company with four brothers, he settled in the town of Bennington, Vermont. The great debate between New York and New Hampshire as to their proper boundary line was yet in full force, and Allen became prominent in the agitation. He was selected in 1770 as agent to represent the settlers at Albany; and when the civic decision was against those who held grants in the disputed lands from New Hampshire, he went back to his constituents and advised them to resist by force what he considered an invasion of their rights. The forces of New York met armed opposition at all points. Allen was made colonel of a regiment of defense, and in his impetuous way he not only protected those who had settled from New Hampshire on the debated grounds, which covered all of the present state of Vermont, then known as the New Hampshire grants, but acted upon the offensive and removed the settlers from New York. Matters remained in this condition until the breaking out of the great war, New York still advancing her claims, while the New Hampshire men retained possession.

When the news of Lexington set the people everywhere in motion, a plan was concerted for seizing the fortress of Ticonderoga, then in the possession of British troops, and making use of its cannon by the patriot army already forming about Boston. Allen was placed in charge of the expedition, and on the seventh of May the little army of two hundred and thirty men was in motion. As this attack was one of the earliest, bravest and most successful of the war, showing the world the quality of the men who had proclaimed defiance to the power of all England, a detailed description will be of value in this connection. "The day began to dawn," says De Puy, "and only the

officers and eighty-three men had crossed the lake. Delay was hazardous, for the garrison, if aroused, would make stout resistance. Allen, therefore, resolved not to wait for the rear division to cross, but to attack the fort at once. He drew up his men in three ranks upon the shore, and in low but distinct tones briefly harangued them; and then, placing himself at their head, with Arnold at his side, they marched quickly but stealthily up the height to the sally-port. The sentinel snapped his fusee at the commander, but it missed fire, and he retreated within the fort, under a covered way. The Americans followed close upon his heels, and were thus guided by the alarmed fugitive directly to the parade within the barracks. There another sentinel made a thrust at Colonel Easton, but a blow upon the head from Allen's sword made him beg for quarter, and the patriots met with no further resistance. As they rushed into the parade, they gave a tremendous shout, and filing off into two divisions, formed a line of forty men along each of the two ranges of barracks. The aroused garrison leaped from their pallets, seized their arms and rushed for the parade, but only to be made prisoners by the intrepid New Englanders. Allen demanded to be shown to the apartment of Captain Delaplace, the commandant of the garrison. It was pointed out, and Colonel Allen, with Nathan Beman at his elbow, who knew the way, hastily ascended the stairs and called out with a voice of thunder at the door, ordering the astonished captain instantly to appear, or the whole garrison should be sacrificed. Startled at so strange and unexpected a summons, he sprang from his bed and opened the door, when the first salutation of his boisterous and unreasonable visitor was an order immediately to surrender the fort. Rubbing his eyes and trying to collect his scattered senses, the captain asked by what authority he presumed to make such a demand. 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental congress!' replied Allen. The commandant began to remonstrate, but Colonel Allen cut short the thread of his discourse by lifting the sword over his head and reiterating the demand for an immediate surrender. Having neither permission to argue nor power to resist, Captain Delaplace submitted, ordering his men to parade without arms, and the garrison was given up to the victors. It is a singular fact that the Continental congress, instead of authorizing Allen to take Ticonderoga, were entirely ignorant of the enterprise, and did not meet for organization until six hours after the surrender of the fortress. This achievement, besides being the first on the part of the patriots, was of the utmost importance. Ticonderoga and Crown Point commanded the great avenue

between Canada and the other colonies, and its possession gave the Americans facilities for the subsequent brilliant campaign in Canada, and the military spoils taken by Allen were of incalculable benefit to the army near Boston. These spoils consisted of one hundred and twenty pieces of iron cannon, fifty swivels, ten tons of musket balls, three cart-loads of flints, thirty new carriages, a considerable quantity of shells, a warehouse full of material for boat building and a large quantity of other stores."

This auspicious opening of his military career was but the beginning of able work elsewhere. Allen proceeded to Philadelphia, where congress made formal acknowledgment of his great service. He volunteered in General Schuyler's army, and was sent upon a secret mission to sound the views of Canada as to resistance to Great Britain; and was also of signal aid in Montgomery's expedition to Canada. In an affair at Montreal in September, 1775, he was made a prisoner and sent to England, and afterwards returned to America, where he was confined at Halifax and New York until May 3, 1778, when he was exchanged. He was received with a most cordial welcome by the authorities and the people, and was about to attach himself to the American army when the old boundary troubles were renewed, and Allen placed himself under the orders of his own colony. He was chosen general of its militia, and was soon after sent as agent to congress, to lay the whole matter in dispute before that body. His whole time until the end of the war was taken up in these negotiations and disputes. He served for a time in the legislature of the new state of Vermont, and was a useful and honored member of the commonwealth he had helped to create until the day of his death, which occurred at Burlington on February 13, 1789.

HENRY LEE.

HENRY LEE, whose exploits as a dashing cavalry leader of the Revolutionary army gained for him the title of "Light Horse Harry," was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on January 29, 1756. He graduated at Princeton college in 1774. Two years later he was made captain of a company of cavalry raised for the American army, and in the summer of 1777 joined the camp of Washington. His record was such in the various engagements in which he took

part, that congress awarded him with an independent command of horse and the rank of major. After several brilliant operations about New York, in 1780, he was detached with his corps for service under Greene in the south. He had already been made a lieutenant-colonel, and by various rapid and brilliant cavalry operations in the various movements of Greene's campaign, as already given, he repeated his successes of the north and won new honors. Ill health compelled him to resign his commission before the close of the war, and he retired to his home at Stratford. In 1786 he was chosen a delegate to congress, and in 1792 he was elected governor of Virginia. When the Whiskey Insurrection arose in western Pennsylvania, Lee was called upon by Washington to take command of the troops sent forward for its suppression. He took the field, but the difficulty was adjusted before he was called upon for action. In 1799 he again represented his state in congress. Upon the death of Washington, he was called upon to deliver the oration at the funeral ordered by congress, over one who had long been his neighbor and intimate friend. He spent the remainder of his life in quiet, varied by occasional periods of activity in connection with local concerns, and died on March 25, 1812, at Cumberland Island, Georgia.

GEORGE CLINTON.

GEORGE CLINTON was born in the county of Ulster, New York, on July 26, 1739. He was educated at home, and early showed a disposition toward a life of activity by running away from home on the breaking out of the French war to serve as a privateer. At the close of the war he began the study of law, and when only twenty years of age was made clerk of the court of common pleas of Ulster county. Admitted to the bar in 1764, he was appointed surrogate, and four years later he was made a member of the colonial assembly, in which office he remained until the dissolution of that body, on the breaking out of the Revolution. In 1775 he was chosen a delegate to the Continental congress, but soon departed for scenes of more congenial and active duty. A brigadier-general by appointment of New York, he was placed in command of the levies raised for the defense of the Highlands, his rank being soon confirmed by act of congress. In 1776 he was appointed a deputy to the New York Provincial congress, and

assisted in the making of the Constitution for that new-formed state. At the first election under the powers of that instrument, he was chosen both governor and lieutenant-governor, and selecting the office first named, entered upon the discharge of its duties in July, 1777. So popular was his course in the administration of this responsible office that he was continued therein by successive reëlections during the following eighteen years.

When Sir Henry Clinton, the son of an old friend and distant connection of the family of which George Clinton was a member, made his memorable attack upon New York, Governor Clinton brought into play all the skill and daring of which he was possessed, to check his advance and save a city of such importance to his state. Although the odds were against him, the defense was made in a gallant style. Clinton was at the upper fort; he annoyed the advance of the enemy by rapid discharges of grape shot and musketry. The force at command, however, was but a mere handful, and the result was inevitable. "About two o'clock in the afternoon," says Governor Clinton's dispatch, "the enemy approached the works and began the attack, which continued, with few intervals, till about five o'clock, when an officer appeared with a flag. I ordered Colonel Livingston to meet him without the works and know his business. Colonel Livingston having demanded his rank and business, he was told by the bearer of the flag that he was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and that he came to demand the surrender of the fort to prevent the effusion of blood. Colonel Livingston replied that he had no authority to treat with him, but if they would surrender themselves prisoners of war, they might depend upon being well treated; and if they did not choose to accept of these terms, they might renew the attack as soon as he should return within the fort, he being determined to defend it to the last extremity. As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston returned, the attack was renewed with great violence; and after as obstinate a resistance as our situation and the weakness of the garrison would admit, having defended the works from two o'clock till the dusk of the evening, the enemy, by the superiority of numbers, forced the works on all sides." Many of the men were enabled to make their escape, and the governor made his way safely across the river in a small boat.

Governor Clinton gave himself earnestly to the discharge of his civil duties all through the war, seconding the military operations at every point within his power and opportunity. At the conclusion of the war, his attention was turned towards the accomplishment of those measures that would build up and advance the interests of his state.

He was president of the convention which, on the part of New York, ratified the Constitution of the United States. At the conclusion of his final term of office as governor, he pleaded thirty years of continuous public service, and asked leave to retire to the quiet of private life. But that retirement was not allowed to be of long duration. In 1801 he was again named as a candidate for governor and elected. The succeeding Presidential election he was advanced by the Republican party to the high position of vice-president of the United States, serving with Jefferson as President. He was reëlected with Madison in 1808. Before the close of this second term death relieved him from his many extended public labors. The end came at Washington, on April 20, 1812. Both as soldier and statesman he had ably performed many arduous duties, and was alike honored by the people of his own state and those of the great Nation he had aided to create.

HENRY LAURENS.

HENRY LAURENS, the wise and able South Carolinian, was of Huguenot descent, and was born at New York in 1724, in which city his parents had for a time stopped *en route* to their future home in the south. His life was devoted to mercantile pursuits, in which he won an enviable name for ability and honesty, and of which he made a marked success. He was in Europe when the storm cloud of war arose over America, and he hastened home that he might give his services to his country. Arriving in Charleston in December, 1774, he was made president of the South Carolina Provincial congress, and also placed at the head of the Council of Safety, a body in which was lodged the control of all the military forces of the colony. In 1776 we find him a member of a committee to whose hands was committed the preparation of a plan for a more permanent state organization. When the state of South Carolina was decreed, Laurens was made its first vice-president, and in the year following was sent to Philadelphia as a delegate to the Continental congress, and had the honor of succeeding John Hancock as president of that body. He retired from that position in December, 1778, and in the year following was appointed commissioner to Holland. He set out in a small but fast-sailing brigantine, the *Mercury*, which was ere long overhauled by a British frigate and

compelled to surrender. The distinguished prisoner was taken to St. Johns, Newfoundland, where he was received with consideration and treated with kindness. From thence he was carried across the sea to England, where he was committed to the tower, on suspicion of high treason. He was treated with little mercy by his jailers. "Their lordship's orders," to quote Laurens' own words, "were to confine me a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two wardens, who were not to suffer me to be out of their sight one moment, day or night; to allow me no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to me; to deprive me of the use of pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to me, nor any to go from me." After a long imprisonment he was released on bail, and was permitted for a time to repair his injured health by a sojourn at Bath; and the advance of the peace negotiations not only precluded the chance of his being brought to trial but in one sense made him a guest of the English people. He made a visit to Holland, meeting John Adams at Leyden, and soon after returned to London. He met with the other commissioners at Paris, and after the signing of the treaty returned to America. The remainder of his life was passed in peace, the highest political honors of the state being urged upon him and declined. He died on December 8, 1792.

ROBERT MORRIS.

ROBERT MORRIS, the financial spirit and genius of the Revolution, was the son of a prominent merchant of Liverpool, who emigrated to Maryland, from whence he carried on an extensive trade in tobacco with England. His son, who was destined to acquire such eminence in the new land across the sea, was born in Liverpool, in January, 1733. He was taken to America when thirteen years of age, and was soon after engaged as clerk in the counting-house of Charles Willing, a merchant of Philadelphia. In 1754, when twenty-one years of age, he entered into business upon his own responsibility, and won an honorable name in the world of trade before entering upon the larger field of public life. He was devoted to the cause of his country, and when elected to the Pennsylvania legislature, was soon one of the best known and most earnest patriots in that body. He was made a member of congress, and placed his name upon the

Declaration of Independence. "Then began," we are told by his biographer, "a series of financial services, personal and official, spread over many years, amply acknowledged in the correspondence and annals of the Revolution. In many a strait and peril of our infant armies, in moments of impending desertion or famine, was the brow of Washington smoothed by the magic wonders wrought by the character and genius of Morris. The resources of his integrity and management—for it was often more a matter of credit than of actual means at his command—supplied money and flour out of penury and embarrassment. After the battle of Trenton, Washington was greatly in want of a sum of money in specie for a special purpose. He applied to Morris, then a member of a committee left in charge of affairs at Philadelphia. The financier, who had exhausted his own stock in loans to congress, was perplexed. Leaving his office in despair, he met a member of the Society of Friends, who opened the conversation with the not uncommon inquiry as to news. 'The most important news,' replied Morris, 'is that I require a certain sum in specie and that you must let me have it.' This brought his friend to a state of serious reflection. 'Your security,' continued Morris, 'is to be my note and my honor.' 'Robert,' replied the friend, 'thou shalt have it.' Again, at the close of the year, when Washington had prolonged the period of enlistment of his troops by a promise of a bounty to which the military chest was entirely unequal, he sought the aid of Morris. The request reached him late at night; he was up before anyone could be found to assist him, in the morning, to forward the desired sum."

Mr. Morris was a member of the committees of commerce and of finance in congress, and in 1781 was appointed to the newly created office of superintendent of finance. Accepting this office, he wrote congress a letter which showed that no mistake had been made in the selection. He demanded honesty and good faith in all the dealings of the country, and that the pledged honor of the people should be redeemed as soon as possible. "The whole business of finance," he declared, "may be confined in two short but comprehensive sentences —to raise the public revenues by such modes as may be most easy and most equal to the people, and to expend them in the most frugal, fair and honest manner." He advised that the National debt should be funded; and further along in the same document, said of himself: "In accepting the office bestowed upon me, I sacrifice much of my interest, my ease, my domestic enjoyments and internal tranquillity. If I know my own heart, I make these sacrifices with a disinterested

view to the service of my country. I am ready to go still further; and the United States may command everything I have except my integrity, and the loss of that would effectually disable me from serving them more."

In conjunction with Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris, the new minister of finance addressed himself to a plan of National financial administration, and was enabled finally to lay before congress a plan for the Bank of North America, which was chartered in the close of the year. By the determined efforts of Morris, he succeeded in establishing its credit, to the relief of the country and to the great benefit of all the imperiled American interests. He was not only charged with the tremendous duties of the treasury department but also of the navy, in which his promptness, sound business sense and fertility of resource were put to the severest test.

When victory was assured the American arms, Morris found that only one-half of his giant task had been performed. He made appeal after appeal to the various states to come forward and assume their portions of the obligations that had been assumed in behalf of all, but met with no response. Because of this heedlessness, and of state jealousies as well, he determined in 1783 to retire from office and allow others to attempt what he had not been able to perform. Congress refused to release him and he carried his great burden on until in November, 1784. In parting with those he had officially served so long, he made an eloquent appeal for union, declaring that "if there be not one government which can draw forth and direct the efforts, the combined efforts, of United America, our independence is but a name, our freedom a shadow and our dignity a dream."

Mr. Morris was enabled to give personal aid in making that compact as strong as he could desire, as he was a member of the convention by which our National Constitution was framed, and became one of the first senators of Pennsylvania thereunder. He was offered the position of secretary of the treasury by President Washington, but declined in favor of Hamilton. He had embarked in new financial operations at the close of the war, and one great speculation in western lands stripped him of every dollar and caused his last years to be spent in financial embarrassment. No aid was proffered him by the Nation he had served so well; and had it not been for an annuity of fifteen hundred dollars paid to his wife in consideration of her relinquishment of dower interest in certain property, he would have been at times in want. These sad experiences had an effect upon

his last days, although there was nothing in them that could dim the brightness of his fame. His life was ended on May 8, 1806.

FRANCIS MARION.

A BRILLIANT figure, seen amid the smoke and confusion of the Revolutionary warfare of the south, and always where danger invited or sharp and rapid work was to be done, was that of Francis Marion, about whom endless romances have been written, and of whom the truth alone is romantic enough. He was of Huguenot descent, and of his early life or adventures very little is known. He was born in or near the year 1732, in St. John's Parish, Berkeley county, South Carolina; and beyond the fact that he was engaged in farming, history sees nothing of him until he is found fighting side by side with Moultrie in the old French war. That he stood high at home is vouched for by the fact that he was made a member of the Provincial congress of 1775, and was appointed a captain in Moultrie's regiment. He was at the fierce defense of Sullivan's island, where he conducted himself with gallantry. He was at the unsuccessful attack upon Savannah, where he performed brilliant work. When Tarleton, with small bodies of men, commenced his rapid movements of depredation upon the country, the patriots took advantage of his teachings and paid him back in kind. Marion soon proved himself an adept in that species of warfare, and soon was leader of the "partisans," as they were called, whose efforts were finally to rid the state of the British foe. He formed that remarkable body that has passed into history under the name of "Marion's Brigade," its members being from among the hardy and brave people who had settled between the Santee and Pedee. "His brigade," says Irving in his 'Life of Washington,' "was formed of neighbors and friends, and was continually fluctuating in numbers. He was nearly fifty years of age and small of stature, but hardy, healthy and vigorous. Brave, but not braggart, never avoiding danger, but never rashly seeking it; taciturn and abstemious; a strict disciplinarian; careful of the lives of his men, but little mindful of his own; just in his dealings, free from anything selfish or mercenary and incapable of a meanness. He had his haunts and strongholds in the morasses of the Pedee and Black river. His men were hardy and abstemious as himself; they

ate their meat without salt, often subsisted on potatoes, were scantily clad and almost destitute of blankets. Marion was full of stratagems and expedients. Sallying forth from his morasses, he would overrun the lower districts, pass the Santee, beat up the small posts in the vicinity of Charleston, cut up the communication between that city and Camden, and having struck some signal blow, so as to rouse the vengeance of the enemy, would retreat again into his fenny fastnesses. Hence the British gave him the byname of the 'Swamp Fox,' but those of his countrymen who knew his courage, his loftiness of spirit and spotless integrity, considered him the 'Bayard of the south.'"

It is not necessary to follow the exploits of Marion in detail. He fought again and again, as opportunity offered, either alone or in conjunction with the regular troops, and was seldom defeated and never disheartened or discouraged. In the battle of Eutaw he commanded the right of the South Carolina militia, and gallantly sustained the attack of the enemy. Near the close of the war he took his seat in the legislative assembly, as the representative of St. Johns. After the war he represented his district in the state senate, where he favored a merciful treatment of the Tories. He was made commandant of the port of Charleston, and in 1790 was a member of the convention for forming the state constitution. He died on February 27, 1795, and the verdict of posterity is that of his biographer: "Marion was a true, unflinching patriot; a man of deeds and not of words; a prudent, sagacious soldier, not sudden or quick in quarrel, but resolute to the end; a good disciplinarian and beloved by his men, who came at his call. There was no power of coercion, such as restrains the hired soldier, in his little band; it was held together only by the cohesive force of patriotism and attachment to the leader. We hear of no acts of cruelty to stain the glory of his victories, but much of his magnanimity."

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

CHARLES C. PINCKNEY was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on February 25, 1746. Sent to England to be educated, he had the fortune at Oxford to attend lectures in law delivered by no less a person than Blackstone, the commentator, and upon his return



CHARLES SUMNER.

to America, entered upon the practice of the legal profession. He was made president of the Provincial congress of South Carolina, entered the army, performed able service at Brandywine, Germantown and elsewhere, and at the close of his service was rewarded with the brevet rank of brigadier-general. He returned to the practice of his profession, and was several times requested by President Washington to enter his cabinet, but declined. He was finally asked to accept the position of minister to France, in 1796, and accepted. He arrived in Paris in December of that year, and upon being received with coldness and even downright discourtesy by those in control of the government of France, he proceeded to Holland, and after various fruitless efforts to reach some understanding, determined to return home, where he found an appointment of major-general awaiting him, it being then supposed that war between the United States and France must certainly ensue. He accepted and immediately entered upon his duties in the southern department, reconnoitering the seaboard to Florida with a view to the best possible means of defense. With this duty his public life came to an end, although his name was used a number of times in the electoral college, where he received votes of various states for President of the United States. He died at Charleston, August 16, 1825.

GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE.

ALTHOUGH Lafayette was not only not a native of America but during all his life the citizen of another country, his name is so inseparably linked with those of the patriots who struggled to free the colonies from British rule, that he well deserves an honored place in this gallery of noble and self-sacrificing men. The descendant of one of the oldest of the noble families of France, a life of ease and luxury, with sure advancement, was open before him; but he turned his back upon it, and in a new land across the sea, and afterwards beneath the banner of Republican France, supported with devoted heroism those principles which an innate love of justice and liberty had implanted in his breast. He was born at Chavaniac, in the province of Auvergne, France, on September 6, 1757. When twelve years of age he was sent to the College due Plessis, at Paris, and when but sixteen was united in marriage to a daughter of the Duke d'Ayen; and sure preferment

at court was before him had not his tastes and the singular Republican simplicity of his views led him to discourage all efforts for his advancement. When the word came to him that the people of America had renounced their allegiance to George of England, the principles that were afloat even then in the air of France took such rapid hold upon his mind that he longed to use his sword and fortune advancing a cause that so closely touched his heart. Being introduced to the Baron de Kalb, who had been in America, he was taken to the American commissioner at Paris, Silas Deane, who arranged that he should, upon his arrival in America, be assigned the rank of major-general in the patriot army. After many difficulties and in the face of objections on part of the authorities of France, he succeeded in sailing in a vessel of his own purchase, and, eluding the vigilance of the British cruisers, managed to gain a foothold on American shores, in the harbor of Georgetown, South Carolina, in June, 1777.

Upon arriving at Philadelphia, he waited upon the chairman of the committee of foreign affairs, and was informed "that such was the crowd of foreign applicants for employment in the army, and such the state of the National finances, that there was little hope of his request being granted." He immediately addressed a letter to congress, in which he declared it his desire to serve only on two conditions: that he should enter the army as a volunteer, and should bear his own expenses. The response to this modest and manly request was contained in a resolution passed by congress, which declared that, "Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections and at his own expense come over to offer his services to the United States, without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause; resolved, that his service be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, his illustrious family and connections, he have the rank of major-general in the army of the United States." This was adopted on July 31, 1777, when the young nobleman was but nineteen years of age.

Washington immediately invited him to his headquarters and made him a member of his military family. The friendship of the two noble-hearted men, thus so strangely united in a common cause, soon grew into a tie of love and respect that was never sundered. "If there lived a man," declared Edward Everett, in his eulogy upon Lafayette, "whom Washington loved, it was Lafayette. . . . It not only shows that Washington entertained the highest opinion of the military talent, the personal probity and the general prudence and energy of

Lafayette, but that he regarded him with the tenderness of a father, and found in the affection which Lafayette bore to him, in return, one of the greatest comforts and blessings of his own life." Irving speaks in the warmest terms of "this cordial and enduring alliance of the calm, dignified and sedate Washington, mature in years and wisdom, and the young, buoyant, enthusiastic Lafayette."

It is needless here to recount in any detail the military life of the young Frenchman, as it is largely told in the record of his illustrious chief, already given. At Brandywine, where a ball passed through his leg; with Greene in New Jersey; in the councils and anxieties of Valley Forge; with Sullivan on Rhode Island and elsewhere, he showed bravery, skill and devotion, and won the hearts of all with whom he came in contact. When war broke out between France and England, he felt that his sword should be offered in defense of his own flag, and obtained a leave of absence from congress. In January, 1779, he embarked, and made the passage in safety to his own country, where a most enthusiastic welcome awaited him. His influence was everywhere used in behalf of a cause in which his heart held so deep an interest, and it was largely through his influence that the army of Rochambeau was hastened forward. Determined to return to America, he once more set sail and was landed in Boston in April. He was one of the court-martial that sat upon the case of André, and performed many brilliant deeds upon the field of active warfare. In operations that ended in the surrender of Cornwallis, Lafayette commanded the detachment of light infantry in the attack upon the redoubt, where Hamilton so bravely led the advance.

The war ended, the brave Frenchman returned to France, carrying with him the love and gratitude of all America and the admiration of the world. Upon his arrival he was met not only by the plaudits of the French people but with an appointment from Louis XVI. to the rank of field-marshal in the French service. In 1784 he paid another visit to America, landing at New York on August 4, and being everywhere received with marks of the most enthusiastic love and esteem. On the following Christmas he once more sailed for France. For the two years succeeding he devoted himself to the advance of America's interests in every possible way; and when the people of France moved with a common impulse toward the great crisis in their history that opened with the States General and 1789, Lafayette was looked upon as their loyal and tried friend, and events showed that this trust was by no means in vain.

The career that opened before him during the succeeding decade

was so full of able services, dangers and brave deeds, that his name would have been written high upon the arch of fame had he never won such distinction upon the further side of the sea. Only a brief glance at that record can be taken. When the Notables convened in 1787 to seek some heroic remedy for the ills of suffering and well-nigh blighted France, he raised a solemn voice against the abuse of power by those in absolute and despotic control, and it was by him that the States General was proposed. It was a bold demand, but the times and the masses echoed to the cry, and the king was compelled to acquiesce. He was a member of that new body and took a prominent part in its deliberations. When the Bastile fell and the French throne with it, Lafayette was made commander-in-chief of the National Guards of Paris, and used all his great influence to lead his countrymen along a road of moderation and mercy to the desired goal. When the mob of Paris marched upon Versailles on the fatal fifth of October, he galloped to the scene with a detachment of troops and protected the very lives of the royal family.

Himself a noble, he seconded the motion in the assembly to abolish all titles of nobility; he labored for the adoption of a constitution, as had Washington already upon the other side of the sea; and it was with a solemn purpose of keeping it that he took the oath in the Federation of the Champ de Mars. His position was one of difficulty and danger. "At war with the Jacobins," as one of his biographers has said, "a friend to constitutional monarchy, Lafayette was exposed to misapprehension on all sides. It was not a position which could be long sustained in the rapid movement of events. The flight of the king brought out all its difficulties; the people suspected him for aiding it; the royal family hated him for arresting it. What wonder then, that, having no passion for power, he sought retirement? Feeling that he had discharged his part in his labors for the constitution, he resigned his command of the Guard and sought the repose of home."

When war was declared with Austria in 1792, Lafayette was appointed a major-general, and was on his way to the frontier for the purpose of invading Belgium, when his mission was revoked by Jacobin influence, and he was himself denounced and in danger of his life. He resolved to depart from his country while the chance was still left, and soon after the bloody massacres of August 10, he crossed the frontier with a small body of friends, with the purpose of making his way to Holland. They were not only refused passports but were seized by the Austrian generals and treated with the greatest sever-

ities. Lafayette was himself carried to a prison at Wesel, in Prussian territory; thence in turn to Magdeburg, to Neisse and to the dungeon of Olmutz, in Austria. The imprisonment at the place last named was so severe that his health was seriously impaired, yet he was held for five long years, and only set at liberty in 1797, when Napoleon Bonaparte, general of France, demanded it, as he dictated peace after his brilliant success at the head of the army of Italy. From his prison he was conveyed under guard to Hamburg, where he was placed under the protection of the American consul. Proceeding to Holstein, he remained for two years in quiet retirement with his family, whence he removed to Holland. On the overthrow of the Directory, he proceeded to Paris and retired to his estate of Lagrange, where he remained in quiet during the reign of Napoleon. When the latter returned from Elba, Lafayette was induced by the promise of liberal measures to again enter public life, and became one of the representatives of the people. After the restoration of the Bourbons, he was elected to the chamber of deputies, where he aided such legislation as he could, that had for its object the liberty or advancement of the people.

Yet another visit was paid to the United States in 1824, and no monarch ever received a grander welcome or a homage more sincere than was paid the old veteran by the strong and growing Nation whose foundation he had helped to lay. He reached New York in August, and his progress from point to point of the great domain was one extended triumphal march. "His arrival," says Everett, "called out the whole population of the country to welcome him; but not in the stiff uniform of a parade, or the court dress of a heartless ceremony. Society in all its shades and gradations crowded cordially around him, all penetrated with one spirit—the spirit of admiration and love. The wealth and luxury of the coast; the teeming abundance of the west; the elegance of the town; the cordiality of the country; the authorities, municipal, National and state; the living relics of the Revolution, honored in the honor paid to their companion-in-arms; the scientific and learned bodies; the children at the schools; the associations of active life and of charity; the exiles of Spain, France and Switzerland; banished kings, patriots, of whom Europe was not worthy; and even the African and Indian—everything in the country that had life and sense—took a part in this auspicious drama of real life." Congress voted him two hundred thousand dollars and a grant of twenty-four thousand acres of land, in testi-

mony of gratitude for deeds performed in the hour of danger and possible disaster.

Upon his return home, he was stronger and of more influence with the people than before; and when Louis Phillippe was called to the throne, Lafayette was for a time the popular leader and in command of the National Guard. The end of his life came at Paris on May 20, 1834, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. The announcement of his death was received with mourning by two great nations, and with grief by the lovers of liberty everywhere. Resolutions of condolence and respect were passed by the American congress; a funeral oration was pronounced before that body by John Quincy Adams, and the people showed their grief by all possible marks of honor and respect. No name is more honored in America to-day than that of the young Frenchman who proved the brotherhood of man and offered himself gladly and willingly in a strife in which the land of his birth had no part, but which appealed to the sentiments of liberty that were so deeply planted in his heart.

JOHN SULLIVAN.

THIS soldier of the Revolution was born at Berwick, Maine, on February 17, 1740. He was trained to the law, and had entered upon a promising professional career at Durham when called by the approaching crisis to take part in public affairs. In 1774 he was made a member of the first general congress, when but thirty-five years of age; but by his energy and activity showed himself one of the leaders of the times, ready to acquire any responsibility of duty and to face any danger. The first notable event with which we find him connected occurred in December of the year last named, when he was one of the leaders of a force against Fort William and Mary, near Portsmouth—which is recorded as the first "act of armed hostility committed in the colonies." The party secured one hundred barrels of gunpowder, fifteen cannon, a number of small arms and a quantity of other stores, which were put to good use in behalf of the patriot cause. In June, 1775, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and was in command on Winter Hill during the siege of Boston. When that city was evacuated, he was sent to the army of Canada, of which he

took command on June 2, 1776, on the death of General Thomas. He successfully conducted the retreat from that province.

On August 10 of the same year he received a major-general's commission from congress; was with Putnam at Long Island, and by brilliant and determined fighting on August 27, did much for the preservation of the American army. Taken prisoner by the British, he was soon after exchanged for no less a person than General Prescott. He was at the battle of Trenton, and after Lee's capture took command of his division and led the right in that famous combat. He commanded the right wing at the battle of Brandywine; led a column, consisting of his own and Wayne's divisions, at the battle of Germantown, where, acting again under the immediate eye of Washington, he was specially commended in the official reports of the action. After sharing with his chief the privations of Valley Forge, he was assigned, in the spring of 1778, to the command of the American forces in Rhode Island. These were organized into two divisions, one under Lafayette and the other under Greene, and a plan was formed for an attack, jointly with the French troops and fleet, under D'Estaing, upon the British forces at Newport. After all the arrangements for the campaign had been made and everything promised success, the whole project came to naught, and the safety of the American army was threatened by the failure of the Frenchman to coöperate and his retirement to Boston harbor on the appearance of the British fleet. Sullivan repulsed a spirited attack of the enemy, but, finding the reduction of the place impossible without the aid of the fleet, withdrew his troops with such skill and success as to merit from congress and from the legislature of his own state a formal vote of thanks. He remained in command in Rhode Island until the spring of 1779, although the interval was marked by nothing of importance.

When the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming aroused the country to the necessity of immediate action for the protection of the exposed frontier, Washington was directed to take measures for such protection and to chastise the offending Indians. He arranged for an expedition into the country of the Six Nations, and placed the command thereof in the hands of General Sullivan. At the head of thirty-five hundred men, that officer set forth in the early summer of 1779, and arrived at Wyoming on June 23. Although toil, hardship and peril were necessary parts of the expedition, its purpose was successfully accomplished, and on August 29 he defeated the Indians under Brant and the Tories under Sir John Johnson, at Newtown, near the present site of Elmira, New York. Although there were many con-

temporary criticisms of the manner of conducting this expedition, it received the warmest commendations of Washington, and congress spoke with honor of its leader.

Owing to ill health and other causes of a personal nature, General Sullivan resigned his position in the army and retired from military life. In the autumn of 1780 he again took his seat as a member of congress; in 1782-6 was attorney-general of New Hampshire, and for a time president of the state. When the troubled times of 1786 fell upon that commonwealth, he "saved the state from anarchy by his intrepidity and good management." It was largely by his influence and management that the state gave its ratification to the National Constitution. In 1789 General Sullivan was appointed Federal judge of New Hampshire, which office he held until his death, which occurred at Durham, New Hampshire, on January 23, 1795.

ANTHONY WAYNE

ANTHONY WAYNE, one of the bravest and most brilliant figures in American martial history, came of a fighting stock, his grandfather having fought on the side of William and Protestantism at the battle of the Boyne, and afterwards emigrated to America, where he settled at Chester county, Pennsylvania, and where the subject of this sketch was born on January 1, 1745. He was a soldier from his boyhood up, setting, as we are told by one of his biographers, "the school topsy-turvy with his redoubts and intrenchments and skirmishing, out of which the boys came with broken heads and black eyes." He was able to master a fair education, in spite of all this, and after a time at the Philadelphia academy, was enabled to open a surveyor's office.

The youth had made such an impression that, when but twenty-one years of age, he was chosen by the suggestion of Benjamin Franklin to superintend a scheme of colonization to Nova Scotia. He remained at that post until 1767, when the unsettled condition of the colonies in the period previous to the great war recalled him home to Pennsylvania. He devoted himself to his farm and profession; was made a member of the assembly in 1773, and was an earnest and enthusiastic leader of the people in their opposition to the British rule. He was one of the first to offer his services to his country on the outbreak

of war, and was, for the first time in his life, in his proper field of action. He was commissioned by congress to the rank of colonel, and sent with his regiment to the Northern army, operating on the Canadian borders. He was sent with Thompson upon the latter's unfortunate raid over the border, and showed unusual bravery and skill in aiding the retreat that followed. He also distinguished himself in the operations of Gates about Ticonderoga, in 1776, and was left in command of the fort during the following winter. He was advanced to the office of brigadier-general, and in the spring joined Washington, taking part in the movements between New York and Philadelphia, and winning a brilliant success in his advance upon the British in the affair of Germantown.

When Philadelphia was evacuated in the summer following, and "it became a question whether the march of Sir Henry Clinton towards New York should be met by an actual encounter, Wayne, contrary to the advice of some of his brother officers in the council, foremost of whom was Charles Lee, advised a strong detachment to be sent against the enemy." "The resolution of Washington," continues Wayne's biographer, "was framed for action, and Lee finally sent forward for what proved the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, with positive orders to attack. General Wayne's command, a thousand strong, was again in front of the battle, successfully engaged with a covering party. The enemy were now advancing to the attack towards Wayne, who stood prepared to meet them, when Lee gave orders for the retreat, just as Washington was coming up in full force to sustain him. The story of the retrieval of the broken fortunes of the day belongs to the great commander. It was one of his most heroic days. It is sufficient here to state the part acted by Wayne in the transaction. He never appeared to more advantage in his counsel and acts. He had shown great indignation at the abandonment of the engagement by Lee, and now counseled Washington as to the best means of resistance. The commander-in-chief assigned him an important command. He held his position with great spirit against repeated attacks of the enemy, in one of which the gallant Colonel Monckton of the royal grenadiers was slain, as he was leading his men to the charge. The column was repulsed. These successes enabled Wayne to advance, as the action grew general, and render effective service by a charge. His men, we are told, mostly without their coats to prepare themselves further for their work, advanced with their shirt sleeves rolled up. In Washington's dispatch

to the president of congress, Wayne is especially singled out for commendation."

In the year following, when Washington determined upon the famous attack upon Stony Point, General Wayne was assigned to carry out the dangerous and difficult plan. This point was a bold, rocky, projecting hill, on the west bank of the Hudson, below the Highlands, and some forty miles distant from New York; surrounded by water on three sides and defended by a marsh on the fourth, and remarkably well defended. Wayne took up his line of march toward this fortress at midday of the fifteenth of July, from his station at Sandy Beach, fourteen miles up the river. At eight in the evening he halted within a mile and a half of the fort. The assault was arranged for twelve. A few moments after that hour the advance force moved forward in two divisions for simultaneous attacks on opposite sides of the works. "So well had the whole affair been conducted," says Irving, "that the Americans were close upon the outworks before they were discovered. There was then severe skirmishing at the pickets. The Americans used the bayonet; the others discharged their muskets. The reports roused the garrison. Stony Point was instantly in an uproar. The drums beat to arms; everyone hurried to his alarm post; the works were hastily manned, and a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry opened upon the assailants. The two columns forced their way with the bayonet, at opposite points, surmounting every obstacle. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British flag. Major Posey sprang to the ramparts and shouted, 'The fort is ours!' Wayne, who led the right column, received at the inner abatis a contusion on the head from a musket ball, and would have fallen to the ground, but his two aids-de-camp supported him. Thinking it was a death wound, 'Carry me into the fort,' said he, 'and let me die at the head of my column.' He was borne in between his aids and soon recovered his self-possession. The two columns arrived nearly at the same time, and met in the centre of the works. The garrison surrendered at discretion. . . . The storming of Stony Point stands out in high relief as one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The Americans had effected it without firing a musket. On their part it was the silent, deadly work of the bayonet. The fierce resistance they met at the outset may be judged by the havoc made in their forlorn hope. Out of twenty-two men, seventeen were either killed or wounded. The whole loss of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Of the garrison, sixty-three were slain, including two officers; five hundred and

fifty-three were taken prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, four captains and twenty-three subaltern officers."

During the winter following, Wayne was stationed at Morristown, and the next summer saw him at the head of the Pennsylvania forces, coöperating with Lafayette in Virginia, where he was placed in an unexpected position of peril, through which he came near losing his whole command. Cornwallis was in retreat, it was presumed, in the neighborhood of Jamestown, when Wayne was ordered to attack a body that was supposed to be only the rear guard, but, on the contrary, was the main body of the army. With his usual daring he made a gallant charge, which so impressed the enemy as to the idea of the size of his force that he was enabled to retreat in safety, although with an immense loss of life.

Wayne was next assigned to service in Georgia, under the command of Greene. His record there shows a service of usefulness and brilliancy, and occasion does not require that his movements should be followed in detail. On the return of peace, he was made a member of the convention for the revision of the state constitution, and with such duties and the care of his farm, he remained in quiet until called upon by Washington to take command of the force against the Indians, to retrieve the disasters of St. Clair. He took the field in 1793, marched to the Ohio country, erected a fortress on the site of St. Clair's defeat, which he called Fort Recovery, and on the twentieth of August, 1794, attacked a large Indian force on the Miami. He effected a complete rout, which, on the day following, led to a treaty of a satisfactory nature. On his return east, Wayne was received with an ovation and the grateful thanks of the people.

As a result of this successful campaign, Wayne was selected by the government as commissioner for treating with the Indians and receiving the military posts surrendered under the treaty of Great Britain. It was while on his return from this mission that he was seized with an attack of gout, while descending Lake Erie from Detroit. He died in a small hut at Presque Isle, in December, 1796, and was buried on the shore of the lake, his remains being afterwards removed to Radnor church-yard, Delaware county, Pennsylvania. A monument of plain white marble was erected over his grave by the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, with appropriate ceremonies, on July 4, 1809, the "thirty-fourth anniversary of the independence of the United States," as the inscription reads, "an event which constitutes the most appropriate eulogium of an American soldier and patriot." The people of Pennsylvania paid tribute to one who well deserved it.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS was born at Morrisania, New York, of one of the then wealthiest and best known families of the province, on January 31, 1752. At the age of sixteen he was a graduate of King's college, and afterwards studied law under the direction of William Smith, chief-justice of the province. Admitted at the age of twenty, he was recognized from the first as a young man of ability and force of character, and stood side by side with John Jay in advocacy of the people's cause. He was active in promoting the first provincial assemblies, his skill in debate being used with unusual power and effect. His voice from the first was for war and a vigorous prosecution thereof, and in 1776 we hear him asking, "Now let me earnestly ask you, why should we hesitate? Have you the least hope in treaty? Will you ever think of it before certain acts of parliament are repealed? Have you heard of any such repeal? Will you trust these commissioners? Is there any act of parliament passed to ratify what they shall do? No, they come from the king. We have no business with the king. We did not quarrel with the king. He has officiously made himself a party in the dispute against us. And now he pretends to be the umpire. Trust crocodiles, trust the hungry wolf in your flock or the rattlesnake in your bosom, you may yet be something wise; but trust the king, his ministers, his commissioners, it is madness in the extreme!" In the same year he writes from the convention at Fishkill in the following strain: "What may be the event of the present war, it is not in man to determine. Great revolutions of empire are seldom achieved without much human calamity; but the worst which can happen is to fall in the last bleak mountain of America, and he who dies there in defense of the injured rights of mankind is happier than his conqueror, more beloved by mankind, more applauded by his own heart."

Mr. Morris was one of the framers of the first constitution of New York; and after his duties in that direction were accomplished, we find him discharging various duties of a half civil and half military character, in negotiations with the officers of the army, in a visit to Schuyler and other labors of like character. Made a member of the Philadelphia congress by the New York convention, he had hardly taken a seat in that body before he proceeded to Valley Forge, and passed a good share of the winter there in the company of Washington, where was formed a friendship between the commander-in-chief and himself that was never broken. He was in congress two years,

and performed an able service in the foreign negotiations leading to the treaty of peace. Upon the expiration of his congressional term he still made Philadelphia his home; made assistant minister of finance by Robert Morris, which position he retained until the close of the war.

He was made a delegate to the convention for the formation of the Constitution, and in that body advocated some views which were looked upon as aristocratic, but which, as Madison says, "he held essential to the stability and energy of a government capable of protecting the rights of property against the spirit of democracy. He wished to make the weight of wealth balance that of numbers, which he pronounced to be the only effectual security to each against the encroachments of the other." Among the measures he proposed were a permanent Executive, a freehold qualification for voters and a senate for life. Although these measures were not adopted, he had an important hand in the preparation of that great document, and, to again quote from Madison, "the finish given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution fairly belongs to Mr. Morris."

In December, 1788, Mr. Morris sailed for Europe upon a visit of pleasure and observation, and while in France received a request from Washington to visit England and sound the British ministry as to their disposition to arrange the outstanding difficulties that the war had left between the two nations. He made the visit, but obtained no satisfactory result. In 1792 he was appointed Jefferson's successor as minister to France. This mission was uneventful, and terminated with the arrival of Mr. Monroe, his successor, in 1794. After some time spent in traveling about Europe, he returned home in 1798, and took up his residence at Morrisania. In 1800 he was elected by the New York legislature to fill a vacancy in the senate of the United States, where he became a "staunch pillar of Federalism," and from which he retired in 1803. As chairman of the Erie Canal commission, as president of the New York Historical society and in other positions and labors of usefulness, the remainder of his life was spent. He died at Morrisania on November 6, 1816.

HENRY KNOX.

HENRY KNOX, another of the great leaders of the great struggle of the Revolution, was born in Boston on July 25, 1750, and after receiving a fair education in the Boston schools, entered the busi-

ness of bookselling. He always had a bent toward a military life, a predisposition so well understood by Governor Gage that when the affair of Lexington occurred, Knox was ordered to leave the city under no pretext whatever, but managed to make his escape and take part with his co-patriots at Bunker Hill. He was employed in various capacities after that event, and performed a special service that deserves detailed mention. The camp at Cambridge was in sore need of munitions of war, and one of the first tasks to which Washington set himself on his arrival, was to supply that deficiency. On November 16, 1775, he issued special instructions to Knox to proceed to New York, and "after securing such articles of ammunition as were at the disposal of the Provincial congress at that place, to proceed to Major-General Schuyler and get the remainder from Ticonderoga, Crown Point and St. John's, and, if it should be necessary, from Quebec, if in our hands." "The want of them," Washington added, "is so great that no trouble or expense must be spared to obtain them."

This important commission was speedily and successfully fulfilled. The season was late and the roads bad, but by December 15 he had succeeded in bringing the cannon from Ticonderoga to the head of Lake George, from whence he wrote to his chief: "It is not easy to conceive the difficulties we had in getting them over the lake, owing to the advanced season of the year and the contrary winds. Three days ago it was very uncertain whether we could get them over until next spring, but now, please God, they shall go. I have made forty-two exceedingly strong sleds, and have provided eighty yoke of oxen to draw them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to take them to camp." He succeeded in his undertaking, and his arrival was a source of gratification to Washington, as it placed in his hands a variety of cannon, etc., of which he was in great need.

The title of colonel, which had already been officially bestowed upon him, was well earned. He was usefully employed in the erection of defenses at various points, after which he was given an artillery command, with the rank of brigadier-general. He performed excellent work at Trenton, Princeton, Germantown and Monmouth; and his other labors during the war have been thus described: "He was employed in various counsels and negotiations of the war calling for skill and judgment; in planning with Greene and Clinton the defenses of the Hudson; in the council on the state of the army at Valley Forge, in 1778; a member of the court of officers who composed the court-martial on the trial of André; in an embassy to the governors of the east-

ern states, in 1781, to represent the condition of the army and provide means for its improvement; and in other emergencies where prudence and weight of character were required in a negotiator."

In the battle of Yorkton Knox carried himself bravely, and, upon the special recommendation of Washington, he was raised to the rank of major-general. On the conclusion of the war he was engaged in no special service until 1785, when he was appointed secretary of war. When the Constitution was adopted, he was recalled by Washington to the same position, which he held until 1794, when he resigned. He retired with his family to the province of Maine, which was then under the same government as Massachusetts, which permitted him, for a time, to act as a member of the council of that state. His death occurred on October 25, 1806, at his home in Thomastown, Maine.

ROGER SHERMAN.

ROGER SHERMAN was born at Newton, Massachusetts, on April 19, 1721. His early educational advantages were limited, being confined to the common schools of the day, after a brief course in which he was bound apprentice to a shoemaker, which useful occupation he followed until he was twenty-two years of age, during which time he aided in the support of his widowed mother and the education of his brothers. In company with a brother, at the age named, he opened a store at New Milford, Connecticut, and abandoned the old occupation. With a natural thirst for knowledge, he made use of all the opportunities open before him, and had so far advanced that in two years after removal to Connecticut he was appointed surveyor for Litchfield county. But the law was his chosen as it was his natural profession, and he bent every energy of his mind to enter upon it; but it was not until he was thirty-three years of age that his private studies had been so far pursued as to warrant his admission to the bar. In the year following such admission, he was made a justice of the peace for New Milford, and afterwards sent as a representative to the colonial assembly. In 1759 he had so far advanced in his profession that he was appointed judge of the court of common pleas for the county. Feeling the need of an enlarged field for his enlarging powers, he removed to New Haven in 1761, where he followed the same gradations of promotion as in his old home—at first justice of the

peace, then town representative and in 1765 judge of the court of common pleas.

In 1766 Judge Sherman was made a member of the council and also a judge of the supreme court. Both offices were held by him during the nineteen succeeding years, when a law was passed making it unlawful for one man to hold both. He then resigned his position in the council, and continued in that of judge until 1789, when he resigned to become a member of the first congress under the Constitution. His growth as a lawyer had been steady, and long before the date last named he was recognized as possessing one of the ablest legal minds in all the colonies, and as a safe counselor and a just judge.

His sympathies were strongly on the side of the people, as was shown by his course during the Revolution. Chosen a delegate to the first Continental congress of 1774, he became a member of important committees, among which were those appointed to prepare a plan of federation and a declaration of independence; and also a member of the board of war and ordnance, of the marine committee and of the board of treasury. Mr. Jefferson, in 1822, recalls his recollections of him in the following words: "I served with him in the old congress in the years 1775 and 1776. He was a very able and logical debater in that body, steady in the principles of the Revolution, always at the post of duty, much employed in the business of committees, and, particularly, was of the committee of Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Livingston and myself, for preparing the Declaration of Independence. Being much my senior in years, our intercourse was chiefly in the line of our duties. I had a great respect for him." John Adams has spoken of him in these terms: "Destitute of all literary and scientific education but such as he acquired by his own exertions, he was one of the most sensible men in the world. The clearest head and the steadiest heart. It is praise enough to say that the late Chief-Justice Ellsworth told me that he had made Mr. Sherman his model in his youth. Indeed, I never knew two men more alike, except that the chief-justice had the advantage of a liberal education and somewhat more extensive reading. Mr. Sherman . . . was one of the soundest and strongest pillars of the Revolution."

Besides an extended service in congress, Judge Sherman was mayor of New Haven from 1784 to his death; aided in revising the statutes of Connecticut, and was a prominent member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. In 1791 he was chosen senator of the United States, but did not live to the end of his

term. While still useful and busily employed with labors and duties which one of his age might well have laid upon the shoulders of others, the end of his life came. He died at New Haven on July 23, 1793.

FISHER AMES.

FISHER AMES, who, by voice and pen and wise counsel in legislation, performed as great a service to his country as was given by many in the field, was born at Dedham, Massachusetts, on April 9, 1758. When sixteen years of age he graduated at Harvard, and in 1781 was admitted to the law and commenced its practice. He had from his youth up showed a decided taste for questions of political economy and philosophy, and had evolved decided views upon many of the vexed public questions at that time in controversy. The financial confusion of the country, with a depreciated paper currency, had disturbed business and was calling loudly for some remedy. A state assembly was called in Massachusetts to deliberate upon the evil and, if possible, find a means to remove it; and an effort made to regulate prices to suit the value of the money—a movement that met with failure. Ames was a delegate to an adjourned meeting of that body, and showed a grasp of economic subjects far in advance of his age and experience. He soon entered the field of public controversy, writing upon economic questions in such a strain that he attracted unusual attention, and was ere long sought after by the most learned and influential of his day. His services were soon in demand by the public, being chosen a member of the state convention which met at Boston in 1788 for the consideration of the adoption of the National Constitution which the Philadelphia convention had submitted. Ames supported the Federal view of that instrument, and advanced and supported his views with power and success. In the same year he was made a member of the state legislature, where he worked earnestly for the town school system and popular education. He was elected a member of congress under the Constitution, his opponent being no less a personage than Samuel Adams. He took an active part in the important session that followed, and so well performed his duties that he was made his own successor by successive elections to the ten congresses that followed. Upon the conclusion of this extended term he retired to his home at Dedham, where he passed his

remaining years in quiet, with the exception of a couple years passed in the council of his state. With the care of his farm, his studies in political economy and the companionship of his friends, his declining years were passed in happiness and peace. He died on July 4, 1808.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON was a member of a family that had already won honor in both the old and new world, and upon the family name his deeds cast a new lustre. He was born in the city of New York on November 27, 1747. At seventeen he was a graduate of King's college, and after a course of study was admitted to the practice of law in October, 1773. He was soon after appointed recorder of the city of New York, in which position he was found at the opening of the great war. When the Provincial convention assembled at New York, in 1775, to choose delegates to the second congress at Philadelphia, he was among its members, being made a member of congress, taking a prominent part in the debate, and in the following year being made a member of the committee to prepare and report a plan of confederation for the colonies. He was also one of the committee which prepared the Declaration of Independence. He was a member of the committee appointed to prepare the first constitution of New York, and filled many other minor positions of labor and responsibility during those trying days.

When the state constitution went into effect, Mr. Livingston was made first chancelor of the state of New York, and, although still holding that important office, was twice sent as a special delegate to congress, in which body, in 1781, he was appointed secretary of the department of foreign affairs, which he held until 1783. "This being considered a virtual abandonment of his chancelorship, he was then reappointed to that high office." "The next year," continues the same biographer, "he was again in Philadelphia, a delegate to congress. In no public employment involving important deliberations does he seem to have been overlooked. He was in the state commission with Jay and others, relative to the disputed rights of Massachusetts and New York as to western territory; and when, two years later, in 1786, the convention at Annapolis was proposed for the consideration of some National regulation of trade and commerce, he

was appointed a delegate with Hamilton, Benson and Duane. He was not, however, present at this meeting, more important in its sequel than for what it accomplished. There Hamilton and Madison were together, and out of their joint deliberations with their fellow-members grew the convention of the succeeding year, for the formation of the Constitution. Livingston was not a member of this body, but sat in the state ratification convention, where he voted for the adoption."

It fell to Chancelor Livingston to administer to Washington his oath of office as President of the United States in 1789. In 1790 he was one of the commission appointed to negotiate with Vermont in the territorial dispute that had arisen between the two states. Four years later Washington tendered him the position of minister to France, which he declined. His mind was early engaged with the project of marine navigation by steam, and he was interested in the early experiments and ventures of Fulton in that direction.

When Jefferson offered the post of minister to France, Livingston accepted it, remaining abroad in that capacity until 1805, when he resigned and returned to America. The closing years of his life were occupied in various forms of literary and public activity, and he was a busy and useful citizen clear to the end, which came at his home at Clermont, on the Hudson, on February 26, 1813.

WILLIAM DUANE.

THIS stirring and active American, who traveled over the greater portion of the known world of his day, and was the resident of two hemispheres where his power and vigor were made known, was born near Lake Champlain, New York, in 1760. While yet a mere boy he was taken by his mother to Ireland and well educated, but being of a restless disposition became estranged from her by a marriage at the age of nineteen, and set out to try the world upon his own account. He learned the printer's trade, and in 1784 went to India. By profitable ventures he grew quite rich, and became editor of a newspaper of India called *The World*. Upon the occurrence of trouble between the local government and a portion of its troops, Duane championed the cause of the latter with such vigor and purpose that he was seized and sent to England. Upon his trial his

property was confiscated, and all his efforts for restitution and redress were in vain. He then became editor of the *General Advertiser* for a time, but in 1795 returned to his native land and became editor of the *Aurora*, printed at Philadelphia. He soon made it a leading organ of the Democratic party; but when the seat of government was removed to Washington, it began to decline in political importance. But while at its head, Duane made himself a power in the land, and became one of the strongest and most fearless of his party leaders.

Retiring from the editorial chair in 1822, Duane made a tour through the newly-created republics of South America, and on his return published a most entertaining account of his travels. He was appointed prothonotary of the supreme court of Pennsylvania for the eastern district, which office he held until his death. He served in the War of 1812, and was the author of two unimportant books of a military character. He died at Philadelphia on November 24, 1835.

JOHN MARSHALL.

JOHN MARSHALL, the eminent American statesman and jurist, was born at Germantown, Virginia, on September 24, 1755, the eldest of a family of fifteen children. At an early age he was sent to Westmoreland and remained for a time under the care of a clergyman, whose teachings were supplemented on his return home by those of the Rev. Mr. Martin. When the call to arms came from Lexington, young Marshall was made a lieutenant in a company of militia of which his father was captain, and first saw service at the battle of Great Bridge. When, soon after, companies were formed for the continental service, he was appointed, in July, 1776, first lieutenant of the Eleventh Virginia regiment, and in the May following was advanced to the post of captain, being attached to the army of Washington, and was engaged in the movements for the protection of Philadelphia; and was also actively engaged in the pursuit of the British, and in the subsequent retreat at Germantown. Remaining with that army during the fearful winter at Valley Forge, he was afterwards in the action of Monmouth, Stony Point and Paulus Hook. In 1779, when the Virginia companies were dissolved by the expiration of their term of service, he returned to his state and applied himself to the study of the profession that had always been his desire and

purpose—that of the law. He attended a course of lectures on law by George Wythe, and on natural philosophy by Mr. Madison. In 1780 he was given a license to practice law, but was called for a time into the field because of the invasion of Arnold. In 1781 he resigned his commission, and devoting himself earnestly to the law, made a rapid advancement therein.

It was not long before his capacities were so well recognized that he was called from the service of his clients to that of the public by an election, in 1782, to the state legislature and the executive council. Taking up his residence in Richmond, he divided his time between his public duties and his professional practice. "It was a time," to quote the language of his biographer, "of much agitation in the unsettled relations of the states to one another and to the loose central authority. Marshall looked clearly to union; by the side of Madison, he defended a sufficient central authority." Elected to the Virginia convention, which, in 1788, sat to decide upon the adoption of the Federal constitution, his personal influence, no less than the weight of his arguments, had much to do with the result that was finally reached. "Questions of policy, questions of interest, experiences of the past, fears of the future, immature creeds of legislation, state pride and local prejudices were so many ingredients in the bubbling caldron so anxiously watched by Washington and his friends for its rising portents. That out of the seething mass a shape of peace and prosperity arose—the fair image of the Constitution—was due especially to the two master minds of Madison and Marshall." Virginia, the ninth state to give its adhesion, was brought into line by a vote of 89 to 79.

Marshall was now recognized as one of the ablest and greatest lawyers of the country, and was constantly engaged in litigation of the greatest importance; yet he found time, for awhile, to represent Richmond in the state legislature, but was finally compelled to resign in 1791.

When the French question arose, in all its new complications and perplexities, and the Directory refused to receive Pinckney, the American minister, President Adams decided to reinforce him by the appointment of two fellow commissioners, whose missions should be "to dissipate umbrages, to remove prejudices, to rectify errors and adjust all differences, by a treaty between the two powers." Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall were chosen for this difficult and delicate task. The three met in Paris in October, 1797, and endeavored to compass the purpose for which they had been sent. But all was fruit-

less, and in the summer of 1798 Marshall returned to America, "to be received with open arms by his countrymen, who saw not the failure of the negotiation, but the proud assertion of the National honor in resistance to the degrading demands of the Directory."

Marshall once more resumed his practice, but was not long permitted to there remain, being elected to congress, in which he took his seat in 1799. While there he lent important aid to the administration and made himself felt with power and results upon all great questions that demanded the consideration of that body. Offered the control of the department of war, he declined it, but served for one year at the head of the department of state.

In 1801 Marshall was called to what in reality became his life work, and in which he made himself a name to be known in all days of American history, by his appointment as chief-justice of the United States. From then until 1835 he stood at the head of the judiciary of the United States, and no man was more entitled to the honor. During this long period he presided over the supreme court, and was "called upon to decide the most important questions of Constitutional law affecting the conflicts of states and the general government, the superiority of the judiciary to the legislature in the final appeal, and whatever of a mixed nature arose in the working of the government. His rulings and charge at the trial of Burr, for treason, over which he presided at Richmond, have something more than merely the legal interest of many of his decisions. Involving directly the great questions of the liberty of the subject, in relation to the state, they belong to the history of the country and its vital existence." To the judicial interests placed in his charge, the greater part of his time was given for the remainder of his life; and how well it was given, and to what beneficent purpose, the history of our American judiciary during the years of his incumbency will abundantly show. Only once after his appointment to the bench do we find him engaged in other public occupation, and that was in 1829 when he sat in the convention for the revision of the constitution of Virginia.

In the midst of all these labors, however, he found time for his pen, and the result was some of the ablest papers that have appeared from the American press. His writings upon the Constitution were published after his death, under the direction of Judge Story. He was, also, the author of a 'Life of Washington,' whom he knew personally through many years of close acquaintance, and toward whom he sought to do exact justice. Of his closing years his biographer has said: "He was now beyond the age of three-score. approaching the

termination of his career. The fine-hearted old man bore up well through the long years which brought sorrow and infirmity to him, as they do to most. The loss of his wife touched him deeply. Story found him, one day, shedding tears at the thought of the departed bride of his youth and stay of his manhood and age. He had, too, an afflictive disease, yet he presided in court to the last, with unimpaired mental power. At the close of the term, in the spring of 1835, he traveled to Philadelphia for medical relief; the operation to which he submitted was considered successful, but he died shortly after, on the sixth of July." His remains were taken to Richmond for burial. He had performed a life work of the utmost importance, and performed it so well that his name was honored alike by the generation in which he lived and by those that have come after him.

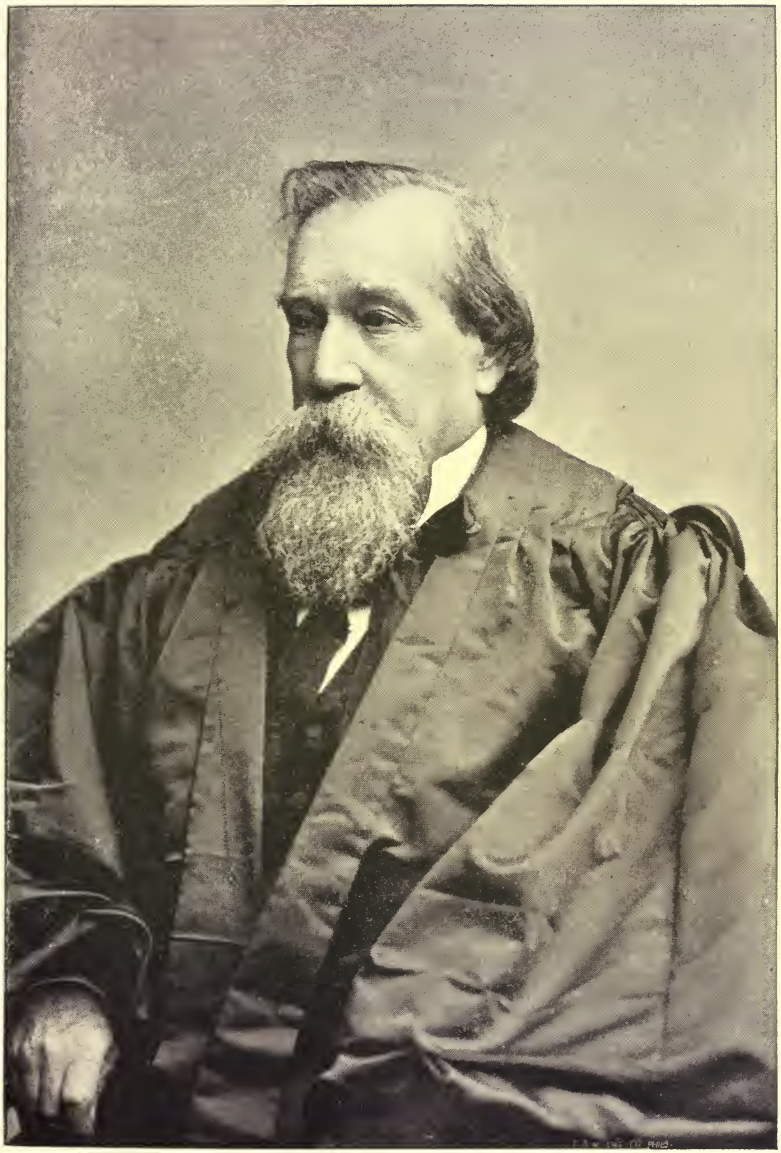
ALBERT GALLATIN.

ALBERT GALLATIN, statesman and financier, was a native of Switzerland, where he was born in Geneva on January 29, 1761. His father was a counselor of state and a man of some distinction. Left an orphan in his infancy, he yet received a fine education under the care of friends, and graduated with distinction from the university of Geneva in 1779. He was offered military employment by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, but declined it and followed the bent of his desire by an emigration to the United States. He landed at Cape Ann in July, 1780, and meeting a family from his own country, the youth was persuaded to accompany them to their destination in Maine. He soon after enlisted in the Continental army, and was for some time placed in command of a fort at Passamaquoddy. Returning to civil life, he was employed, in 1783, as a teacher of French at Harvard college, and on receiving his patrimony from home, purchased a large tract of land in western Virginia, upon which he expressed a purpose of locating a settlement. While surveying these lands, he met Washington, who was visiting that section with a view to the opening of a road across the Alleghanies, and thus made an acquaintance which was afterwards kept up.

His intended settlement was not made, because of the unsettled condition of the region, which was still infested by the Indians. In 1786 he established himself on a farm in Fayette county, Pennsylvania,

where his qualities and abilities were so well recognized that in 1789 he was elected a delegate to represent the county in a convention which met to amend the state constitution. In the year following he was sent to the house of representatives of the state, where he showed great ability in the discussion of financial questions. He was again and again returned to that position, and advanced so rapidly in acquaintance and the respect of the people that in 1794 he was made a member of the United States senate, but was excluded from that body by a strict party vote, on the ground of not having been in the country long enough to meet the requirements of the Constitution. When the questions that led to the Whiskey Insurrection were being considered, Gallatin was opposed to the system of taxation or excise duty, to prevent which the rebellion was raised, although he counseled peace and was never in favor of the disturbances that arose. His influence was used to bring about a settlement of the vexed questions, and it was largely owing to his exertions that the matter was at last peacefully arranged. In recognition of these services, he was made a member of congress.

He made his mark in the counsels and debates of that body from the moment of his entrance, and served through three successive terms, during which he was a leader on the Republican side of the house. While he devoted himself largely to questions of National finance, he also took part in the other important debates; and was the originator of the committee on ways and means, whose duties had been previously in the hands of the treasury department. "His published speeches on the Foreign Intercourse bill," to quote from one account of his life, "on the bill for augmenting the navy establishment of the United States; his 'Sketch of the Finances of the United States;' his 'View of the Public Debt, Receipts and Expenditures of the United States,' remain as literary records of his career—a career which excited the admiration and gratitude of Jefferson, who pronounced him the bulwark of opposition in the lower house, while he himself bore the brunt of Federal authority in the upper." "Such was the dread of Gallatin's arguments," writes another, "that the Federalists adopted a resolution prohibiting anyone from speaking more than twice on any one subject, aimed solely at him and designed to slacken the fire of his formidable and ever ready batteries of debate—a resolution which he soon, however, made them glad to rescind. They even tried to exclude him from the floor of congress, through an amendment to the Constitution, so as to require actual native citizenship for eligibility to that body; but though they passed resolutions to that effect through the



L. Q. C. LAMAR.

legislatures of all the New England states, the ball was arrested in New York and Pennsylvania, and did not venture the attempt of proceeding any further south. Through all this his opposition was always as fair, manly and patriotic as it was skillful and eloquent, never degenerating into factiousness or petulance."

When Jefferson was elected to the Presidency, in 1801, it was a natural and almost foregone conclusion that Gallatin should be made secretary of the treasury, a position which he held through the two administrations of Jefferson and the first of Madison—a period of service which extended over twelve years. He carried on the Nation's finances with the greatest success, and had soon gained a reputation as one of the greatest financiers of the day. His annual reports of the condition of his department showed rare ability, and had a great influence upon the course of National legislation. He not only opposed an increase of the National debt but prepared the way for its gradual extinction. The mode of disposing of the public lands was systematized under his direction; he zealously advocated public improvements, among which may be specially mentioned the National road and the coast survey. Judge Story, in speaking of the great secretary at this period of his career, has said: "In the treasury department I spent a full hour with Gallatin, and having occasion to consult him on business, I had a better opportunity to observe the strength and acuteness of his mind. His countenance is strongly marked, and deep, piercing, black eyes convince you at a single glance of his resources. Plain and modest in his demeanor, he gains your attention not by surprise, but, insensibly warmed by his subject, interests and engages. I was struck by his promptitude, accuracy and distinctness. The case was of an individual nature, and yet he appeared as perfectly well informed as if it had been the last subject of his thoughts. He is a most industrious and indefatigable man, and, by the consent of all parties, of accomplished genius and great acquirements."

In 1809 President Madison offered Mr. Gallatin the state department, which he declined. When an offer was made by Russia to mediate between England and the United States, three men were named by Madison as ministers to conduct the negotiations—Gallatin, James A. Bayard and John Quincy Adams, the latter being then minister to Russia. In May, 1813, Bayard and Gallatin sailed for St. Petersburgh. The last named took part in various negotiations that ensued, and was one of the commissioners by whom a treaty of peace was finally arranged. In 1815 he was again called upon to perform duty abroad, by an appointment as minister to France, which he held

until 1823, being at the same time employed in special negotiations with Holland and England. Upon his return to the United States, he was again offered a position in the cabinet, which he declined, as he did also the nomination for vice-president of the United States at the hands of the Republican members of congress. He also declined the mission to Panama, which was tendered by President Adams. In 1826 he again became minister to England, where he remained until the close of the following year, "actively employed in serviceable negotiations respecting the fisheries, the navigation of the Mississippi, the boundary question and other matters which had been familiar topics of discussion since his first entrance upon public life."

Returning to the United States in 1827, he made his home in New York city, became president of a bank and devoted himself to matters of a literary, scientific and historical character. In 1831 he published a valuable work entitled, 'Considerations on the Currency and Banking System of the United States,' in which he advocated the advantages of a regular Bank of the United States. A member of the free trade convention that was held in Philadelphia in the year last named, he prepared the memorial that was sent from thence to congress. At the time of the controversy with Great Britain over the northwest boundary question, he published a pamphlet upon the subject that betokened deep research and thought; and later, in 1846, he published a number of important letters on the Oregon question; and he also came out in a pamphlet against the Mexican war, which attracted wide attention, and of which over one hundred and fifty thousand copies were published. These are but a few of the important questions that occupied his attention in the leisure of old age. He died at the advanced age of eighty-nine, at Astoria, Long Island, on August 12, 1849.

AARON BURR.

AARON BURR was one of the striking figures of his day, and had his patriotism been equal to his energy, and his devotion to his country as great as his abilities, there is no position of honor or respect to which he might not have attained. He was the grandson of Jonathan Edwards and son of Aaron Burr, a well-known

clergyman and educator of New Jersey, and was born at Newark, in that state, on February 6, 1756. The death of his parents while he was yet an infant left him without the aid of their guidance, but heir to a considerable estate. He graduated at Princeton college in 1772, with distinction, when but sixteen years of age, and spent some time in ease if not in idleness, and was inclining toward the study of the law when the War of the Revolution opened, and gave the chance for stirring scenes, for which his active nature had unconsciously longed. When the news of Bunker Hill came, he mounted his horse and rode to the camp of Washington at Cambridge, which he reached in July, 1775. Enlisting as a private, he was a member of Arnold's famous expedition to Canada, and took part in the heroic attack upon Quebec. His services were of a brilliant nature, and he was promoted to the position of major and made one of the military family of Washington. Appointed aid-de-camp to Putnam, he took part in the defense of New York, and in 1777 was made lieutenant-colonel and given command of a regiment. He showed great valor at Monmouth, where he was in command of a brigade. In the winter of 1778 and 1779 he was for a short time in command at West Point, when but twenty-three years of age. In January of the year last named he was appointed to a post of greater importance and difficulty than any he had previously held, and one in which he gained his greatest distinction as a soldier. He was placed in command in Westchester county, New York, a region lying between the posts of the British at Kingsbridge and those of the Americans, some fifteen miles above them. This was a district more exposed to the worst ravages of war than any other part of the country at that time. He commanded in this unpleasant position with such skill, courage and address that he brought order out of chaos, gave security where before had been danger and won for himself the respect and admiration not only of his men but of the people in general. On the tenth of March of this year he wrote to Washington, resigning his position, giving physical disability as a reason. In accepting the resignation Washington declared that he "not only regretted the loss of a good officer but the cause which made his resignation necessary." This was the close of his regular service in the army, although upon more than one occasion he was able to perform good service for the American cause, at the cost of danger and suffering to himself.

In 1782 Burr was admitted to the bar in Albany, and in July of the same year was married to Mrs. Prevost, the widow of a British officer who had died in the West Indies. The next year he entered

upon active practice, and in 1784 was made a member of the state legislature, having already changed his place of residence to New York city. In 1789 he was appointed by Governor Clinton to the office of attorney-general of the state, fulfilling the duties of his office with efficiency and industry. In January, 1791, he was chosen as New York's representative in the United States senate. While in this position, he was recommended for the mission to France, but Washington declined to make the appointment. Retiring from the senate in 1797, he was, in the following year, again made a member of the New York legislature; and in the Presidential contest of 1800, he made such efforts in behalf of the Republican ticket in New York that the state was successfully carried and the Presidency secured. The prominence he had thus secured brought him before the electoral college as a candidate for the vice-presidency; and an equal number of votes being cast for Jefferson and Burr, the choice of a President devolved upon the house of representatives, where the greater number of the Federal members voted for Burr. Jefferson was elected President after an excited contest of several days, and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution at that time, Burr, as having received the second highest number of votes, became vice-president. "His conduct in permitting himself to be used by his political opponents in order to defeat the candidate of his party, and whom he himself had supported, dissolved his connection with the Republicans and destroyed his political influence." He entered upon his duties as vice-president on March 4, 1801, and held the office until succeeded by George Clinton, in March, 1805. Meanwhile, in 1804, the Federalists had nominated him for governor of New York, but because a number of the leading men of that party refused to support him, he was defeated. Alexander Hamilton had been among his most earnest political opponents for a long period, and the trouble between the two at one time assumed a form of National importance. Out of that difficulty grew the fatal duel between Hamilton and Burr, already described, in which the former lost his life. From thence there was no room for Burr in the politics of New York or America. By the laws of the state he was disfranchised for having been engaged in a duel, and an indictment for murder was found against him in New Jersey, in which the fatal encounter took place.

Ambitious, full of energy, disappointed and with all his plans and hopes of advancement gone, the brave soldier of the Revolution and the able and popular political leader entered upon that mysterious and never fully explained enterprise in the west for which he was tried for

treason and that cast an odium upon his name forever after. Just what his purposes were, or how far he held a treasonable intent, can never be said with any degree of certainty. Upon the expiration of his vice-presidential term in 1805, he set out upon an extended tour through the west. He purchased four hundred thousand acres of land on the Red river, in the southwest, and gave his adherents to understand that the lands held by the Spaniards further south were to be conquered. Whether guilty or not of a purpose of setting up an empire of his own upon the borders of the United States and partially within, he was guilty in the minds of his enemies, and so declared before the country at large; and on November 27, 1806, President Jefferson issued a proclamation against him and ordered his arrest. The particulars of that arrest and of his trial would fill a volume, but can only be touched upon briefly here. During an endeavor to make his way to the coast, and from thence out of the country, he was arrested in Alabama, on February 19, 1807, and taken to Richmond, Virginia, for trial upon an indictment for high treason. That trial—one of the most remarkable and exciting ever recorded in the history of our country—commenced on March 27 and ended on September 7. No event of a like character upon this side of the sea was ever watched with the same degree of popular interest and excitement. John Marshall, chief-justice of the United States, sat upon the bench, while the ablest counsel of the Union were employed upon both sides. Burr conducted himself during this long ordeal with surprising coolness and calmness, and met charge after charge with the same courage he had so often shown upon the field of battle. No open act of treason was proved, and the verdict rendered was couched in the following form: "Aaron Burr is not proved to be guilty under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to us."

America had no charms for Burr thereafter, and in 1808 he went to Europe, where he dreamed of help for an attack upon Mexico, in which form his ambition had now taken shape. This hope met with disappointment, and after remaining abroad in poverty, he returned to America in 1812, and resumed the practice of the law in New York. But the old energy and the old success were gone forever. When seventy-eight years of age he married a widow of wealth, but a separation soon ensued. The remainder of his life was passed in poverty and neglect, and he died on Staten Island, on September 14, 1836.

DEWITT CLINTON.

DEWITT CLINTON was a member of the same family of which George Clinton was a part, and that had the honor of furnishing New York with two of its most distinguished governors. He was born at Little Britain, New York, on March 2, 1769. His education was first cared for at home, and at the proper age he entered Columbia college, formerly King's, and received his degree at the first commencement after the Revolution. He then engaged in the study of the law, and in 1789 was made secretary of his uncle, George Clinton, then governor of New York. In 1794 he was made secretary of the board of regents of the university, and in that capacity "drew the report in favor of the incorporation of Union college, containing the earliest official recommendation of the establishment of schools by the legislature for the common branches of education." In 1795 he commenced the practice of law in New York, and was soon after introduced to public life by an election as a member of the assembly in 1797, and in the year following was advanced to the senate, where he was made a member of the council of appointment. His progress in the esteem of his party was such, and his remarkable abilities so soon recognized, that in 1802, when but thirty-three years of age, he was chosen to fill a vacancy in the United States senate. In two years he resigned his seat to accept the mayoralty of New York. Taking his seat in the position last named in 1803, he continued therein, with slight intervals of retirement because of changes in politics, until 1815. "A mayor of New York at that time," explains one authority, "differed not only in his manner of election but in many of his employments from his successors of the present day. He had a degree and variety of power in his hands for which a senatorship might well be exchanged. He presided at the meetings of the common council, then sitting in a single body. He exercised also important judicial functions as chief-judge of the common pleas and of the criminal court, and at the head of the police. In all these relations Clinton was active and efficient; firm and honest as a judge; resolute and intrepid in checking riot and preserving peace. These were the ordinary duties of the magistrate. He had others to perform of his own choosing and advocacy, growing out of his taste for literature and science. Foremost among these, in point of time and importance, was the Free School association, for which a charter was procured in 1805. The act speaks of a single school, and its object was 'to provide for the education of poor children who do not belong to, or

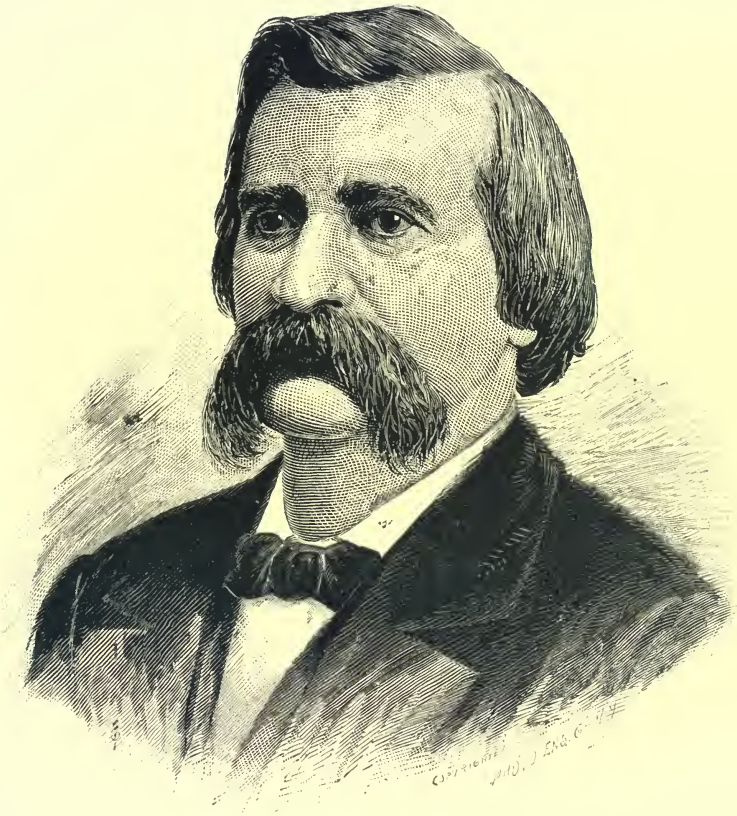
are not provided for, by any religious society.' The undertaking was stimulated by the success of Lancaster, with his direct and economical system in England. His plans were followed by Clinton and his associates in New York. Funds were provided by charitable subscriptions, Clinton himself soliciting contributions from door to door, and the first school was opened in May, 1806, in a small apartment in Bancker street. The corporation of the city then appropriated a building adjacent to the almshouse for the purpose, and in 1809 the institution found a permanent lodgment in a building erected by its funds on the site of an old arsenal, which was granted for the purpose. On the completion of this building, in 1809, Clinton, as president of the society, delivered an opening address, noticeable for his enlightened interest in the subject of education, and as a landmark whence we may measure the progress to the present gigantic school system of the city." Thus through his whole life Clinton was noted for his endeavors in aid of education and public enlightenment.

In 1805, while still mayor, he was elected state senator, where he used his vote and legislative influence in aid of many measures having in view the objects above specified. But it was in connection with the development of internal improvements and the creation of the great canal system of New York that he is best known and will be the longest remembered. His attention had been long directed to the utility and need of such artificial waterways, as had that of his uncle before him, and he was ready to lend his aid to any reasonable plan that might be proposed. In March, 1810, the New York legislature led the way, by the appointment of a committee of which Clinton was a member, for the purpose of discovering a practicable canal route from the Hudson to Lakes Ontario and Erie. A report favoring a canal was made after a personal exploration by the committee, and in furtherance of the proposed measures, Clinton and Gouverneur Morris proceeded to Washington in the hope of enlisting the aid of the National government; but no encouragement was received, and it was left to the enterprise of New York to go forward and secure for herself the credit and the benefits that were derived from the vast undertaking she so successfully completed.

Meanwhile, in 1811, Clinton was elected lieutenant-governor of New York; and in 1812 was made the nominee of the Republican party in opposition to Madison. Although he received eighty-nine votes, among which were those of his own state, he was defeated, in consequence of which, as it has been said, "he was placed in a somewhat ambiguous position between the advocates of the war and its oppo-

nents, which was aggravated by subsequent party divisions in his state, in the progress of which he was thrown out of the mayoralty." The canal project had lain dormant during the war, and at its conclusion a determined effort was made to revive it. A large meeting of the leading citizens of New York was held in the autumn of 1815, at which Clinton presented a memorial on the whole subject, demonstrating the practicability "of the union of the Hudson with Lake Erie, setting forth the various details and enforcing the vast benefits of the work." The matter was brought before the legislature with new energy and vigor; a new board of commissioners was appointed, of which Clinton was a member; new reports were made; and in 1817 a final authorization of the work given. While in the midst of these labors Clinton was elected governor of New York, and remained in that high office by successive reëlections, with the exception of the years 1823 and 1824, until his death. The canal was pushed forward with energy, and was finally completed and opened with such rejoicing and general display as is seldom called forth by any purely civic event. It was a time of joy and triumph to the man who had done so much to bring it about. "The rejoicings of New York at that period," says the historian, "belong to the National history. The celebration extended throughout the state. The day which crowned the work was the twenty-sixth of October, 1825. Governor Clinton, accompanied by delegates from New York and the villages along the line, embarked at the western terminus of the canal at Buffalo, on its waters, and pursued its whole length to Albany, while signal guns, fired from station to station, rapidly bore the news of his progress in advance to New York. The party continued its course down the Hudson to that city, where they were met by a splendid flotilla of steamboats and other maritime displays, which led them to the ocean, when the waters of Lake Erie, as in the festal processions of Venice in the Adriatic, were mingled with the Atlantic. It was a proud moment for Clinton—one of those triumphs in the history of science when the laurels which so many deserving candidates fail to grasp are placed upon the brow of some favored individual whose energy is at last rewarded with success. Clinton had every way a right to the ovation."

These general outlines must suffice in description of a life of which the public had the full fruits, and that was most usefully and patriotically passed. The duties of the governorship, and those of an outside scientific and educational character he had assumed, were carried to the very end, as death came and found him still at work. On February



JOHN A. LOGAN

11, 1828, at the end of a day of public labor, and while yet in the perusal of letters brought him by the evening mail, he was stricken with heart disease and instantly expired.

STEPHEN DECATUR.

THE deeds performed by Stephen Decatur upon the high seas in upholding the dignity of the American flag render him indeed worthy of a prominent place among America's most famous men. He was the descendant of men who had followed the lives of sailors, and was born at Sinepuxent, Maryland, on January 5, 1779. At the age of eight he accompanied his father upon a voyage, and thus early became inclined toward an occupation he was sure eventually to adopt. He was given a fair education at the Episcopal academy in Philadelphia and a year at the Pennsylvania university. It was the desire of the mother that he should enter the church, but the sea was always his choice. A short time was spent in his father's shipping-house. When twenty years of age, the problem of his future was solved by Commodore Barron of the frigate *United States*, who procured him a midshipman's warrant without his parents' knowledge; and in May, 1798, he began his naval life upon that vessel in which he was destined afterward to win such laurels. At the end of a year, and after some service of a minor nature, in which he had shown the stuff of which he was made, he was promoted to a lieutenancy. While enjoying this rank, he sailed in the *United States*, carrying the French commissioners to Europe, and also on the *Norfolk*, while his own ship was undergoing repairs.

When the trouble with the Mediterranean states occurred, and the bashaw of Tripoli, in May, 1801, declared war against the United States, Commodore Dale was sent to the Mediterranean in command of a squadron, Decatur being a first lieutenant under Bainbridge in the *Essex;* but no results of a special nature were recorded in connection with the cruise. When the second squadron was sent out under Morris, in 1803, Decatur was attached to the *New York;* but because of a dueling affair at Malta, where a British officer was killed by a friend of Decatur's, for whom he acted as second, he was compelled to return home as passenger aboard the *Chesapeake*, because of a demand on part of the British authorities for his surrender for trial.

He was soon after returned to the scene of operations in command of the brig *Argus*, and, on joining Preble's squadron at Gibraltar, was transferred to the *Enterprise* of eighteen guns.

It was at this point of his career that Decatur performed a brave and brilliant service that filled the world with his name, gained for him the enthusiastic admiration of his fellow countrymen, caused congress to present him with its special thanks and a sword, and made a page of naval American history worthy to be placed beside that upon which the name of John Paul Jones and his *Bon Homme Richard* are inscribed. To follow a paraphrase of Mackenzie's interesting life of the young hero, we find that interesting event described in these words: Now came one of the most gallant actions of the American service—the burning of the *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli. It will be remembered that this vessel, under the command of Bainbridge, had been wrecked on a shoal at the entrance to the port, and, after a gallant defense, captured by the natives, who carried her officers and crew into captivity. The unfortunate ship had been afterwards towed into the harbor, and, well manned, with her armament, now constituted one of the important defenses of the place. To capture or destroy the *Philadelphia* was the romantic dream of the service. The adventure presented itself vividly to the mind of Decatur, on the cruise of the squadron off Tripoli, in December, 1803, when he captured the ketch *Mastico*. It was in this vessel, now named the *Intrepid*, of sixty tons, that he was destined to make the attempt. Receiving direct orders from Preble, he sailed from the station of the squadron at Syracuse with a picked crew of officers and men, all eager volunteers, seventy-five in number. The ketch was well furnished with combustibles. In a few days she was off Tripoli, when she met with a gale which caused considerable detention and annoyance. On the evening of the sixteenth she was at the mouth of the harbor, creeping slowly along, with a gentle breeze, in the partial light of a young moon. The brig *Siren*, Lieutenant Charles Stewart, accompanied her at a distance to render assistance in case of need. It was certainly a most delicate service. The harbor bristled with forts and defenses; the *Philadelphia*, the object of attack, mounted forty guns, ready to be discharged; a fleet of vessels of war was around to defend her. Skill was required as well as bravery with such hazards. The first advantage was gained by hailing the vessel, through the Italian pilot, Catalano, with a request to be permitted, having lost their anchors, to attach a rope to the frigate for the purpose of riding by her. The rope was promptly attached, even the Turks assisting,

and the little *Intrepid* was hauled towards her gigantic prey. The word was given by Decatur to board. With his officers he was instantly on the deck. It was but the work of a few moments to overpower the confused and confounded crew by an assault. They were cut down and driven into the sea, flames were applied in different parts of the ship, and the only danger now to the invaders was from their own triumph. The *Intrepid* was loaded with combustibles; but the same good address which had conducted the whole of this enterprise brought her off in safety. A favorable wind which suddenly sprung up aided escape from the perils that now thickened around her. The *Intrepid*, with her force quite uninjured, only a single man being wounded, sailed calmly away, witnessing the flame running along the spars and rigging of the colossal firework, the splendid illumination of the forts, the harbor and the Barbaric city, harmlessly surrrounded by the play of the enemy's shot on the water, her crew listening to the salute of the heated guns and the crowning applause of the explosion of the magazine. Three cheers were sent up—they must have been cheers indeed—by the gallant crew as they retired from the harbor. It was a grand spectacle for Bainbridge and his fellow prisoners on the shore.

When Tripoli was bombarded by Preble, in July, 1804, Decatur was in command of one of the two divisions of gunboats, and bore himself with the greatest adroitness and heroism. He was afterwards placed in command of the *Constitution*, and afterwards to the *Congress*. Upon the conclusion of a peace he returned to America, and was welcomed, with the other heroes of that gallant war, with the most marked expressions of honor and respect. Made a captain after the affair of the *Philadelphia*, he found himself advanced to the position of commodore, when only twenty-eight. In 1810 he took command of the *United States*, upon which his first service had been performed, and was for a time employed on the American coast survey.

But he was not long permitted to be idle. When the war with England was declared, in 1812, he was ordered to join Commodore Rogers at New York. He was sent out with the squadron in search of the Jamaica fleet, which was not found. On October 25 Decatur fell in with the English first-class frigate *Macedonian*, of forty-nine guns, and after a terrific fight captured her and towed her into port. When victor and vanquished were brought into New York, Decatur was received with a series of ovations, congress voted thanks and a medal, and the various legislatures of the states gave formal expression to their praise and gratitude. He was employed in various

labors and in the spring of 1814 was placed in command of the frigate *President*, at New York city, and devoted himself to preparations for an expected attack that did not come. Finding himself blocked in, he determined to run the gauntlet of the cruisers, and, for a better chance of escape, to go to sea alone, in advance of his comrades of the fleet. On January 14, 1815, on board the *President*, he attempted to slip out, but soon found himself engaged with the heavily-armed *Endymion*. Three other vessels surrounded her and poured in a terrible fire; Lieutenants Babbitt, Hamilton and Howell had fallen and Decatur was himself wounded. It was either death for all on board or surrender, and the *President* struck her colors and the brave leader was a prisoner. Sent to Bermuda, he was soon allowed to go home on parole, and was landed at New London on Washington's birthday—"in the midst of the peace celebration, for the war was now definitely ended. The enthusiastic populace drew his carriage through the streets, paying the highest honor to a man of courage—an appreciation of his valor under defeat."

After the settlement of this question with England, that of the Barbary states came up once more. Two squadrons under the respective commands of Decatur and Bainbridge were fitted up, and sailed away to the Mediterranean. Some severe fighting occurred on the part of Decatur, and upon reaching Algiers he was enabled to dictate a peace, which made Algerine slavery of Americans a thing impossible in the future. The same success was repeated at Tunis and Tripoli, and he soon after returned home in triumph. He made his residence at Washington, and was engaged as a member of the board of navy commissions, to which he had been appointed. Out of his connection therewith grew a quarrel with Commodore Barron, and under the barbaric code at force, even in those days of enlightenment, a duel seemed to be the only means of settlement. The meeting took place at Bladensburg, near Washington, on March 22, 1820. At the first fire both fell, Barron wounded in the hip and Decatur mortally struck in the abdomen. His death occurred on that night—a sacrifice of a noble and useful life to a custom that removed Hamilton from the scenes of his usefulness and laid a deep blot upon the age in which it was tolerated. No one can wonder at the vain regret of his dying words—"He wished that he had fallen in the defense of his country." The news of his death was received with a two-fold emotion—sorrow at the loss of a brave man, who might have performed still greater service for his country, and a deep regret that it should have been by a half-legalized murder that the end had come.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH, the successor of John Jay as supreme judge of the United States, was born at Windsor, Connecticut, on April 29, 1745. He graduated from Princeton college at the age of twenty-one, and upon admission to the bar, commenced practice at Hartford, in his native state. His entrance upon public life was as state attorney for his district, which position he held all through the Revolutionary war. He represented his town in the general assembly, and in 1777 was made one of the Connecticut delegates to the Continental congress. He served upon many important committees, his keen business sense being of practical use in the many difficult questions demanding solution. Upon the conclusion of that term of office, we find him a member of the supreme court of errors and also of the superior court of his state. But it was in the convention of 1787, called for the formation of a form of National government that should replace the old Confederacy, that his ablest work of a political character was performed. Connecticut had shown little desire for a stronger and more compact government, and her delegates went to the deliberations of Philadelphia with little warmth or earnestness in that direction. Ellsworth was the avowed advocate of a state right policy, and battled earnestly for an equality of state representation in the National senate. "What he wanted," to quote from the Madison papers, "was domestic happiness. The National government could not descend to the local objects on which this depended. It could only embrace objects of a general nature. He turned his eyes, therefore, for the preservation of their rights to the state governments. From that alone he could derive the greatest happiness he expected in this life." When the Constitution was made and submitted to the various states, Ellsworth was a member of the Connecticut ratifying convention, where he battled earnestly for the new instrument and the Union it was intended to create. He was chosen as one of the first senators from his state to the National congress, where he assisted in the creation of the National judiciary system and stood by Hamilton in the financial measures proposed by the latter. In 1796 these services were recognized by President Washington by an appointment to the office of chief-justice of the United States, as successor to Jay. Although he had for some time been engaged in labors other than judicial, it was in the latter sphere of life that he properly belonged, and he turned his attention to his new duties with an eagerness and purpose that foreshadowed an able and honorable discharge. He remained upon the

bench until 1799, when he was sent abroad as one of the new commission appointed to negotiate a treaty with France. The fortunes of that commission have been already related. When the treaty was finally made, Ellsworth remained in England, because of ill health, but forwarded his resignation as chief-justice, returning to America in the spring following, he afterwards filled the position of member of the council and judge of the supreme court of his state. He was also appointed its chief-justice, but ill health compelled him to decline the appointment. He died at Windsor, November 26, 1807.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, whose name is forever linked with the memorable victory won on September 10, 1813, upon the blue waters of Lake Erie, was a descendant of one of the older families of New England, and was born at South Kingston, Rhode Island, on August 23, 1785. When he was but thirteen years of age, his father took him for a cruise in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and, like Decatur, he imbibed a love for a sea life that was never removed. Appointed a midshipman, he sailed with the frigate *Adams* from Newport, in 1802, to join Commodore Morris' squadron at Gibraltar. He was employed in various capacities, was advanced to the office of lieutenant and in 1803 returned to America. No special event occurred in connection with his career until in 1809, when he was placed in command of an armed schooner, the *Revenge*, which was employed on the coast survey. While upon the southern coast he distinguished himself by cutting out a stolen American vessel from under the guns of a British ship in Spanish waters, off Florida. In 1811 he was stationed at Newport, with the rank of a master commandant, in charge of a flotilla of gun-boats, set to keep watch over that harbor. Seeing no chance for such employment upon the seas as he desired, he proffered his services to Commodore Chauncey, who was then at the head of the American service on the great lakes. The offer was accepted, and in February, 1813, he joined that officer at Sackett's harbor with a band of picked men from his command at Newport. By the end of March he had been sent to Erie, where vessels were in process of construction for his use. By the end of May three gun-boats and two brigs were launched and equipped.

Learning that Chauncey had determined to make an attack on the British post of Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara, he made haste to join him, and upon reaching headquarters was assigned to look after the landing of troops. He aided greatly in securing the victory that ensued; and as the victory opened the port of Black Rock, where several American vessels had collected, he made the attempt to get them into Lake Erie and succeeded, although it was a serious task against the rapids that intervened.

He now found himself in possession of quite a little fleet. A month passed in watching the enemy and seeking a chance for a favorable engagement. He had already proceeded to the upper end of Lake Erie, and was stationed near Sandusky and the Bass islands, where his famous engagement afterwards took place.

When that great battle occurred, the American force consisted of the brigs *Lawrence* and *Niagara*, of twenty guns each, commanded respectively by Perry and Elliott, and seven smaller vessels, numbering in all fifty-four guns. On the other side Captain Barclay was in command, and had the *Detroit* of nineteen guns, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost* and three other vessels, with a total of sixty-three guns. The engagement took place on the tenth of September, and as it is one of the most memorable that ever occurred in American waters, a somewhat detailed account will be in order. "On the morning of the engagement, the American fleet was among the islands off Malden, at Put-in-bay, when the British fleet bore up. There was some difficulty at first in clearing the islands, and the nature of the wind seemed likely to throw Perry upon the defensive, when a southeast breeze springing up, enabled him to bear down upon the enemy. This was at ten o'clock on a fine autumnal morning. Perry arranged his vessels in line, taking the lead in his flagship, the *Lawrence*, on which he now raised the signal for action—a blue flag inscribed in large, white letters with the words of the dying Lawrence, 'Don't give up the ship!' The awful silence is suddenly broken by a bugle sounded on board the *Detroit* and the cheers of the British seamen. A shot from that vessel fell short of the mark. The *Lawrence* bears on to meet the fire, accompanied by the other vessels of the command in appointed order, each destined for its appropriate antagonist. At noon the British fire, from the superior long guns, was telling fearfully on the American force, when Perry made all sail for close quarters, bringing the *Lawrence* within reach of the *Detroit*. He maintained a steady, well-directed fire from his carronades, assisted by the *Scorpion* and the *Ariel*. The destruction on the deck of the *Lawrence* was fearful.

Out of a hundred well men who had gone into action, twenty-two were killed and sixty-one wounded. In the midst of this storm of conflict, Perry, finding his ship getting disabled and seeing the *Niagara* uninjured at a safe distance, resolved to change his flag to that vessel. He had half a mile to traverse, exposed to the fire of the enemy, in an open boat. Nothing deterred, with the exclamation, 'If a victory is to be gained, I'll gain it,' he made the passage, part of the time standing as a target for the hostile guns. Fifteen minutes were passed exposed to this plunging fire, which splintered the oars and covered the boat with spray. The *Lawrence*, stripped of officers and men, was compelled to surrender. Perry instantly bore up to the *Detroit*, the guns of which were plied resolutely, when she became entangled with her consort, the *Queen Charlotte*, and the *Niagara* poured a deadly fire into both vessels. This cannonade decided the battle in seven minutes, when the enemy surrendered."

The loss of the Americans in this fierce conflict was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded; that of the British, forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded. It was after this victory that Perry sent his memorable and modest dispatch to General Harrison, in which occurred those famous words, "We have met the enemy and they are ours!" Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop were among some of the visible results of the combat.

The lake thus cleared of the foe, Perry was enabled to go to the help of Harrison on shore and was of effective aid in driving the British from Michigan. He bore a gallant part in the battle of the Thames. Upon his return to the east he was received as a hero, the people and congress vying with each other as to which should show him the most marked honor.

Perry was next placed in command of the *Java*, on the sea, but was unable to accomplish anything because of the heavy blockade by the enemy. On the conclusion of peace he sailed to the Mediterranean and joined Commodore Shaw's squadron. In 1819 he sailed in command of the *John Adams* for the West Indies, bound for Venezuela with orders to carry on an armed negotiation for the protection of American commerce in that part of the world. When he reached the mouth of the Orinoco he changed to the *Nonsuch*, in which he sailed up the river to Angostura, where he remained during twenty days, carrying on the business of his mission. It was in the height of the yellow fever season, and his vessel had hardly got out of the river on its return before the dread disease laid him low. He lay aboard a week in this condition before reaching the station to which the *John Adams* had been

ordered. When within a mile of anchorage, on August 23, 1819, the end came, and his brave spirit took its flight forever. The remains were temporarily interred at Port Spain, but afterwards carried home in a government vessel and laid to eternal rest at Newport.

JAMES LAWRENCE.

WORTHY to stand beside Decatur and Perry was James Lawrence, another hero of the War of 1812, whose famous dying command was made the motto upon Perry's flag, when going into the desperate combat of Lake Erie. He was born on October 1, 1781, at Burlington, New Jersey. Destined for the profession of the law, he abandoned it as soon as opportunity offered, and gave his life to his first love, the sea. Made a midshipman in the United States navy in September, 1798, he served faithfully in any station in which he was placed, and in 1802 was made first lieutenant of the *Enterprise*, which was sent with Commodore Morris to the Mediterranean. He was first lieutenant under Decatur in the brilliant feat that ended in the burning of the *Philadelphia*, already described in the sketch of that gallant officer, and conducted himself with the spirit of a true hero. Upon the conclusion of the war with Tripoli, and in 1808, he was made first lieutenant of the *Constitution*. At the breaking out of the second war with England, he was promoted to the command of the *Hornet*. Accompanied by Bainbridge and the *Constitution*, he sailed on a cruise along the shores of South America, and on February 24, 1813, had a serious engagement with a British brig of war, the *Peacock*, which he sunk. He carried the *Hornet*, filled with British prisoners, to New York, and was received with the honors due his deed. Promoted to a captaincy, he was offered the command of the *Constitution*—the famous "Old Ironsides"—and would have been glad to sail in her, but was ordered to the *Chesapeake*, then at Boston, It was a service he was loth to undertake. "Lawrence," says Irving, "was prejudiced against the *Chesapeake*, both from her being considered the worst ship in our navy and from having been in a manner disgraced in the affair with the *Leopard*. This last circumstance had acquired for her the character of an unlucky ship—the worst of stigmas among sailors, who are devout believers in good and bad luck; and so detrimental

was it to this vessel that it had been found difficult to recruit crews for her."

Lawrence assumed command at Boston in the end of May, 1813. The *Shannon*, a superior frigate of the British navy, had been some time off the port, and on the morning of June 1 appeared near enough to signal the *Chesapeake* to a personal engagement, in obedience to an unwritten code of naval warfare by combat of ship against ship, in vogue then, and to which Lawrence had previously committed himself by a like challenge to a foe when off San Salvador. Lawrence accepted the gage, as thrown down by the *Shannon*, against his better judgment. As Cooper's naval history aptly states, "he went into the engagement with strong reluctance, on account of the peculiar state of his crew. He had himself joined the vessel only a few days before; her proper first lieutenant, Mr. O. A. Page of Virginia, an officer of experience, was ill on shore, and died soon after in Boston; the acting first lieutenant, Mr. Augustus Ludlow of New York, though an officer of merit, was a very young man, and was in an entirely novel situation, and there was but one other commissioned sea officer in the ship, two of the midshipmen acting as third and fourth lieutenants, and now performing this duty for the first time. One, if not both these young gentlemen, had also just joined the ship, following the captain from the *Hornet*. In addition, the *Chesapeake* had an unusual number of landsmen in her, and of mercenaries, among whom was a boatswain's mate, a Portuguese, who was found to be particularly troublesome." The crew of the *Shannon* was picked, with every advantage of experience and discipline, while each vessel mounted forty-nine guns.

Despite all these disadvantages, Lawrence felt that the name and honor of the American navy compelled him to accept the challenge. He accordingly sailed forth, and after some maneuvering, the two vessels reached range of each other a little before six P. M. Rapid firing ensued, and the *Chesapeake* was holding her own, when, unfortunately, she lost command of her sails. She was consequently brought up into the wind, and was soon entangled in the *Shannon's* fore chains. This exposed her to a sweeping fire, which raked her decks, and as she was no longer in possession of her officers, who had fallen in the first discharges, the guns were soon abandoned by the men. Lawrence had already received a wound in the leg; Ludlow was wounded, the sailing master slain, while others important to the command of the ship were either dead or mortally wounded. "As the ship became entangled," to quote one graphic account of that bloody

scene, "Lawrence gave orders to summon the boarders, who were ready below; but unhappily, the negro whose duty it was to call them up by his bugle was too much frightened to sound a note. A verbal message was sent, and before it could be executed, Lawrence was a second time struck, receiving a grape-shot in his body. The deck was thus left with no officer above the rank of midshipmen. The men of the *Shannon* now poured in and gained possession of the vessel." It was while Lawrence was being carried below, mortally wounded, that he uttered to those about him that memorable but ineffective command, "Don't give up the ship!" But the ship was already lost; and he lingered along several days in the hands of his captors, and died on June 6. The ill-fated *Chesapeake* was carried into Halifax, from whence the remains of her captain were borne ashore with funeral honors, and such respects as brave victors pay to a brave and fallen foe. His body was afterwards carried back to his native land and given an honored burial, by a mourning Nation, in New York.

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

ELBRIDGE GERRY, a statesman, and one of the early vice-presidents of the United States, was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, July 17, 1744. Graduating from Harvard at the age of eighteen, he showed an early inclination to politics, which found for him a field of operations in an election to the state legislature in 1772. He soon took a leading place in the exciting political discussions of the day, and in the early days of the Revolution made himself effective in his country's cause. He was a member of those two important committees on safety and supplies which were sitting at Cambridge when the news from Lexington came. In January, 1776, he was made a delegate to the Continental congress, and was among those reserved to immortality by placing their names upon the Declaration of Independence. He was made a member of some of the most important and hardest-working committees of that body, and was for the most of the time chairman of that of the treasury—a place that called for the highest order of financial talent and most fertile resource. Upon the organization of the treasury board, in 1780, he became its president. In 1780 his term of service in congress expired, but he was returned once more

in 1783. He was a member of the convention which met at Philadelphia, in 1787, to revise the Articles of Confederation, and upon the making of the National Constitution, he declined to sign it, but gave it a willing support after it had secured the sanction of the people. He retired once more to private life, until called upon, in 1797, to accompany Marshall and Pinckney to France upon the special mission already described. When his associates were directed to leave France, he was requested to remain and did so, meanwhile busying himself in securing the evidence and assurances upon which the commission was enabled subsequently to act. In 1798 he was nominated for governor by the Democrats of Massachusetts and defeated, and he was again in 1801. But in 1810 he was elected to that position and reëlected in the following year. In 1812, upon the second election of James Madison to the Presidency, he was chosen vice-president by a vote of one hundred and thirty-one to eighty-six for his opponent, Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania. He made an able presiding officer of the senate, but died at Washington on November 23, 1814, in the second year of his term.

JOSEPH STORY.

THIS eminent jurist, whose bearing and character have shed honor upon the American name, and whose labors left a lasting mark upon the jurisprudence of the world, was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, on September 18, 1779. His father was a man of action and ability and a surgeon of repute, who aided in throwing the tea into Boston harbor, was in the trenches at Bunker Hill and a surgeon of Washington's army in the Jerseys. The son was given a fair preparatory course, and entered Harvard at the proper age, from whence he graduated in 1798, standing second in the list of college honors. He then entered the office of one of New England's most famous jurists, where he applied himself diligently to study, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. Such was his love for his profession and his determination to give it the best that was in him, that when he was offered the important place of naval officer of the port of Salem he declined it, declaring at the time his "reverence for his profession as employing the noblest faculties of the human mind and systematizing its boldest operations." He had already begun to make free use of his pen, publishing some poems which did not receive the commendation

of his maturer years, and also something more fitting to his life work, among which was his 'Selection of Pleadings in Civil Actions.' In 1805 he was made a member of the Massachusetts legislature and became one of its leaders in debate. Three sessions there were followed, in 1808, by a promotion to a seat in congress, where one term sufficed him, being satisfied "that a continuance in public life was incompatible with complete success at the bar; besides," as he adds, "I cannot disguise that I had lost my relish for political controversy, and I found an entire obedience to party projects required such constant sacrifices of opinion and feeling that my solicitude was greatly increased to withdraw from the field, that I might devote myself with singleness of heart to the study of the law, which was at all times the object of my admiration and almost exclusive devotion." Yet such was the desire of the people to have him in some place where his talents and high principles could be made of use to them as to himself, that in 1809 his objections were overcome and he was made a member of the Massachusetts house of representatives, of which he became speaker in 1811.

At the close of that year he was offered a position that he could worthily fill and yet devote himself to the great labor and love of his life. President Madison tendered him the office of associate justice of the United States supreme court, and he accepted. The salary was only one-half of that which he could earn at the bar, but a recompense was secured in the fact that the office "gave him that opportunity, which was welcome to his nature, of pursuing judicial studies unmingled with the cares of political life, or even the ordinary distractions of the bar." He made such use of that opportunity that the literature of the law has been enriched for all time thereby. His legal writings and written opinions are so many that no enumeration even of them can be attempted here. "He entered upon the judiciary midway in life," says one biographer, "at the age of thirty-two; nearly thirty-five years of active professional life was before him. In this period the reports of the judgments delivered by him on circuits fill thirteen volumes, and the reports of the supreme court, of which he furnished a full share, supply thirty-five volumes. In addition to these strictly judicial writings, he wrote a series of original works in the nature of commentaries, which hold a high place in the legal libraries of Europe and America. On his introduction to the bench, one of the foremost subjects which engaged the mind of Story was the condition of admiralty laws, to which his attention was particularly called by the maritime and commercial relations of his portion of the

country, productive of numerous questions for the circuit and district courts. He approached this great subject with his accustomed zeal and thoroughness, making himself fully master of the legal literature of the various topics embraced in the study. He was eminently a well-read man; and whatever the dryness of the investigation, his reading sat gracefully upon him. His mind seemed to possess a certain solvent power, imparting ease and fluency to the most crabbed matters. He early bestowed similar attention upon the then unsettled principles of equity administration and the growing law of patents. His adjudication of those questions are the trophies of his career."

While engaged in these severe labors, he was called to other duties of a varied character, from time to time. In 1820 he took part in the Massachusetts convention for the revision of the state constitution; law lectures before the Suffolk bar and elsewhere; and in 1827 he prepared and published an edition of 'The Laws of the United States.' In 1829 he commenced his famous series of law lectures at Harvard, as occupant of the Dane professorship of law, created expressly for his occupation. He devoted his vacations to this task, and made it a labor of love as of duty. "Instead of reading a series of formal and written lectures," says his son, in Judge Story's biography, "his method of teaching was by familiar discourse and conversational commentary. He created fictitious cases for the illustration of the subject under consideration. He twisted the familiar incidents of the day into illustrations of legal principles. His lectures were not bundles of dried fagots, but of budding scions. Like the Chinese juggler, he planted the seed and made it grow before the eyes of his pupils into a tree."

His published works followed each other in rapid succession—'Commentaries on the Law of Bailments,' 'Commentaries on the Constitution,' 'Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws,' a collection of his miscellaneous writings, 'Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence,' 'Promissory Notes,' etc. His life of labor and usefulness was brought to a close, as he was looking forward to new labors, at his home in Cambridge, on September 10, 1845.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR was born in Thurso, Scotland, in 1734, of aristocratic descent, being grandson to the earl of Roslyn. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, was intended for the

profession of medicine, and had actually entered upon his studies, when he determined upon a military life and entered the English army as an ensign. The troops to which he belonged were ordered to America, under command of Boscawen, and the youth saw active service with Amherst at Louisburg and with Wolfe at Quebec. Deciding upon a future residence in America, he resigned his commission in 1762, and two years later settled in the Ligonier valley, Pennsylvania, where he invested his capital in the erection of several mills, and in other ways, commercial and political, made himself active in the interests of the new community of which he was a part. When the war with England arose, he unhesitatingly sided with the land of his adoption against that of his birth, and offered his sword to the patriot cause. In January, 1776, he was made a colonel in the Continental army, and, in the August following, a brigadier-general. He served ably and bravely in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and in 1777 was made a major-general and placed in command at Ticonderoga. The advance of Burgoyne from the Canadian border compelled him to evacuate that stronghold, which fell into the hands of the enemy—a loss of the greatest moment to the Americans, which Washington could not understand, and for which General St. Clair was tried by court-martial. As his course was proved to be a matter of military necessity under the circumstances, he was acquitted. In 1781 he was placed in command of Philadelphia and charged with its protection, but was enabled to join the main army before the surrender of Cornwallis.

Upon the return of peace, General St. Clair for a time took an active and personal part in politics, being elected to congress in 1786, and chosen its president one year later. Upon the organization of the great Northwest territory in 1789, he was appointed its governor, and held that office until 1802. He had been made commander of the army sent into that region to operate against the Indians, and on November 4, 1791, was surprised and his forces cut to pieces. Washington, who could find no excuse for such disaster, refused his request for a court of inquiry, whereupon he resigned. The matter was carried into congress, which appointed a committee of investigation, which exonerated him. The impress of his local government while in control of the territory may be found all through its history, while his papers are among the most valuable of the historical writings upon the west. He died at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, on August 31, 1818.

WILLIAM WIRT.

ANOTHER famous American who, like Story, united eminent success in the legal profession to great qualities for public and political life, was William Wirt. Of Swiss and German descent, he was born at Bladensburg, Maryland, on November 8, 1772. His early education was found in the common schools of the state and in the grammar school of a Presbyterian clergyman in Montgomery county, followed by a course of law, in which he graduated, in 1792, at the Culpepper county court of Virginia, at which point he made his residence. He had soon entered upon a fair practice; but upon the death of his wife in 1799, he turned his back upon it and his former happy home, and repaired to Richmond, where he for the time found employment as clerk of the house of delegates. He held this position during three sessions, when he was promoted by the legislature to chancelor of one of the three districts into which that jurisdiction had been divided. He fulfilled its duties for a year and more, when he resigned, because the emoluments of the place were not sufficient to give him a respectable support. Offered an advantageous partnership, he settled at Norfolk, Virginia, and immediately entered upon a successful practice. He soon after made his appearance in literature, publishing in the Richmond *Argus*, in 1803, a series of brief articles under the title "Letters of the British Spy." "I adopted the character of a British spy," Wirt himself has explained, "because I thought that such a title in a Republican paper would excite more attention, curiosity and interest than any other; and having adopted that character, I was bound to support it. I endeavored to forget myself; to fancy myself the character which I had assumed; to imagine how, as a Briton, I should be struck with Richmond, its landscapes, its public characters, its manners, together with the political sentiments and moral complexion of the Virginians generally." Success followed, and Wirt was encouraged to further ventures in the line of literature—a thing which America had then produced only in limited quantities.

In 1806 an opportunity was afforded Wirt for a display of the great legal qualities with which he was endowed, and that brought him in a favorable light before the whole people. He was employed to assist in the prosecution of Aaron Burr, and eventually the main weight of that great task devolved upon his shoulders. He made himself respected and admired by his course in the trial, and was measurably advanced in his profession thereby. But the pen was still at hand



JAMES G. BLAINE.

in his leisure moments, and his 'Life of Patrick Henry' and 'The Old Bachelor' were given to the world. The year which saw the publication of the work first named also saw Wirt advanced from the position of United States attorney for the district of Richmond, which he then held, to that of attorney-general of the United States in the cabinet of President Monroe. He removed to Washington and filled the difficult duties of that high office with ability and distinction, and afterwards was engaged in practice before the United States supreme court. In 1829 he removed to Baltimore, where the remainder of his life was passed in the practice of his profession, in literary pursuits and in the delivery of occasional public addresses from time to time. He was made the nominee for the vice-presidency by the Anti-masonic party, but he took little interest in politics during the latter years of his life. He died on the eighteenth of February, 1834.

JOHN RANDOLPH.

JOHN RANDOLPH "of Roanoke," as history has formed the habit of describing him, was a remarkable figure in American politics and American statesmanship through a number of years. Of English descent on his father's side, with a touch of Indian blood on the part of his mother by descent from Pocahontas, he was born in Prince George county, Virginia, on June 2, 1773. He spent a short time at Princeton college, and afterwards, in June, 1788, transferred himself to Columbia college, New York, and while there imbibed a taste for politics and public life that had a marked effect upon his career. When he became of age he returned to Virginia and assumed the management of his inherited estates, which were greatly encumbered by debts. Sick in body and mind, and worn by disease which followed him all through life, he had not yet forgotten his desire for a public life, and offered himself as a candidate for congress. Elected, he took his seat in 1810, and entered upon a remarkable and brilliant career. During the thirty years that followed he remained a representative of the people at Washington, two years of which were in the senate and the remainder of the time in the house. He became one

of the permanent celebrities of the capital, as strong in personality as any man who ever took part in the National councils, as able as any, and marked by eccentricities that at times bordered almost on insanity. During all this period he was the spokesman of the old States Rights party of Virginia. "During the first six years of Jefferson's administration," we are told in Benton's 'Thirty Years' View,' "Randolph was the Murat of his party, brilliant in the charge and always ready for it, and valued in the council as well as in the field. For more than thirty years he was the political meteor of congress, blazing with undiminished splendor during the whole time, and often appearing as the planetary plague which shed not war and pestilence on nations but agony and fear on members. His sarcasm was keen, refined, withering, with a great tendency to indulge in it, but, as he believed, as a lawful parliamentary weapon to effect some desirable purpose. Pretension, meanness and demagogism were the frequent subjects of the exercise of his talent, and, when confined to them, he was the benefactor of the house. Wit and genius all allowed him; sagacity was a quality of his mind visible to all observers, and which gave him an intuitive insight into the effect of measures." Some of the best known expressions in the American political vocabulary were thrown off by him in the white heat of debate—"dough-faces" and "masterly inactivity" being among them. It was while in the senate in 1826, that an expression dropped by him in the heat of debate was made the basis of a challenge by Henry Clay. Randolph accepted, and the two met on the Virginian bank of the Potomac. Two shots were exchanged, when the combatants shook hands and were reconciled.

After his two years in the senate, Randolph served a single term in the house, and retired therefrom in March, 1829. In October of the same year he was elected to the convention charged with a revision of the constitution of Virginia, and took an active part in its debates. He was next sent as American minister to Russia, although then broken in health and hardly able to bear the severest weather of even his own Virginian clime. In the fall of 1831 he returned to America and formed the conclusion that in travel lay his best chance of life; and he was at Philadelphia, on his way to England, when he was stricken down, and compelled to face an inevitable end when among strangers. He died on June 24, 1833. His long-held purpose—the manumission of his slaves—was carried into effect, and thus the last act of his brilliant and troubled career was among the best of all he had been able to perform.

RUFUS CHOATE.

RUFUS CHOATE, the eminent American advocate, was born on October 1, 1799, in Ipswich, Massachusetts. After a preliminary training of unusual care and excellence, he entered Dartmouth college in 1815, and graduated with the highest honors of his class in 1819. He remained as a tutor in the college for a year, at the expiration of which time he entered the Dane law school at Cambridge. From thence he went to Washington and entered the office of William Wirt, at that time attorney-general of the United States. Returning to New England, he concluded his studies and was admitted to the bar in 1823, and immediately opened an office at Danvers, in Essex county, Massachusetts. But he soon removed to Salem and almost from the first took a leading place among the lawyers of that section. A man of his power and eloquence could hardly be overlooked in the many demands of public work, and we accordingly find him treading along the path of successive promotion followed by so many before him. In 1825 he was elected to the Massachusetts legislature, and afterwards promoted to the upper house of that body. In 1830 he was elected to the National congress by the Republicans of the Essex district, and was reëlected upon the expiration of his term. The need of an enlarged field of labor, however, impelled him to move to Boston, and he resigned his seat from a district to which he no longer belonged. While he made a good impression during this period of service, and made several speeches worthy to be remembered, he was like Judge Story—too much in love with his profession to make a successful politician or practical statesman.

Mr. Choate at once entered upon the practice of his profession with an earnestness that kept pace with his ability and a success that outran his warmest expectations. We have a view of him as a counselor and advocate, written by Professor Brown, his devoted and admiring biographer: "Mr. Choate, whose appearance and manner were unique; whose eloquence then was as exuberant, fervid and rich as it ever became; who, however modest for himself, was bold almost to rashness for his client; who startled court and jury by his vehemence, and confounded the commonplace and routine lawyer by the novelty and brilliancy of his tactics; who, free from vulgar tricks, was yet full of surprises, and though perpetually delighting by the novelty and beauty of his argument, was yet without conceit or vanity, could not at once be fully understood and appreciated. He fairly fought his way to eminence, created the taste which he gratified, and demonstrated the pos-

sibility of almost a new variety of eloquence. It would have been surprising if he had not to contend with prejudices which time only could fully melt away. For several years it was rather the fashion to laugh at his excessive vehemence of gesture and playful exaggerations, but when it was found that the flowers and the myrtle concealed a blade of perfect temper and as keen as any that the driest logician could forge, and that the fervent gesticulator never for one moment lost command of himself or his subject, nor failed to hold the thought and interest of the jury, as the ancient mariner held the wedding guest, till convinced, delighted, entranced, they were eager to find a verdict for his client, doubt gave place to confidence and disparagement to admiration."

Seven years of practice followed, broken in upon at last by an election to the United States senate, to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Webster's appointment as secretary of state. While there he acted with the Whig party, supporting a regulated tariff for protection, opposing the ultra Democratic stand on the Oregon and Texan questions, and taking a leading part in many of the debates. In 1845 he retired from the senate and confined himself thereafter to his profession, with the exception of such addresses as he was called upon to deliver upon great and memorable occasions—for, as an orator, he had now taken first rank in the popular opinion—and with a short service in the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1853. The end came when at the zenith of his power and his fame. He suffered a sprain, which led to confinement and a surgical operation. He never recovered, but lingered along in broken health until 1859, when, *en route* to Europe, he died at Halifax on the thirteenth of July.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, one of the great statesmen of the south, whose teachings were apparent long afterwards in the flames of civil war, was of Irish parentage, although himself native born. His grandfather, a Presbyterian in faith, from the north of Ireland, came to this country in 1733, and finally made his home in South Carolina. There the subject of this sketch was born, at Calhoun Settlement, as it was called, on March 18, 1782. His boyhood was passed in such excessive reading and study as to impair

his health, varied with labor upon the farm for the support of a widowed mother. In June, 1800, he entered a private academy and gave two years to preparation for college, at the end of which time he went to Yale, from whence he graduated with distinction in 1804. Three years were then given to the study of the law, and upon admission to the courts of his native state, he established himself at the old homestead and entered upon practice. A natural leaning to public life soon led him into the state legislature, where he served during two sessions, showing the possession of such powers that in 1810 he was elected to the Twelfth National congress. It was as an advocate of the war party that he was sent, and when at Washington, all his influence was given to the advance of the war policy which was pursued. He was soon made chairman of the committee on foreign relations, which gave him an unusual influence in the support and advance of his views. The young man rapidly became one of the leaders of his party, and won a fame as an orator and statesman that extended from one end of the country to the other. He supported the bill chartering the Bank of the United States and was chairman of the committee by which it was reported to the house. He also supported the tariff of 1816, and was one of the strong powers by which the internal improvement system was created and put into practice.

After six years of earnest and effective service in congress, Mr. Calhoun was called to a more important duty, by the appointment of President Monroe to the secretaryship of war. When he entered the war department, we are told, "it was in utter disorder, without even the services of its old chief clerk, that useful functionary who is expected to keep the wheels of business moving through successive administrations, having vacated his post. The new secretary, though he had inspired the movements of fleets and armies, was utterly unpracticed in the handling of military affairs, yet such was the result of his sagacious insight, careful investigation and his methodical mind, that he perfected a system of organization for the regulation of the department which remained in force for many years. He infused his energy into all the details of administration, reviving the military academy, establishing frontier posts, setting on foot surveys and originating the system of medical observations which gained a wide repute in our army statistics. His financial management was such that he reduced forty millions of unsettled accounts, many of them long standing, to three millions, diminished the expenses in various ways, and introduced such accountability into the system that in the disbursements of four millions and a half in one year, there

was not a single defalcation nor the loss of one cent to the government." Mr. Calhoun held the office of secretary of war seven years, and only relinquished it when called to a higher responsibility.

As the Presidential election of 1824 approached, the question of Mr. Monroe's successor was naturally agitated. Mr. Calhoun was urged forward among others as "a statesman of broad views, above mere local or narrow party influences, and disposed, on the question of internal improvements and other questions of National importance, to a liberal construction of the power of the general government." How near an election he might have come no one can know, had not the military glory of Jackson carried him so far to the front and made him the almost certain choice of his party. Seeing this, Mr. Calhoun withdrew to a position of neutrality and, as a result, was chosen vice-president by a vote of 182 against a scattering 78. He was inaugurated to that position on March 4, 1825. The election for President had been thrown into the house of representatives and John Quincy Adams given the seat. Soon after this a coalition was entered into by the friends of Jackson and those of William H. Crawford of Georgia, in opposition to the reëlection of Mr. Adams and for the support of Jackson; and Calhoun became a party to this agreement. This period has well been called the most troublesome one of his whole political life, as he was "disaffected to the administration of Adams at the beginning and that of Jackson at the close; and to the ordinary disagreements of party in the latter instance was added the hostility of a personal feud resting on the charge of ancient opposition to the President in Mr. Monroe's cabinet, in the occurrences of the Seminole war. From this period date the nullification doctrines and proceedings which play so important a part in Mr. Calhoun's political history. He furnished arguments and gave strength to the theory, which he based on an interpretation of the old Virginia resolutions of 1789, of the right of a state to take the cause in its own hands and interpose to arrest what it might consider a violation of its own proper privileges by the general government—a doctrine which, applied by the minority in South Carolina to the tariff of 1828, was met by the practical conduct and authoritative declaration of President Jackson in his celebrated proclamation supporting the laws and authority of the Union."

In 1828 Mr. Calhoun was reëlected vice-president upon the ticket which made Jackson President, receiving all the votes cast for Jackson, except those of Georgia. Ere this Mr. Calhoun had made that stand which caused him to be recognized as the leader of the Free Trade party. The desire that possessed him to bring the system of

protection to an end led him to advance the theories of nullification referred to above, and led to the celebrated congressional debate between Hayne of South Carolina and Webster of Massachusetts. Internal dissensions thus sown in the party were increased by the action of a number of Calhoun's friends to bring him forward as an opponent to Jackson at the conclusion of the latter's first term, and when the difficulty had reached its culmination and Mr. Van Buren had been elected vice-president upon the ticket that made Jackson President for the second time, Mr. Calhoun resigned, without waiting for the conclusion of his official term. He was immediately elected to the senate which Mr. Hayne had vacated to become governor of South Carolina. He soon after made his doctrine of state rights more prominent and pronounced than ever before. Upon the passage of a Tariff act of 1832 that embodied as many protective features as had the old one, he addressed a letter to the governor of South Carolina, in which he set forth the legality of his doctrine and advocated its practical efficiency. The response of his state to this advice was prompt. The same legislature which had elected Mr. Hayne governor and sent Calhoun to the senate called a convention which met and passed an act nullifying the Tariff acts of 1828 and 1832. The course pursued by President Jackson at that crisis has been already described; and Mr. Calhoun's response to those active measures came in the form of a speech delivered in the senate on February 15, 1833, in which he supported the doctrine of nullification, "which right, taken in connection with the power of amending the Constitution by the consent of three-fourths of the states, amounted, as he contended, to an appeal in contested cases from the general government to the states themselves, to be decided by a three-fourths vote." The doctrine thus advanced and defended was laid at rest for a time, only to be brought forth once more and used as a means for the bringing on of a bloody civil war.

Mr. Calhoun remained in the senate until 1843, when he declined a reëlection. He once more entered public life in 1844 as secretary of state in the cabinet of President Tyler, where he paved the way for the admission of Texas. Upon the expiration of Mr. Tyler's term he was again returned to the senate, where he opposed the war with Mexico. In the great slavery discussions that ensued, he took a bold stand in favor of the slave interest, and used all his influence and eloquence in its support. His very last effort in the senate, on March 13, 1850, was upon this theme. At the conclusion of the debate he

was taken home exhausted and never rallied, and on March 31 he passed away, from a pulmonary affection, aggravated by a difficulty of the heart.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

THIS eminent statesman, who served the people ably in many important positions, was born near Hillsborough, Orange county, North Carolina, on March 14, 1782. The death of his father when he was but eight years of age permitted him but few educational advantages, but he seems to have made good the lack—so far as such lack can be made good—by application and industry when a way for improvement was opened before him. His widowed mother removed to Tennessee, where, at the proper time, he entered the study of the law and commenced its practice. Following the usual course of ambitious young men in those days, he became a candidate for the legislature and was elected, signalizing the single term for which he served by securing the passage of a law reforming the judicial system of the state, and also of one giving to slaves the same rights of trial by jury as belonged to the whites. It was at this period that he became acquainted with Andrew Jackson, who had been made a judge of the supreme court of the state and major-general of the state militia. A friendship arose between the two, and on the breaking out of the War of 1812 and the beginning of that military career that made Jackson President, young Benton was made one of his aids, and rendered important assistance in getting the Tennessee volunteers into the field. Upon the organization of the forces of that state, Benton held the position of colonel. It was at this period that the friendship with Jackson came to an end, and a feud of many years' standing resulted. While Benton was absent at Washington, negotiating for the payment of the Tennessee troops, Jackson had borne the part of second to the antagonist of Jesse Benton, a brother of Thomas, in a duel. On his return from Washington he denounced this action on the part of one whom he had esteemed a friend, in the severest terms. For response Jackson determined upon personal chastisement, and was about carrying out his threat upon the person of Colonel Benton in a public place, when he was severely wounded by a shot from a weapon in the hands of Jesse Benton. The two former friends, who

were such no more, did not meet until a decade later, when they found themselves side by side on the floor of the American senate.

Colonel Benton, soon after this affair, received an appointment as lieutenant-colonel in the United States regular army, but as the war at that period came to a close, he had no chance for regular service. Upon the declaration of peace in 1815 he made another movement still farther to the west and located in St. Louis, Missouri, where he gave his attention to the law. But politics was of so fascinating a nature that he was soon to the front again, this time as the founder of the *Missouri Inquirer*, which he conducted and which, after the manner of political journalism of those days, involved him in numerous quarrels and several duels. In one of the latter he killed his opponent, Mr. Lucas. His journal earnestly urged the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state, and upon the conclusion of that long struggle and the advent of Missouri into the full sisterhood of the Union, he was elected, in 1820, one of its first representatives in the senate of the United States. For thirty years thereafter he was returned again and again to that responsible position, and was soon one of the most influential and conspicuous of the prominent political leaders of the day. He looked after the interests of his state and the west with a fatherly and wise care. From 1824 to 1828 we find him advocating the granting of preëmption rights to actual settlers, "a periodic reduction in the price of public land proportioned to the time that it had been in the market," and a donation of homesteads to certain described classes of persons. He prepared a bill that embraced these measures, and urged it year after year until it was at last substantially embodied in the recommendations of one of President Jackson's annual messages, and by that added influence became a law. In 1824 he offered a bill that had for its object the opening of a road into New Mexico, that the rising commerce of the west might be aided by better means of communication, which became a law—a road which, as he declared a quarter of a century later, "has remained a thoroughfare of commerce between Missouri and New Mexico and all the western internal provinces ever since." It was by his efforts that the mineral and saline lands of Missouri were thrown open for occupancy; and in 1829-30 he argued ably against the salt tax, and as a result that tax was repealed. He was one of the first to urge the building of a railroad to the Pacific, the establishment of military stations in Missouri and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians. Upon the expiration of the charter of the United States bank, he earnestly urged the adoption of a gold and silver currency as the true

remedy for the embarrassments of the times; and it was in evidence of his soundness and persistency upon this point that the colloquial language of the day and history afterwards, bestowed upon him the distinctive title of "Old Bullion."

One remarkable and interesting phase in Senator Benton's career has been thus described by his biographer: "His support of Jackson in his warfare against the United States bank was constant and unwearied, and raised him to the rank of a debater of the first class. The old feud which had separated the two men, violent as it was, was felt to be accidental, and they grew together in a mutual respect and cordiality of feeling which lasted to the dying moments of the general at the Hermitage, and has been fondly perpetuated in the writings of the survivor. One signal service, dear to the heart of the old chieftain, probably nobody but Benton would have had the zeal and perseverance to carry out. We allude to the famous Expunging Resolutions, passed in 1837, removing from the record of the senate its resolution of 1834, condemnatory of the President's course on the removal of the deposits. For three years he battled this question in the senate, announcing his intention at the very outset, immediately on the censure being taken, to remove the hated sentence from the journal, reviving his declaration from time to time, taking every opportunity of assailing the obnoxious resolve. Like old Cato of Rome, who ended every speech with the expression, 'I am, also, of opinion that Carthage should be blotted out,' Benton never forgot his expunging resolution. He followed it up with every resource of historical, parliamentary and constitutional argument, and when argument was at an end, his strong words of condemnation and remonstrance were never wanting. 'Let this resolution for the condemnation of General Jackson,' said he in 1835, the year after its passage, 'be expunged from the journal of the senate. Let it be effaced, erased, blotted out, obliterated from the face of that page on which it never should have been written. Would to God it could be expunged from the page of all history, and from the memory of mankind!' At length his hour of triumph came. The Democratic vote in the senate had been increased by the new elections, and in the last session of Jackson's administration was sufficiently strengthened to carry out the measure. The resolution of censure had been originally adopted by a vote of twenty-six to twenty; it was canceled by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen with this majority at command. Benton proudly approached the consummation of the act upon which he had set all his powers of mind and will. Rising from technical congressional argument to a vindication

of the great measures of Jackson's administration, he closed his third great speech on the subject with the memorable sentence which has passed into the political vocabulary, 'And now, sir, I finish the task which, three years ago, I imposed on myself. Solitary and alone, and amidst the jeers and taunts of my opponents, I put this ball in motion. The people have taken it up and rolled it forward, and I am no longer anything but a unit in the vast mass which now propels it.'"

During the administration of Van Buren, which followed that of Jackson, Senator Benton employed himself in a defense of the new financial policy that had just been inaugurated. During the decade begun and ended by 1842 and 1852, under the administrations of Tyler, Polk and Taylor, he took active part in the discussions over the Oregon boundary question, the annexation of Texas and other matters of importance. During the progress of the Mexican war the position chosen by the President would have been one of listless inactivity in relation thereto, had not Senator Benton opposed it; and by his advice the war was pushed with vigor by the administration; and we are informed on good authority that "at one time it was proposed by President Polk to confer upon him (Benton) the title of lieutenant-general, with full command of the war, in order that he might carry out his conceptions in person." When Mr. Clay introduced his compromise measures of 1850, they were opposed by Mr. Benton, as he also vigorously set himself against the nullification doctrines advanced by Mr. Calhoun. In 1850 a contested election took place in Missouri, in which Benton took the field with his accustomed energy, delivering a series of speeches which attracted great attention by their force and spirit, and which ended in his defeat and withdrawal from the senate. He was returned to the lower house in 1852, where he was once more thrown into the midst of an exciting contest over Kansas and Nebraska that were then engaging the attention of congress and the country. He made a strong speech in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but it passed, and in the election that followed, Mr. Benton failed of a return to the house.

Two years of quiet was the lot of the old statesman who had served his country so long, and were devoted to reading and study. In 1856 he was a candidate for governor of Missouri and made a vigorous canvass of the state, but the Native American party drew so much strength from his own that he was defeated. In the Presidential election of 1856 he supported Buchanan in opposition to his own son-in-law, John C. Fremont.

With that campaign his political life was done forever, but his

services to his country were by no means concluded. During the enforced quietude of his short seasons of respite from congressional work, his pen was busy, and the result was his 'Thirty Years' View,' the first volume of which appeared in 1854 and the second in 1856. It is a faithful and remarkable picture of the workings of our government during Mr. Benton's connection therewith, and, while it does not hesitate to give full credit to the author for his work while in public harness, it is eminently fair and generous to those who had stood by his side or opposed him during that long period of polemic warfare. When this work was completed, Colonel Benton set himself to another of even more laborious character, which was nothing less than the condensing, revising and abridging of the debates of congress from the beginning of our government. Although now at the age of seventy-six, he still labored each day at his task, and lived long enough to bring the work to the conclusion of the compromise debates of 1850—the last pages being dictated in a whisper after he was too weak to speak aloud. This work was published under the title, 'An Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856,' in fifteen volumes. Disease had been for some time undermining his strong constitution, but his mental faculties were unimpaired to the last. He died at Washington on April 10, 1858.

HENRY CLAY.

HENRY CLAY, the great commoner, who, although he never reached that highest gift within the power of the people for which he was so often an aspirant, and for which his abilities and experiences so well fitted him, was an immense power in our National affairs for many years, and possessed a following as earnest and enthusiastic in his support as that held by Jackson himself. "Few characters in American history," says Carl Schurz, in his recent able biography of the great Kentucky statesman, "have been the subjects of more heated controversy than Henry Clay. There was no measure of detraction and obliquy to which, during his lifetime, his opponents would not resort, and there seemed to be no limit to the admiration and attachment of his friends. While his enemies denounced him as a pretender and selfish intriguer in politics, . . . his supporters unhesitatingly placed him first among the sages of the period. . . The

animosities against him have, naturally, long ago disappeared; but even now, more than thirty years after his death, we may hear old men, who knew him in the days of his strength, speak of him with an enthusiasm and affection so warm and fresh as to convince us that the recollection of having followed his leadership is among the dearest treasures of their memory."

The family of which Clay was a descendant came from England in the earliest days of the Virginia colony and settled on the James river. His father, John Clay, was a Baptist clergyman, whose sterling character and dignity of deportment were marked characteristics. The son, Henry, was born at the Slashes, in Hanover county, Virginia, on April 12, 1777. The father died when he was but four years of age, leaving his widow with seven children, of which Henry was fifth. His early schooling was found in the poor common school of the neighborhood, and when not there he was engaged in severe labors upon the farm. When fourteen years of age he was placed behind the counter in a store at Richmond, where he was engaged for a year, when he was advanced to the position of amanuensis for Chancellor Wythe, while serving as assistant in the office of Peter Tinsley, clerk of the high court of chancery. This contact with the legal profession was an incentive, if one were needed, and an opportunity of which he surely had need. His mind and ambition were turned toward the law in which he was encouraged and aided by the chancellor. Four years in this capacity and contact had made a hopeful and cultured man of the young clerk, and he entered the office of Robert Brooke, attorney-general of Virginia, as a regular law student. One year was passed there, when he obtained from the court of appeals a license for the practice of law. With this certificate and little else, except his splendid abilities, courage and the resolution of youth, he left Richmond at the close of 1797 to seek his fortune in the newer regions of Kentucky. He opened an office at Lexington, where his success was almost immediate. His success with a jury, we are told, was wonderful. "A speaker of persuasive powers, skillful, ready, fluent, infusing enthusiasm into his argument, he became naturally engaged in criminal practice, in the defense of life, where a jury might be moved by his impressive eloquence. He was eminently successful in such cases, always, it is said, even in the most desperate, saving the life of his client. His ability in civil cases was equally marked, for he had always a rare executive talent in whatsoever he undertook."

Clay served for a short time as attorney for the commonwealth, but soon resigned it. In 1803 he had so grown in acquaintance and popu-

larity that he was elected to the state legislature and soon became one of the marked men of the state. So rapidly did he advance that in 1806 he was chosen by the legislature of Kentucky to fill a vacancy in the United States senate, taking his seat unchallenged, when some months short of the age required by the Constitution. He plunged at once into the business of the session, advocating, even at this period of his career, a system of internal public improvements. The term for which he had been chosen having nearly expired before his election, he remained in Washington but a short time and not long enough to make an impression of any sort upon the mind of the country. He was again returned to the Kentucky legislature; but in 1809 he was again sent to the National senate, on this occasion also filling a vacancy. The first speech he made upon his return was often referred to and quoted afterwards, as already advocating an American policy. He also gave support to Madison in his declaration as to the rights of the United States to western Florida, denouncing the demands of England and defying its threats. During the next session he spoke in opposition to the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, taking the ground held by the old Republican party, of which, up to that time, he had been a member.

The senatorial term having again concluded, he was promptly returned to the lower house of congress, and took his seat as a representative of the Lexington district on November 4, 1811. "To him," says Mr. Schurz, "it was a welcome change. He 'preferred the turbulence of the house to the solemn stillness of the senate.' He was its natural leader, and no sooner had he appeared in the house than he was elected speaker by a very large majority. It was well understood that the duties of this position would not exclude him from participation in debate. On almost every occasion of importance he availed himself of the committee of the whole to proclaim his opinions, and for this the stirring events of the time furnished ample opportunity. It may be said without exaggeration that it was his leadership in the house which hastened the War of 1812." In January, 1813, he delivered a speech in defense of the new Army bill, which has ever been regarded as one of his most eloquent efforts.

When the dawn of peace was noted, the young leader who had been so vigorous in urging on and sustaining the cause of war was chosen as one who should aid in arranging the terms on which the fruits of that victory should be made secure. In conjunction with Jonathan Russell, he was chosen to join Messrs. Gallatin, Bayard and Adams, who were already in Europe, in conduct of the negotiations. He took

leave of the house in January, 1814, and was soon in the company of the commissioners at Ghent. He ably bore his part in the negotiations that ensued, and upon the end thereof he returned to his home in Kentucky, only to be again sent to congress by a unanimous vote, and to be once more elevated to the speaker's chair. In the congress of 1816 he began his long continued advocacy of that policy of internal improvements, protection to manufacturers and bank advocacy, which became the leading features of the great party of which he was so long the leader—the new school of republicanism soon known in history by the name of Whig. A vote upon a measure of minor importance, but that caused dissatisfaction in his own district, compelled him to make a personal canvass for his seat, but it was so well made that he was returned again in triumph and once more made speaker. The first session under the Monroe administration is important, so far as Clay is concerned, by his advocacy of American recognition of the political independence of the new-made South American republics. He spoke in favor of such action; he advocated it upon every possible occasion with all the enthusiasm of his glowing and chivalric nature; he made a great speech in support of his idea in March, 1818, and he still clung to its advocacy until, in February, 1821, he "had the satisfaction of introducing his resolution pledging the house to the support of the President when he should deem it expedient to recognize the independence of the provinces, and, after battling it in private debate, seeing it at last triumphant. The President acted in accordance with the intimation in bringing the matter directly before the house, which adopted the measure with but one dissenting vote." It was in the same spirit of friendship toward a people struggling for liberty that, in 1823, he aided Mr. Webster in his endeavors to obtain recognition for Greece.

When the Missouri question came before congress, with all its interest for the present and the great possibilities for the future, Mr. Clay bore a prominent part in the discussion that ensued. He was opposed to the exclusion of slavery, but his views in this respect were not accepted by the house. That body, after an acceptance of the unrestricted admission of the state in the Missouri bill and what became known as the Missouri Compromise, establishing the northern limit of slavery, took exception to a clause in the constitution of the new state, which proposed the exclusion of free mulattoes and Negroes from the state. In order that this difficulty might be met, Mr. Clay proposed a resolution admitting the state, provided that no law should be passed preventing the settlement of persons who were

citizens of any other state. The passage of this resolution was lost at the time, but he secured, in a short time, a joint committee of the senate and house, and the result was an adjustment practically upon the basis he had proposed. In this case we see the representative of one of the border states endeavoring to reconcile the differences of sentiment between two sections of the country upon the great question in dispute, and making use of that means—compromise—that afterwards became so inseparably connected with his name.

Upon the arrival of this breathing spell, Mr. Clay resigned his seat in congress and spent the three succeeding years in the care of his private business and profession. But he had already secured too large a place in the public esteem to be long allowed the quiet of private life, and he was once more sent back to the house, of which he was elected speaker for the third time. His name had ere now been often mentioned in connection with the highest office in the land, and in 1824 he was made a candidate before the people by his friends in Kentucky and other western states. He was given thirty-seven electoral votes, which came from Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky and four from New York. No choice having been made, the question was thrown into the house, and as there were three higher than himself in the electoral vote—Jackson, Adams and Crawford—he was dropped from the list, under the provisions of the Constitution. He held the control of the Kentucky vote, however, which placed in his hands the key to the situation and enabled him to secure the prize for Adams, which action, to quote from his biographer, "was considered a violation of party allegiance by his Democratic friends, and naturally rendered him odious to the disappointed Jacksonians, whose principle, controlled by the iron will of their chief, was always to be unsparing to their political opponents. The storm rose still higher when Mr. Clay accepted office under Adams as secretary of state—an error of policy, as he afterwards admitted, for it drew upon him a charge of bargaining and corruption, of being bought over to the interests of the candidate whom his vote had elected, by this prize of office. Conscious of his own integrity in the matter, he said, when the administration he had served had long passed away, he had 'underrated the power of detraction and the force of ignorance.'" It was out of this difficulty that grew the duel between Clay and Randolph, already related in the sketch of the last named statesman. Upon the close of Mr. Adams' term, Mr. Clay retired to private life with him, but the welcome he received at the hands of the people when he reached his home in Kentucky, showed that he had lost nothing of their favor or respect.

A marked evidence of their feeling was shown in 1831, when he was again returned to the National senate. He was, also, at this period, nominated for the Presidency by the National Republican convention which met at Baltimore. In assuming his senatorial duties, he declared himself in favor of a recharter of the bank; set forth and defended the principles of his American system of protection, and when the nullifiers attempted to override the rights of the government, he came to the rescue in the interests of the country and peace by introducing his Compromise bill, which provided for a gradual reduction of the objectionable tariff. It was accepted as the symbol of peace, and quiet ensued. In the election for President that followed, Jackson was elected by a large majority, Clay receiving but forty-nine electoral votes—those of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. When Jackson, fortified by such evident signs of approval and endorsement as his great majority gave, determined to follow his policy to its legitimate conclusion and ordered the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States, it was Mr. Clay who made haste to introduce and secure the adoption of those famous resolutions of censure which Mr. Benton, as has been shown already, made such herculean efforts to have expunged.

When the senatorial term for which he had been elected expired, Clay was promptly returned to his old place. He had been a candidate for the nominations to the Presidency in the conventions of 1836 and 1840, and was generally considered as the one to whom honor belonged by rank and greatness of party service; but General Harrison was chosen as the more available candidate, and on the second occasion elected. Upon Harrison's death and the accession of John Tyler, the Whig party, of which Clay was yet the leader, was for a time in the ascendency; but the defection of Tyler came, and the misfortunes of the party soon became a matter of record. The great Kentucky leader "succeeded in isolating Tyler and in holding the bulk of the Whig party together, but he could not lead it to victory in the autumn elections of 1841." In the year named he determined to retire from the senate, on the plea that his private affairs needed his attention, and because, as he wrote to a friend, "my belief is I can effect nothing, and perhaps my absence may remove an obstacle to something being done by others." But that absence was not of long duration. He was recognized as yet a candidate for the Presidency, and his name and claims were urged by thousands of admirers all over the Union. The Whig National convention that met in Baltimore in 1844 responded to that demand, and Clay was placed upon

the ticket in opposition to James K. Polk, the Democratic nominee. The result was the election of Polk by a vote of one hundred and seven as against one hundred and five. He would have been the nominee again in 1848, had not expediency intervened, and Taylor, fresh from the laurels of the Mexican war, been chosen to the place.

"Mr. Clay, during this time," to quote once more from one of his many biographers, "was living in comparative retirement at Ashland, engaged in the occasional practice of his profession and receiving the visits of his friends. He had a singular proof of their kindness in the unexpected payment of a mortgage on his estate. It became known that he was involved by the loan of his name. A subscription was taken up in the chief Atlantic cities and at New Orleans, and the full amount, more than twenty-five thousand dollars, deposited to his credit in the Northern Bank of Kentucky. Other evidences of kindness poured in upon him, consolatory to his years and trials—for he was born to reap the bitter fruit of the Mexican war, certainly not of his planting, in the death of his son Harry, at the battle of Buena Vista."

But the aged statesman was to appear once more upon the scene of action, where he was to use all the magic of his eloquence and name to avert, if possible, the long-gathering storm that hung over the country; and if the measures of compromise which he offered and carried through were afterwards proven to be but shifting sands and of no real foundation, it was beyond the wisdom of the day to know that, and his course was the one of wisdom open to the careful statesman who would avert the dangers of civil war. Elected once again in 1849, he took his seat in the senate. The compromise measures offered by him in the year following have been spoken of again and again in this work, but can be briefly recapitulated here. In effect they were as follows: That California should be admitted without restriction as to the introduction or exclusion of slavery; that "slavery not existing by law, and not likely to be introduced into any territory acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico, it was inexpedient for congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of said territory, and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by congress in all of said territory not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed state of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery;" that "it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while that institution continues to exist in the state of Maryland, without the consent

of that state, without the consent of the people of the district and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the district; but that it is expedient to prohibit within the district the slave-trade, in slaves brought into it from states or places beyond the limits of the district, either to be sold there as merchandise or to be transported to other markets without the District of Columbia." In another resolution it was declared that more effectual provision should be made for the restitution and delivery of persons held to service or labor in any state, who might escape into any other state or territory in the Union, and that congress had no power to prohibit or obstruct trade in slaves between the slave-holding states; but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them depended exclusively upon their own state laws. While these measures were not passed in the grand total in which they were proposed, they were all eventually adopted in separate form—the admission of California, the adjustment of the Texas debt, the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah, the prohibition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and the Fugitive Slave law.

Mr. Clay still remained in the senate at the conclusion of the battle for peace and harmony he had so fearlessly and eloquently waged, but the work of his life was done. Sickness and the feebleness of old age were upon him, and he waited patiently for the end. Before it came he had many opportunities to understand the love and affection in which he was held, and to feel sure that his fame would remain secure in the keeping of his countrymen. He died at the age of seventy-five, at his lodgings in the National hotel in Washington, on June 29, 1852.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

DANIEL WEBSTER, like Clay, stood for many years in the forefront of political and National events; was honored again and again by the bestowal of the highest offices in the gift of his state, and yet failed of the great office for which he, like Clay, aspired. Great as a statesman and a lawyer, he was, perhaps, the greatest orator our country has produced; and his name will be recalled to mind whenever American statesmanship or jurisprudence are mentioned. He was the descendant of a family of Scottish extraction which settled in New

Hampshire in 1636. He was born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, on January 18, 1782. His early education was at the hands of his mother and elder sisters, and at the crude district school which had been opened by a pioneer teacher who sought to carry light into the wilderness. When he had mastered all that was to be had in that direction and attempted to satisfy his great love for learning by devouring the few books in the neighborhood, his father, with a foresight not granted to all parents, determined to give the boy an education at all hazards. When about fourteen years of age he was taken to Phillip's academy at Exeter, where he remained for nearly a year, when he was placed in charge of a clergyman near his father's residence—the Rev. Samuel Wood at Boscawen. Before long the father intimated a purpose of sending him to college, and the manner in which the news was received was penned by Webster in later years: "The very idea thrilled my whole frame. My father said he then lived but for his children, and if I would do all I could for myself, he would do what he could for me. I remember that I was quite overcome and my head grew dizzy. The thing appeared to me so high, and the expense and sacrifice it was to cost my father so great, I could only press his hands and shed tears. Excellent, excellent parent! I cannot think of him, even now, without turning child again."

The father's purpose was carried out, and in August, 1797, the youth entered Dartmouth. He studied and advanced in such manner as his future career would indicate, and upon graduation turned his attention immediately to the study of law. A short period of study only was allowed, when he was compelled to devote himself for a time to school teaching, in order to secure means for his future study and in order that he might help an elder brother through college. In 1805 he was admitted to practice and settled in Boscawen, near his parents' residence. Two and a half years were here spent, when he removed to Portsmouth, where he remained until 1817. As a lawyer he met with success in this new location, winning distinction through the business he did have, which was not all that he could have transacted by any means. But it was while here that he made his entry upon that public life which he was to so greatly adorn, and in which he won such fame. Elected to the state legislature, he performed his duties so well and showed such evidences of future growth that in November, 1812, he was made the nominee of the Federal party of his district and elected to congress. He took his seat in 1813, and was appointed by Speaker Clay to a position on the committee on foreign relations—a place of unusual importance because of the war then

in progress. In that position, as in his whole course as a member at this time, he was ready to demand the rights of his country and to maintain them to the last; and "thought the force of the Nation was weakened by attempts at invasion on the frontiers, and maintained that a well-manned navy was a better defense for the seaboard than an embargo which strangled a commerce that otherwise would only be open to assault."

A reëlection in 1814 came as a natural and proper endorsement of a moderate and successful congressional career. As his professional business was gaining in proportion to his fame, he determined upon a removal to Boston, where a field more suited to his capacities would be opened. This, of course, lost him his seat in congress, but in the retirement that followed, he added largely to his fame as an orator by his masterly defense of Dartmouth college against the attempted interference of the state legislature—an effort often quoted, and that, in connection with the decision of Chief-Justice Marshall that followed it, established collegiate and other corporate property upon a bedrock of legal right. This case, his first before the supreme court of the Nation, has been well called "the great landmark of his legal career."

When Massachusetts, in 1820, met in convention for the revision of her state constitution, Mr. Webster was one of the delegates from Boston. It is needless to say that as a lawyer and an orator he made his impress upon the body, and had a great influence in deciding as to what principles should go into the new instrument produced.

He reëntered congress once more in 1823, and although never neglecting his duties in that direction, was able to attend to many cases in the supreme court, and to deliver, as occasion demanded, those numerous addresses upon which his early fame as an orator rested. The first great question that engaged his attention as a legislator upon his return to Washington was the condition of Greece, then engaged in a life and death struggle with the Turks. The impulses of his heart and the suggestions of his patriotic judgment went out in favor of such moral aid as one Nation which had won its freedom by such desperate deeds might extend to another in like distress. His speech upon this Greek revolution, delivered in the early part of 1824, has been well described as "an emphatic declaration of public law and right between the oppressor and oppressed, and its declarations at this moment, where not overridden by insuperable claims of expediency, are sanctioned by the practice of the great courts of Europe." In the year following, an occasion was offered for an exhibition of his masterly oratorical skill, in the oration delivered

upon the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument, for Daniel Webster had now come to be recognized as the foremost orator of America, and was fittingly chosen as the one from whose lips should come the words by which that grand mark and memento of man's daring for the cause of freedom should, at its very beginning, be dedicated to the memory of the fallen heroes forever. Nearly two decades later he was again called upon to deliver a second address upon the occasion of the completion of that heroic structure—an event that belongs to American history and need have but a passing reference here.

In 1826, when Adams and Jefferson passed away together on the anniversary of the Nation's day of birth, Webster was chosen to pronounce their eulogy in a memorial meeting held in Faneuil hall. It was in this masterly address that appear the imaginary words put in the mouth of Adams, long since echoed and rëëchoed in every schoolhouse in the land, "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and heart to this vote."

The people of Massachusetts kept their favored son in the house by successive reëlections until 1827, when he was advanced to a seat in the senate. His course there was a steady advance in the respect and admiration of the people; and in 1829 occurred that great debate which will ever be considered as the climax of his congressional career —the debate with Robert Y. Hayne, the senator from South Carolina and the pupil and follower of John C. Calhoun. A resolution had been offered by Mr. Foot, in relation to the sale of public lands—a question that "involved a matter of delicacy between the two parties of the country (Jackson had recently ousted Adams in the Presidency) in their relations to the west. Mr. Foot was from Connecticut, and the supporters of the administration endeavored to set New England in an unfriendly attitude to the emigration to the new states." Mr. Hayne, young and full of audacity, attacked New England with some severity, and did not fail to point some of his shafts at Massachusetts' great son. Two speeches upon each side constituted this famous debate. "There were," says Mr. Everett, "three objects to accomplish in this answer: personalities were to be repelled, the New England states vindicated and the character of the government as a political system maintained against theories of nullification." Webster's second reply was his great effort, delivered on January 26 and 27, and listened to with the most intense interest and excitement from beginning to close. "The variety of incident," writes one, "and the rapid fluctuation of the passions kept the audience in continual

expectation and ceaseless agitation. There was no chord of the heart the orator did not strike as with a master hand. The speech was a complete drama of comic and pathetic scenes; one varied excitement, laughter and tears gaining alternate victory. But the calm, unimpassioned reader must not look for all these emotions in his perusal of the printed pages. He must remember how much depended upon the occasion, the studiously aroused parliamentary crisis, the rising agitation between the north and the south, and, above all, the personal emphasis of the speakers." It was a grand triumph for Mr. Webster—how grand can only be measured by the heavy and crushing effect it had upon the ambition and prospects of his opponent.

At a later date Mr. Webster was called upon to face Mr. Calhoun himself upon the question of nullification, at the time of the South Carolina nullification convention, and President Jackson's response, by proclamation, thereto. The Massachusetts orator delivered a speech upon that occasion which, in the language of Madison, "crushed nullification and must hasten the abandonment of secession"—a prophecy that may have appeared safe at the time, but that did not hold good in the dark days of '60 and '61. This support of the President's proclamation did not mean any endorsement of the administration of Jackson, as his speeches against the action of the President in removing the deposits were made with his accustomed logic and eloquence.

In 1839 Mr. Webster paid a short visit to England, Scotland and France, and the welcome extended showed that his fame had long since been known on the other side of the sea.

It hardly needs to be said that Mr. Webster had an honorable ambition in the direction of the Presidency, and had made such proper efforts as lay within his power to secure the coveted boon. When the Democrats, in 1835, had nominated Van Buren as their candidate, the opposition decided not to attempt any concentration of their strength, but, taking advantage of every element of local hostility to the administration, to throw the choice into the house if possible. Each state or section, therefore, made its choice of a favorite son, General Harrison being nominated at a meeting in Harrisburgh, Judge John McLean by the legislature of Ohio, Daniel Webster by the Whigs in that of Massachusetts, etc. Van Buren was elected, Harrison receiving 73 electoral votes, Hugh L. White 26, Webster 14—those of Massachusetts—and W. P. Mangum 11. Mr. Webster did not appear among the candidates four years later, and on his return from Europe did everything in his power to secure the election of Harrison.

Upon the success of that leader, the Massachusetts statesman was complimented by the offer of the secretaryship of state, which he accepted, and took possession of the portfolio on March 5, 1841. Upon the death of Harrison, one month later, he remained for two years in the cabinet of Tyler, and it was by his skill and courage that the vexed boundary questions with England were settled with such advantage to our country. When these and other important matters were safely adjusted, he resigned. In 1845 he was again sent to the senate, where he opposed the Mexican war, but voted to furnish the men and money needed to carry it on when once under way. When the Presidential contest of 1844 approached, Mr. Webster was not a candidate, as the general impulse of the party seemed to be towards Clay, who was made the choice of the party without opposition. In 1848 he was an open candidate in the convention, receiving 22 votes on the first ballot, but expediency dictated the choice of General Taylor, one of the heroes of the Mexican war. Upon the accession of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency, on the death of President Taylor, he invited Mr. Webster to his old position of secretary of state, which he assumed on July 20, 1850, and held until his death. When the next Presidential contest arose, it was thought by many that Webster would have been chosen had it not been for his position upon the compromise measures; but the result could have made little difference except as to his feelings, for the end of his life came at his home at Marshfield, Massachusetts, on October 24, 1852. Of those closing days and of the spirit in which his loss was received by the people, one of his biographers has fittingly said: "Of the impression made upon the whole community by that event, it will be difficult to convey an adequate idea to another generation. During the later years of his life Mr. Webster was much before the public. His voice had been heard in our large cities and in many rural parts of the land, counseling in politics and National affairs; there was scarcely a liberal interest in which he had not taken part—in local and historical gatherings, agricultural meetings, opening of railroads, anniversaries of historical societies. In spite of the subtle inroads of disease, age sat lightly upon him, and the wear and tear of three-score years and upwards had not done their frequent disheartening work in impairing the energy of his mind. . . The press, the pulpit, the bar, colleges, senates, cities, had their commemorations and poured forth their eulogies. With the exception of Washington and Franklin, more, perhaps, of a personal character has been written about Webster than of any of our public men." The people felt that one of earth's greatest

men had passed away, and we, in these distant days, must give an unhesitating endorsement of their verdict.

LEWIS CASS.

LEWIS CASS was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on October 9, 1782, and was of the best Puritan New England descent. His father served as a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and in part payment of those services received a tract of land upon the Muskingum river, in what was afterwards Ohio. The early years of the boy were spent in a first-class academy at Exeter, where he remained from the age of ten to that of seventeen, when he removed with his father's family to their new home in the west. He soon after entered upon the study of law with Governor Meigs at Marietta, and was admitted in 1802, when but twenty years of age. Opening an office at Zanesville, he was soon actively employed, and saw professional success and advancement before him. In 1806 he followed the almost imperative route to distinction in those days, by an election to the Ohio legislature, which then had its headquarters at Chillicothe, the first capital of the state.

When the disturbances and rumors consequent upon Aaron Burr's presence and preparations upon the Ohio were at their climax, the state assembly appointed a committee of investigation, of which Mr. Cass was a member. The result was the report of a bill prepared by him, authorizing the governor to cause the arrest of all persons supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy; and as a result the objectionable boats were seized, and the movement, so far as that section was concerned, put to an end.

In the year following, young Cass was appointed by President Jefferson to the office of United States marshal for the district of Ohio, which he held until the close of the year 1811, when he joined the volunteers who were then called out in consequence of the threatened outbreak of the Indians and of impending war with England. He was commissioned colonel in the spring of 1812, and assigned to the command of one of the three regiments that were raised. The design, as outlined by General Hull, then governor of Michigan, was to invade Canada by way of Detroit, coöperate with another force from Niagara and advance upon Montreal. Cass moved his men rapidly across country toward Detroit, and when the little army crossed

the river on July 11, he was the first to land upon British soil after the declaration of war. When Hull surrendered, after a series of ineffective operations needless to recount here, Colonel Cass, "on being called to deliver his sword, indignantly drew it from its scabbard, and, breaking it in two, threw it away." He was allowed to depart upon his parole, and after returning to Ohio, proceeded onward to Washington to lay before the highest authorities the particulars of what he felt to be an ignominious and needless surrender.

Colonel Cass was not released from the obligations of his parole until January, 1813, when he was commissioned a colonel in the regular army and sent into Ohio upon a recruiting service. He joined General Harrison, the commander-in-chief in the west, in the summer, having been now advanced to the position of brigadier-general, and was in several of the important movements in northwestern Ohio and Michigan. He took part in the famous battle of the Thames, fought on October 5, and on the advance of General Harrison was left in command of the northwestern frontier, with headquarters at Detroit. This duty was hardly entered upon when he received word from Washington of his appointment as governor of the territory of Michigan. He fulfilled the many important duties of the office with credit to himself and to the best interests of the country, during the remainder of the war; and upon the return of peace determined to make the peninsula his home and removed his family to Detroit. "His attention," we are told by his biographer, "was at once turned to the settlement and occupation of the territory which was then a wilderness roamed over by the Indians. The first step was to negotiate with them for the cession of the land. This was successfully accomplished in the treaty which he made, in pursuance of directions of the government at Washington, with the Indians, in council at Fort Meigs, in the spring of 1817—a treaty by which the Indian title to four millions of acres of land in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan was extinguished and the policy of removal fairly adopted—a treaty which was pronounced by the secretary of war, Mr. Calhoun, 'in its fiscal, moral and political effects, the most important of any hitherto made with the Indians.'" The governor of the territory was also engaged in other treaties; was the instigator of a military road from Sandusky to Detroit; aided in founding the first newspaper in Michigan, and headed an important party of investigators into the resources and geography of the yet unknown northwest. One outcome of this expedition was the publication of that valuable and important work, 'Travels from Detroit to the Sources of the Mississippi,' by Henry R.

Schoolcraft, who was a member of the party. So well did Governor Cass administer the affairs of the great and rapidly growing territory committed to his care during his eighteen years of incumbency, that he became one of the best known and most popular men of the west, and favorably known to the country at large.

The latter fact was made apparent when President Jackson, in August, 1831, invited him into his cabinet as secretary of war, to fill a vacancy caused by resignation. He promptly accepted, and was the same hard-working and energetic man in the one position that he had been in the other. He remained there during the remainder of Jackson's first term and into his second, until, in 1836, he resigned because of failing health under his severe labors, and was appointed minister to France, where his chief service to his country consisted in settling the indemnity dispute by obtaining the interest withheld when the principal was paid. In 1837 he embarked upon a tour of Egypt and the Mediterranean region and was absent some eight months. In 1842 he entered upon an "elaborate course of opposition to the Quintuple treaty in reference to the slave-trade, proposed between Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and the United States, one of the provisions of which involved the right of maritime search. He appealed to the people of France in a pamphlet upon the subject, discussing the motives of the British government and the position of his own, the various essential and practical bearings of the question, the history of the discussion and an examination of its recent course." The treaty was rejected by both France and the United States, and, as minister, Cass thinking that the ground he had taken was not properly supported by Mr. Webster, as secretary of state, he forwarded his resignation in 1842 and returned to America.

In 1845 General Cass was elected to the United States senate by Michigan, then a state. When the National Democratic convention met at Baltimore in May, 1848, there was a number of candidates for the Presidential nomination, which was given to Cass, who was chosen on the fourth ballot by a vote largely from the western and southern states—recognized by the south as one of those "northern men with southern principles," who could be counted upon as opposing the Wilmot proviso and abolition principles. The canvass that ensued was conducted by the Democrats with little hope of success, Taylor being elected over Cass by a vote of 163 to 127. Cass had resigned his seat in the senate upon the announcement of his nomination, but upon his defeat being known he was promptly returned by his state to his old seat in the senate; and upon the expiration of that term, in

1851, was elected for still another term. In the Presidential contest of 1852 he was again a candidate for the nomination, and in the Baltimore convention of June 1 received 116 votes on the first ballot, but could gain no advance beyond that measure of support. General Pierce was the final nominee. In 1856 Cass was an earnest supporter of Buchanan, who made him a member of his cabinet, as secretary of state. When the dark days of the Rebellion threatened, and hesitation in the President as well as treason in the cabinet itself alarmed and angered him, and when he saw that he could do nothing for the flag he loved and the Union to which all his instincts and traditions were true, he resigned, after giving such expression to his feelings as the situation seemed to warrant. This act occurred in December, 1860, and was applauded by the loyal north. The ex-secretary then returned to his home in Michigan, where all his influence and aid were given to the Union cause. He was spared to see the Union saved and the flag triumphant, and died in the greenness of a good, old age, at his home in Detroit, on June 17, 1866.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

WINFIELD SCOTT, whose life touched three of the great American wars, in all of which he took an honorable and in two an active part, was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on June 13, 1786. Educated at William and Mary college, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1806. The following year he decided to make South Carolina his home, but as he could not practice his profession without a year's previous residence, and as the legislature of the state refused his application for a special exemption, he abandoned that intention. When the dangers that preceded the War of 1812 were threatened, the young man was among the first to offer his services to his country, and in 1808 was appointed by the government captain of light artillery. He was stationed the year following at New Orleans, under General Wilkinson, in whose attachment to his country he had little faith; and because of a public utterance of those opinions, was court-martialed and sentenced to a year's suspension of rank and pay. This season of quiet was devoted to the study of military tactics, in which he made rapid advance. When war was finally declared, in the summer of 1812, he was promoted to the rank

of lieutenant-colonel, in the second regiment of artillery, and ordered to the Niagara frontier, where his duties were the protection of the navy yard at Black Rock. When the battle of Queenstown heights was in progress, he crossed the river, and the field was won under his direction; but it was finally lost and Scott and his men taken prisoners, because of the refusal of troops at Lewistown to cross to their assistance. His gallantry upon the field and the efforts he made to redeem a day lost by the cowardice and mismanagement of others are matters of definite history. Taken prisoner to Quebec, he was presently sent to Boston, where his exchange was effected in January, 1813. He was sent immediately to the army of General Dearborn, at the old scene of operations, with the rank of adjutant-general, reserving at the same time his right to command his own regiment when in actual service. In the memorable attack upon Fort George, on the twenty-seventh of May, he was set to lead the advanced guard, or first division of boats, to effect a landing. "He was seconded in this movement," says one account of the affair, "by his friend, Captain Perry, attached to Commodore Chauncey's marine command. The landing was accomplished under fire of the enemy—a service sufficient to test the courage and resources of the future hero of Lake Erie. Scott formed his line on the beach, with the enemy above him on the bank, fifteen hundred strong. Immediately ascending, his men thrust aside the bayonets of the foe, and followed up their first onset so spiritedly that, after an action of some twenty minutes, the enemy were flying before them. The fort, no longer tenable, was abandoned and one of its magazines fired. Scott was struck by a piece of timber from the explosion, but, eager to preserve the work, dashed on, and was the first to enter the enclosure, capturing with his own hands the enemy's flags, which had been left flying. He then pushed on the pursuit till he was recalled."

In the autumn following, Scott commanded the advance in Wilkinson's descent of the St. Lawrence—a movement directed against Montreal that was soon abandoned. In March, 1814, he was advanced to the position of brigadier-general, and was sent to Buffalo, where he spent such time as was allowed him in drilling his men and making soldiers of militia and raw recruits. On July 3 his brigade and that of Ripley met Hindman's artillery, crossed the Niagara river and took Fort Erie and a part of its garrison. On the fifth was fought the battle of Chippewa, which resulted in the defeat of the enemy; and on the twenty-fifth occurred the great and memorable battle of Lundy's Lane, a sequel to the above engagement. The story of that

fight need not be repeated here, it being sufficient to say that General Scott proved himself a true soldier, and by his energy, military genius and bravery, did much to make the occasion a brilliant and timely victory. For an hour and a half his brigade stood the brunt of the battle and never flinched; and after the capture of the enemy's battery had been made, they were engaged in repulsing attack after attack. Scott was already wounded in the side, but fought gallantly on, "charging the enemy as they advanced, till he was prostrated near the close of the engagement by a musket ball in his right shoulder. Two horses were killed under him." On the very day of this engagement he was made a brevet major-general, and when his conduct therein was learned, the unanimous feeling of the people was that a high honor had been admirably bestowed.

During the brief remainder of the war, General Scott was stationed at Washington and Baltimore, in command of the Tenth military district. His recovery from his wounds was slow and painful, and his left arm was left partially disabled. On the conclusion of the war he was offered the position of secretary of war, which he declined because of his youth. Other rewards of his valor came when he was promoted to the full rank of major-general, and congress added official thanks and a gold medal. Henceforth he thought no more of the law, but adopted the army as a profession. After aiding in a reduction of the army to a peace basis, he spent some time in Europe in a semi-official capacity, learning at the same time the science of war from the great generals who had aided in purchasing the peace of Europe at Waterloo. Returning in 1816, he was assigned to the command of the sea-board, with his headquarters in the city of New York. He spent a portion of his time at this period in the preparation of military manuals, and also presided over a board of officers called to prescribe a uniform system of organization and tactics for the different departments of the militia. In 1829 he made a second visit to Europe.

In 1832 he was again called into the field because of the Indian troubles in the west, and set out with a detachment to take part in the hostilities against the Sacs and the Foxes; but the capture of Black Hawk ended the war before his arrival on the field. It was during the same year that he commanded the National forces in Charleston harbor, during the nullification trouble. "The mission," we are told by one biographer, "was executed by Scott in its full spirit. He bore himself so discreetly that he made every necessary arrangement, personally, with the United States officers, and in the strengthening

of the forts and collection of troops and supplies, that all was accomplished in the midst of a highly excited people, without interruption. He left Charleston even without having awakened a suspicion of his being connected with impending events." In 1835 he went to Florida to take part in the war with the Seminoles, and afterwards to the Creek country, and as the movements resulted in nothing, his campaign was pronounced a failure by the usual far-distance critics. The result was his recall, in 1837, to meet an inquiry into his management of these campaigns; and after a full and fair investigation, a verdict was awarded in his favor. In 1838 he was of signal service in aiding a peaceful removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to their new reservation beyond the Mississippi, and in 1839 it was mainly through his efforts that a collision with Great Britain was averted over the troubles growing out of the disputed boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick.

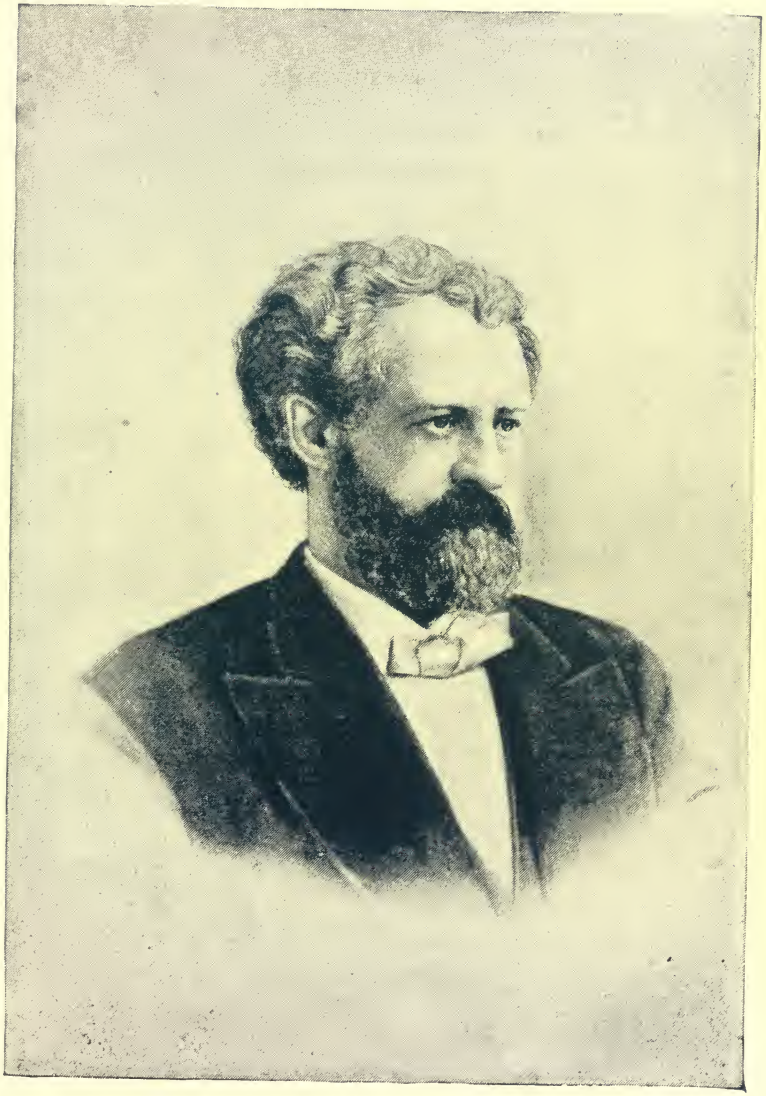
These services, and others of a minor nature needless to refer to, had made General Scott one of the best known men of the country, and it was hardly to be expected that his friends should not urge him as a suitable person upon whom should be bestowed the highest gift within the favor of the people. As he was a Whig in political belief, his name was urged upon the National convention of that party in 1839, and on the first ballot he received 57 votes.

From 1841 General Scott had become the senior officer of the American army, and consequently stood next to the secretary of war and the President in all that related to the administration of that great department. He was engaged in the discharge of the many duties which this position involved on the breaking out of the war with Mexico. Assigned to the chief command of the army in the field, and permitted to join it after the politicians had enjoyed their usual disputes without results, he reached the Rio Grande in January 1847. That war can be touched upon here only in the briefest terms Withdrawing from Taylor a portion of those forces which had already covered themselves with glory under that leader, Scott assembled his force at Lobos Island, and on March 9 invested Vera Cruz. On the twenty-sixth the castle of San Juan de Ulna capitulated, and three days later the garrison of five thousand men grounded their arms outside the city. Advancing toward Jalapa, on the eighteenth he fought the battle of Cerro Gordo, driving Santa Anna from his position in the defile formed by the Rio del Plan, and proceeded rapidly to the capture of Jalapa, Perote and Puebla. He remained at the latter point waiting for reënforcements until August 7, and on the tenth was

before the walls of Mexico City with nearly eleven thousand men. That desperate attack and successful victory was the crowning event of the war, and on the fourteenth of September was made secure by the victorious march of Scott's army into the city and the raising of the American flag over the national palace. A contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was levied on the city, two-thirds of which Scott sent to the United States to found military asylums. Taxes were laid for the support of the army, and a civil organization under the protection of the troops was created. On the signing of the treaty of February 2, 1848, peace was restored, and soon after all the United States troops were withdrawn from Mexico. General Scott returned to his own land crowned with new laurels, and one of the heroes of another war. When General Franklin Pierce, also a gallant soldier who had won honor in that campaign, was put forward as the Presidential candidate of the Democrats in 1852—in emulation of a movement that had made Taylor President four years before—the Whigs looked upon Scott as the strongest and most available man who could be advanced against him. The convention met at Baltimore on the sixteenth of June. Given 131 votes on the first ballot, he received 159 on the fifty-third and was declared the nominee. The contest was spirited, although toward the last the election of Pierce was almost a foregone conclusion. The result was a decisive Democratic victory, Pierce receiving 254 electoral votes to 42 for Scott, the latter receiving only those of Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee. This was the last appearance of the old soldier in the field of politics.

In 1859 General Scott was once more employed in an important service, and performed successful work as a commissioner appointed to settle the difficulty arising over the disputed boundary line of the United States and British America through the straits of Fuca.

In his old age and at a season when he had the need of rest and had indeed earned it, the veteran soldier was compelled to see a war fall upon his country that in extent, loss and bitterness cast all her previous conflicts into the shade. Those who remember those dark days of '60 and '61 can recall something of the confidence and trust with which the loyal north turned to the aged hero, feeling that no matter who of the army or navy might turn traitor, he of Lundy's Lane and Mexico would remain true; and in the confidence and courage that one fact inspired was there more material good done the north than the energy or ability of any one other man could have furnished. Despite the heaviness of age that lay upon him, he



ROSCOE CONKLING.

responded willingly to the call for help. Called to Washington at the last moment by President Buchanan, to give his counsel at the crisis of affairs, his presence there "seemed a happy omen for the Nation." "Under his guidance and supervision," says the historian, "during the last days of the administration of Mr. Buchanan and the startling month of trials which greeted his successor, nothing was left undone by him to secure the capital and place the scanty military reserves of the country in the best position to meet the coming shock. He had the satisfaction to see these defenses of the Nation—fearfully thinned, as were the ranks of the higher officers of the army, by treason or disaffection—growing gradually stronger under his eye, as volunteers flocked to his command, preserving the city, the palladium of the government, till congress evoked a force capable of resisting the vast numbers of the Confederacy in arms. During the winter, the spring and summer of 1861, General Scott remained at Washington, controlling, directing and supervising the vast field of military operations stretching from the Potomac to the farthest west."

But old age and its infirmities were too far upon him to enable him to do more than to hold the foe in check until younger and more vigorous men could be brought to the fore. On November 1, 1861, he formally relinquished the honorable office of lieutenant-general, so long committed to his hands. "In a parting letter to the secretary of war, he stated the physical necessities which had rendered his retirement inevitable and thanked the officer and the President for personal kindness he had received. A cabinet meeting was held, and upon the acceptance of the resignation, that body accompanied the Chief Magistrate to the general's residence. The order of retirement was there read by President Lincoln. It announced the honorable privilege, previously accorded by congress, of the continuance of the pay and emoluments of the lieutenant-general, and added one heartfelt sentence of gratitude and respect. 'The American people,' was its language, 'will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and unanimous cabinet express their own and the Nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union and the flag, when assailed by parricidal rebellion.'"

The old hero retired to New York, from whence, on November 9, he sailed for Havre, in the hope that a few months of quiet travel in

Europe would be of benefit to his condition. He soon returned to America and made his home in West Point and at New York, and in 1864 published an autobiography, which the leisure of latter years had enabled him to prepare. He was honored and respected by all, and in 1862 received a hurried visit from President Lincoln, who came to consult him upon an important point of military expediency. He was granted the happiness of living until he saw peace restored to an unbroken Union, and to take the hand of Grant after the surrender of Appomattox. He passed the winter of 1865-6 in the south, returning to the north in the spring. His earthly career was forever closed on May 29, 1866. All the honors his country could bestow were paid his memory, and amid the sorrow of the people and followed by the leading men of the Nation, his body was laid away to rest in the beautiful cemetery at West Point.

ROGER B. TANEY.

ROGER BROOKE TANEY, the successor of John Marshall as chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States and the fourth to hold that office, was born in Calvert county, Maryland, on March 17, 1777. He graduated from Dickinson college, Pennsylvania, in 1795; was admitted to the bar four years later, and commenced his professional life in the county of his birth. He was soon made a member of the general assembly of Maryland. At the end of his term he declined a reëlection, intending to give a more close application to his profession, and, in search of a more promising field of labor, removed to Frederick, where he showed such unusual legal qualities that in a few years he was numbered among the leading lawyers of that section. Several important suits which were decided in his favor—among which was the trial of General Wilkinson on a charge of complicity with Burr—won him renown all over the state—a fact that had its practical effect in 1816, when the people of his section sent him to the state senate. In 1823 he removed to Baltimore, where he greatly enlarged his practice and from whence he was often called to the trial of important cases before the supreme court at Washington. In 1827 he was appointed attorney-general of Maryland, which position he held until 1831, when he was advanced in the same line of promotion by an appointment by President Jackson to the office of

attorney-general of the United States, which he assumed on the twentieth of July. He supported Jackson in his controversy with the United States bank, and in September, 1833, was appointed secretary of the treasury, on the retirement of Mr. Duane. On the twenty-second of that month he met the full responsibility of the situation by issuing the famous order for the removal of the deposits from the bank, or rather ordered the collectors of revenue to make no more deposits with that institution. Upon the assembling of congress, Mr. Taney presented an able and lucid report, covering the entire subject and giving the reasons for his action, placing it upon the ground of the misconduct of the bank and the insecurity of the public money placed in its keeping. Mr. Clay, as leader of the opposition, was prompt in his response. He introduced two resolutions, one of which was that of censure of the President, while the other declared that the reasons advanced by the secretary of the treasury were unsatisfactory and insufficient. Both resolutions were passed by a party vote.

In obedience to a resolution of the senate, the secretary sent to that body a carefully prepared report upon the condition of the National finances, which showed an increase in every branch of the public revenue, notwithstanding the presence of the financial panic of that era. This was sent about the middle of June, and on the twenty-third his nomination as secretary of the treasury was sent in—the President having delayed it until near the close of the session because of the opposition on part of the majority of the senate. It was promptly rejected by the same vote which had passed the previous vote as to his conduct in the removal. He immediately placed his resignation in Jackson's hands, and in response received a reply from that gentleman in which he said: "I could not but feel grateful to you, when, in compliance with my invitation, you exchanged the independence of your professional pursuits for the labors and responsibilities of the office of attorney-general of the United States. This sentiment was greatly and deservedly increased during the last year, when, becoming acquainted with the difficulties which surrounded me and with my earnest desire to avail myself of your service in the treasury department, you generously abandoned the duties and avocations to which your life had been devoted, and encountered the responsibility of carrying into execution these great measures which the public interests and the will of the people alike demanded at our hands. For the prompt and disinterested aid thus afforded me, at the risk of personal sacrifices which were then probable and have now been realized, I feel that I owe you a debt of gratitude which I have not the power

to discharge." This position of the President toward Mr. Taney was that of the Democratic party at large, and he was in many ways made to feel that by a devoted adherence to the political fortunes of his chief, he had measurably advanced his own.

The gratitude of Jackson took a practical form when a vacancy occurred among the associate justices of the supreme court and the late secretary was appointed to fill it. A hostile senate voted to a postponement of the nomination, which was equivalent to a rejection. In July of the same year Chief-Justice Marshall died, and on December 28 the President sent to the senate the name of Roger B. Taney, as successor. The nomination was strongly opposed by Clay and Webster, but on the fifteenth of March, 1836, it was confirmed by a majority of fourteen votes, and the new chief-justice took his seat on the bench in January, 1837. As a judge, and in the decision of the questions which came before him, he exhibited great ability; and "though his views of constitutional law were less in the direction of centralization than those of his predecessor, he did not fail to sustain to their fullest extent the powers which he believed were justly claimed for the Federal government." The record made by him as chief-justice is a part of the judicial history of the country, and does not belong to a personal sketch of his career. But his decision in one great case—that of Dred Scott—had so great an effect upon the history of the country and the fortunes of slavery, and has become so connected with his name and fame, that more than a passing reference thereto is demanded.

In the case noted, Scott, a black man who was held as a slave in Missouri, brought suit to recover his freedom, suing in the Federal court on the ground of being a citizen of a different state from the defendant, and claiming his freedom because of having been taken by his master into territory made free by the act of congress commonly called the Missouri Compromise. The decision was rendered in 1857 by the chief-justice, and caused the greatest interest and excitement both north and south, as being the first authoritative declaration from the great court of last resort, upon several heretofore unsettled constitutional questions in relation to slavery. The ground taken in the decision was that Scott was not entitled to bring suit in the Federal court, because he was not a citizen, the chief-justice going on to declare that for more than a century previous to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, Negroes, whether slave or free, had been regarded "as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations;

and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The decision went further and considered the main question involved, namely, whether it was competent for congress to exclude slavery from the territories, and denied that power, although Justices McLean of Ohio and Curtis of Massachusetts dissented, in very able opinions. The effect of this decision was immediate, in the great advance of abolition sentiment in the north, and in the renewed attacks upon slavery and the party that defended it, by the Republicans and Abolitionists in congress.

The only matter of National importance with which Chief-Justice Taney was connected after this event occurred in May, 1861, when he was applied to for a writ of *habeas corpus* on behalf of a citizen of Baltimore, who had been arrested under the orders of a Federal general, and promptly issued the writ. The officer to whom it was addressed declined to obey, on the ground that the offender had been arrested on a charge of treason, and that the officer had been "duly empowered by the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*." Upon this, Judge Taney ordered an attachment to issue, which, in the absence of civil authority, could not be served; whereupon he wrote out an opinion denying to the President the power to suspend the writ, and declaring that it could only be done by legislative authority. No attention was paid to the matter at that time, but congress soon passed a law that fully met the objection. Chief-Justice Taney died at Washington on October 12, 1864.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

SAMUEL HOUSTON, whose name must be forever linked with that of Texas and with the stirring scenes of the southwest that gave that great empire to the American republic, was born in Rockbridge county, Virginia, on the second of March, 1793. He had little schooling in his early days, and when thirteen years of age his widowed mother disposed of her Virginian home and moved to the new lands upon the banks of the Tennessee. The boy then passed a short time in an academy, and was afterwards placed in a country store, from which he ran away and took up his home with the Indians on the other side of the Tennessee. He remained there until he was eighteen years of age, returning home only to replenish his cloth-

ing when it gave out. He had made such good use of what few educational advantages came in his way that when he tired of his savage life he turned school-teacher, and conducted a school for some time with success. Upon the breaking out of the second war with England he enlisted as a private, was promoted through the minor grades, once seriously wounded, and upon the return of peace was retained in the army with the rank of first-lieutenant. In November, 1817, he was selected by General Jackson as an agent of the government with the Cherokees, to carry out the provisions of the new-made treaty. In 1818 he resigned his agency and commission in the army and entered upon the study of the law in Nashville, Tennessee. After six months of study he was admitted, and opened an office at Lebanon. He was soon elected district attorney, and at the same time held the office of adjutant-general of the state, with the rank of colonel.

Having once entered upon public life, his advance was rapid. In 1821 he was made major-general of the state forces. In 1823 he was promoted to congress, and in the following session was returned by an almost unanimous vote. In 1827 he was elected governor of Tennessee. Two years later came that sad and never fully explained episode in his life that cut short what promised a most brilliant career and sent him again to live with his Indian friends. He was married to a young lady of respectable family, but at the end of three months the newly married couple separated forever. Houston resigned his governorship and immediately disappeared. The trouble that led to this sudden separation is said to have been due to the fact that the wife confessed that another held her affection; but be that as it may, the whole course of life of the young man was changed. Three years were lost to the world, during which time he was to all intents a savage, dressed in Indian garb and living in their rude habitations in the woods. In January, 1832, he forsook this life and proceeded to Texas, which was then an Indian province, and was entrusted by his old neighbor, President Jackson, with a confidential mission to the Comanches. The old ambition seems to have awakened, and we find him a member of the convention which met at San Felipe de Austin on the first of April, 1833. When Mexico refused to recognize this convention and accept its conclusions, war followed on March 2, 1836, by the declaration of Texan independence. Houston was made commander-in-chief of the forces of the new republic, and in the battle of San Jacinto, on April 21, in which he had an ankle shattered by a bullet, the question of independence was decided, and a treaty of peace was the outcome.

Upon the creation of the republic, General Houston was made its first president, and was inaugurated on October 22, 1836. Almost his first official action was the opening of negotiations with President Jackson for the annexation of Texas to the United States. He showed the same qualities in this office that he had displayed in other lines of labor—ability, daring and a deep interest in the discharge of the great public trusts committed to his hands. Upon the expiration of his term of office, the Constitution making him ineligible to a choice as his own successor, he served in the Texan congress; and upon the expiration of Mr. Lamar's term in the presidency, Houston was again elected, and inaugurated on December 13, 1841. He remained in this office until the annexation to the United States in 1845, when he was made one of the first Texan senators in the senate of the United States. His course there was marked by its conservatism, and he did all that lay in his power to prevent the Mexican war which annexation caused. In 1852 he was a candidate before the National Democratic convention for the Presidential nomination, but was defeated because too firm a friend of the Union as against slavery to please the Democratic leaders in the south. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In 1857 he was a candidate for governor of Texas, but failed of an election because of his association with the American, or Know-Nothing party; but two years later, at the conclusion of his term in the senate, he was more successful and was elected.

Governor Houston was a true friend to the Union in all the dark days of slavery agitation and secession that followed. When he was invited to take part in a convention of the slave states that had disunion for its object, he declined, and responded with an argument that was unanswerable. He refused to allow the use of his name as a candidate for the Presidency before the Democratic convention at Charleston in 1860, and made several speeches to prove that the election of Lincoln would not be a cause for the dissolution of the Union. "After the election of Mr. Lincoln," says Houston's biographer, "a tremendous pressure was brought upon Houston to induce him to convene the legislature, but he refused until a call was made to elect delegates to a revolutionary convention, and the elections were progressing. Then, receiving no aid from the Federal government and abandoned by General Twiggs, who commanded the United States troops, he committed the blunder of calling an extra session of the legislature. Then came the ordinance of secession, the appointment of delegates to the convention at Montgomery and a committee of public safety.

Twiggs surrendered forts, arsenals and all other public property in his charge, to the rebels, against all of which Houston recorded his solemn protest."

It was demanded by the convention that all officials should take an oath to support the Confederate government. Houston refused and was removed from office, the lieutenant-governor taking his place. The old veteran retired to his unimproved plantation on Galveston bay and lived in quietude and straitened circumstances during the remainder of his life. He died in June, 1863.

JOHN C. FREMONT.

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT, the "pathfinder," and the man to whom was assigned the honor of being the first Presidential candidate of the newly formed Republican party, was born at Savannah, Georgia, on January 21, 1813. At the death of his father, in 1818, the family removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where the son attracted the attention of a prominent lawyer, who aided him to a preparatory education; and he was soon enabled to enter Charleston college, from which he was expelled for neglecting the required attendance. He then devoted his time to the teaching of mathematics to private pupils and in the schools. In 1833 he was appointed teacher of the same branch on board the United States sloop-of-war *Natchez*, and was absent with her for two years on the Brazilian station. Upon return he was commissioned a professor of mathematics in the navy department, but upon receiving a government appointment as civil engineer, he resigned his classes, and was engaged in the survey of the mountain region of Tennessee and the Carolinas. In 1838 he received a commission as second lieutenant of the corps of topographical engineers, and was engaged in various labors in the line of his duty until 1842, when he entered upon that career of western exploration that gave him fame and enabled him to make so deep an impress upon the fortunes of those western lands. He was detailed by the war department at the head of an expedition sent to explore the country between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass in the Rocky mountains and along the line of the Kansas and Great Platte rivers. In less than six months of his leaving Washington he organized the expedition and traversed the desig-



Robert Winsor

nated region, extending his journey to the Wind River mountains, on the north, the highest of which he ascended and planted the United States flag upon its summit. The report of this successful expedition, made under date of March 1, 1843, "written in the form of a journal, filled with observations of the aboriginal inhabitants whom he met, the geographical, natural history and other scientific details of the route, was universally regarded as one of the most interesting and valuable contributions of the kind yet made in America, while its value was greatly enhanced by its bearing upon the rapidly developing progress of the western settlements, whose teeming population was even then looking forward to an outlet to the Pacific."

In 1843-4 Fremont was sent forth upon a second expedition of like character, this time to Oregon and north California. He left the Missouri frontier in 1843, proceeded to the Great Salt Lake, and from thence to the upper tributaries of the Columbia, which he followed to the Pacific. On the return trip he followed a new line of march through the then altogether unknown region to the southeast, which led him through many serious perils of cold and starvation. He finally reached the Valley of the Sacramento, and after skirting the western base of the mountains, crossed to the Great Basin, and reached Kansas in July, 1844. As a mark of recognition for these services, Fremont was advanced to the rank of captain.

He was placed in charge of yet another expedition, and after spending the summer and autumn of 1845 in an exploration of the region of the Great Basin, he entered the valley of the San Joaquin. Here troubled and exciting scenes were before him. "The Mexican government at Monterey," to quote from one of his numerous biographers, "was inclined to oppose his progress, but the apparently imminent hostilities were for the time obviated. In the spring of 1846, however, when Fremont was making his way towards Oregon, he was recalled by an outbreak of the American settlers on the Sacramento against the Mexican authorities, who were showing themselves hostile, and was placed at the head of the movement which speedily resulted in the independence of northern California. A naval squadron now arrived and took possession of Monterey. Fremont, appointed by Commodore Stockton military commandant and civil governor of the country at the head of a body of mounted riflemen, suppressed insurrections and held the region for the United States. General Kearney now arrived and claimed command as superior officer. A conflict of authority arose, in which Fremont sided with

Commodore Stockton. The government of Washington decided in favor of Kearney, between whom and Fremont difficulties arose, which ended, on their way home, in the arrest of the latter. He was tried by a court-martial at Washington, found guilty of mutiny, disobedience of orders and conduct prejudicial to military discipline, and sentenced to dismissal from the service. President Polk refused to confirm the verdict of mutiny and remitted the sentence; but Fremont refusing to accept a pardon, resigned his commission."

Captain Fremont again went west in the fall of 1848, as the leader of yet one more expedition, but of a private character, and arrived at California in the following spring. He decided to make his permanent home in that country, and in 1849 was appointed by the government to run the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. He was elected to the United States senate in the same year, as one of California's first senators. He took his seat in 1852 for the short term and served through the session. He paid a visit to Europe in 1852, and upon his return was engaged to make a detailed exploration of a portion of his old traveling ground, as the government had a Pacific railroad in view. He then made his residence in the city of New York.

Fremont, in his public services in California and in the senate, had shown his devotion to the Free-soil cause; and when the new-formed Republican party, in 1856, was looking for a suitable candidate, the honor and responsibility were laid upon him. The campaign in his support was conducted with all the vigor and enthusiasm of a young party wedded to a principle; and although he was defeated by Mr. Buchanan, the result was a surprise in all sections—the Republicans scoring over one million, three hundred thousand votes and carrying the states of New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and all New England.

Colonel Fremont next returned to California and afterwards made a visit to Europe. He was there upon the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion and hastened home to offer his services to his country. He was given the position of major-general of the Union army, and was placed in command of a district designated as the Western district, embracing Illinois and all the states and territories west of the Mississippi and on this side of the Rocky mountains, including New Mexico. "Hastening to St. Louis," to borrow again from his biographer, "he infused extraordinary activity into the military movements of the department, proclaiming martial law in the city and shortly after throughout the state, and at the close of September, having

rapidly organized his forces, took the field at the head of a large army, to meet the enemy at Springfield. There, on the eve of a general engagement, he was superseded by General Hunter"—which course was pursued by President Lincoln because General Fremont had taken the responsibility of issuing an order emancipating the slaves of those in his district who were in arms against the Union—a movement for which the people and the government were by no means prepared. Taking leave of his troops, he returned to the east and was not again called into active service till the following year, when in March he was appointed to the command of the new Mountain department, embracing the country west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi. It was understood that a main object of this service was a descent to the region of east Tennessee, which was held as a powerful rebel stronghold; but from this or any similar project General Fremont was diverted by the active movements of the Confederate General Jackson, along the line of the Blue Ridge. General Fremont hastened from his headquarters at Wheeling to the assistance of General Milroy at Franklin, whence he was ordered across the mountains to the aid of General Banks, who, after having been driven out of the Shenandoah valley, was again pressing General Jackson on his retreat. Coming up in time to pursue the enemy, he kept on his rear till a stand was made by Jackson in the engagement, on the eighth of June, at Cross Keys. The battle, claimed as a Union victory, resulted in severe losses on both sides and the escape of the enemy. General Pope was next placed as commander-in-chief of the Army of Virginia, which, reducing General Fremont to a subordinate command, he asked to be relieved—a request which was granted by the President.

General Fremont took no further part in the war. On May 31, 1864, a convention was held in Cleveland, Ohio, by that portion of the Republican party that was opposed to a second term for Lincoln, and General Fremont was made the nominee for President, which he accepted. Finding that the movement was sure to go by default, he withdrew from the contest in the September following. He then gave his services to the promotion of a southern transcontinental railway, and has been engaged with other connections of a minor and local nature. He is still living, at the age of seventy-five, in the city of New York.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, whose name will be forever linked in honorable connection with the great anti-slavery struggle of the abolition north, was born at Tioga Point, Bradford county, Pennsylvania, on October 6, 1795. When he was but six years of age his parents removed to Canandaigua, New York, from which they again removed, in 1806, to a large tract of wild land in Wayne, Ashtabula county, Ohio. A natural thirst for knowledge was one of the equipments of the pioneer lad, and although he had few educational advantages, he made a good use of such as he had. When but sixteen years of age the call to arms came for the protection of the northwest from the attacks of the allied Indians and British, and the boy was one of the first to respond. He saw five months of active service, when his regiment was mustered out of service and he returned home. At the age of twenty-three he entered the office of Elisha Whittlesey, at Canfield, Ohio, and in 1821 he was admitted and commenced practice upon his own account, commencing his professional life at Jefferson, the seat of Ashtabula county. He continued his professional life with close application during the ensuing seventeen years, being associated in partnership for some of that time with Benjamin F. Wade. His first venture in public life occurred in 1826, when he was elected to the Ohio legislature and served a single term. Upon the resignation of Mr. Whittlesey, Mr. Giddings was nominated as his successor in congress by the Whigs of the district, and elected. He carried into the halls of legislation his staunch devotion to anti-slavery principles, and from the first did not hesitate to make those principles apparent in all his official actions and his votes. He became the advocate of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and the territories, both of which were under the jurisdiction of the National government. On February 9, 1841, he delivered his first great anti-slavery speech, on the Indian war in Florida, which, he declared, was begun and carried on in the interests of slavery. In 1842 he created intense excitement in congress and the country at large, by bringing before the former a series of resolutions in relation to the slaves on the ship *Creole*, who had taken possession of that vessel on her way from Virginia to New Orleans, and carried her into Nassau, where their right to freedom was recognized by the British authorities. Mr. Giddings' resolutions boldly justified the action of the slaves, on the ground of "their abstract right to freedom," declaring that they had violated no law of the United States, and that any at-

tempt to reënslave them was "unauthorized by the Constitution and incompatible with the National honor." The greatest excitement followed their introduction, because of which he was led to withdraw them; but that action did not save him at the hands of a body dominated by slave-holding influences, and he was formally censured by a vote of 125 to 69.

Upon the passage of this vote, Mr. Giddings promptly resigned and went home to his people. There was no hesitation upon their part. He was immediately chosen as his own successor by a large majority, and returned after an absence of less than six weeks. He remained in congress through successive elections until March 4, 1859, making a period of twenty years of conspicuous and honorable service. Long before the period last named, he was everywhere recognized as one of the most fearless and eloquent of the anti-slavery leaders of the day. No occasion found him unprepared, and there was no threatened danger that he was not prepared to face. He adhered to the Whig party politically until 1848, when he refused to support Taylor, who was a slave-holder, and acted with the Free-soilers. He was an opponent of the Compromise measure and the Fugitive Slave law especially. Upon his retirement from congress he remained in the quietude of his home at Jefferson until in 1861, when he was appointed consul-general for the British provinces of North America, which position he held until his death, which occurred at Montreal on May 27, 1864. In addition to his other labors Mr. Giddings was the author of several works, among which may be mentioned a series of political essays signed "Pacificus," a volume of speeches published in 1853, 'The Exiles of Florida' and 'The Rebellion: Its Authors and Causes.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, also one of the great slavery agitators whose work prepared the way for the final extinction of slavery, was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on December 12, 1804. Apprenticed to a shoemaker, because of the sore need of his mother, whose husband had deserted her, he remained at that work for a time, but was afterwards enabled to go to school for a portion of the time. In 1815 his mother took him to Baltimore, where he acted for a year as errand boy, and then returned to New-

buryport. In 1818 he was apprenticed to the trade of printer, in the office of the *Herald* of that place. Ambitious in a literary direction, he commenced to write and publish when not yet seventeen years of age, and as he gained in power and facility, his papers attracted considerable attention. In 1826 he had so far progressed that he became proprietor of a paper in his native town, called the *Free Press*, but the venture did not achieve a success. He worked for a time at the printer's case, and in 1827 became editor of the *National Philanthropist*, the first publication ever devoted altogether to the cause of total abstinence. It was not long before he was noticed as one of the most outspoken advocates of abolition sentiments upon the subject of slavery; and in the autumn of 1829 he became associated with Benjamin Lundy, at Baltimore, in the publication of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In the very first number of the sheet that was issued under his supervision, he boldly advanced the doctrine of immediate emancipation as "the right of the slave and the duty of the master"—a position that was far in advance of the greater portion of public sentiment in those days. It was not long before he was called upon to suffer martyrdom for his principles. A ship owned by Francis Tod of Newburyport having carried a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans, Mr. Garrison published an article in which he denounced the act as "domestic piracy," and declared it his purpose to "cover with thick infamy" all who had a part therein. This was language too strong to be permitted in a slave mart like Baltimore, and as a result Mr. Garrison was indicted for libel in May, and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty dollars and costs. Being unable to discharge the judgment, he was sent to jail. His imprisonment caused discussion all over the country and raised up friends among the anti-slavery people of the north. He remained in jail nearly two months, when Arthur Tappan, a benevolent merchant of New York, paid the fine and he was allowed to go free.

Mr. Garrison was not the man to submit quietly to what he felt to be a wrong, and he was aroused to greater opposition to slavery than ever before. He prepared an anti-slavery lecture, which he delivered in various cities of the north; and on January 1, 1831, issued the first number of the *Liberator*, at Boston, his motto being, "My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind." Without resources of any kind, he had great difficulty in making the start, and for two years the life of the journal and its editor was of a very precarious character. But the stinging attacks which it made upon slavery and the slave-holders were felt all through the land and aroused

the severest ire of those against whom its shafts were aimed, while nearly every mail brought letters conveying threats of punishment and assassination; and the legislature of Georgia even went so far as to pass an act authorizing a reward of five thousand dollars for anyone who should bring to trial and convict, under the laws of the state, either the publisher or editor.

In January, 1832, Mr. Garrison took another step along the line of his chosen life work, by organizing, in connection with eleven other persons, the New England (afterwards Massachusetts) Anti-slavery society—a point around which other associations of like character gradually gathered. He soon afterwards went to England to solicit the coöperation of that people in the great purpose he had in hand, and to remonstrate against the scheme of Negro colonization, to which he was opposed. He was warmly welcomed by Wilberforce and the other anti-slavery leaders of that land, and in consequence of his influence, they issued a protest against the American colonization scheme, declaring it delusive and, in influence, an obstruction to the abolition of slavery. After his return the American Anti-slavery society was organized. In 1835 Mr. Garrison was threatened with death at the hands of a mob in Boston for having dared to speak there in favor of abolition principles, and only escaped by being taken to the shelter of the jail upon a nominal charge of being a disturber of the peace. He was released on the day following, and conducted by the city authorities to a place of safety in the country.

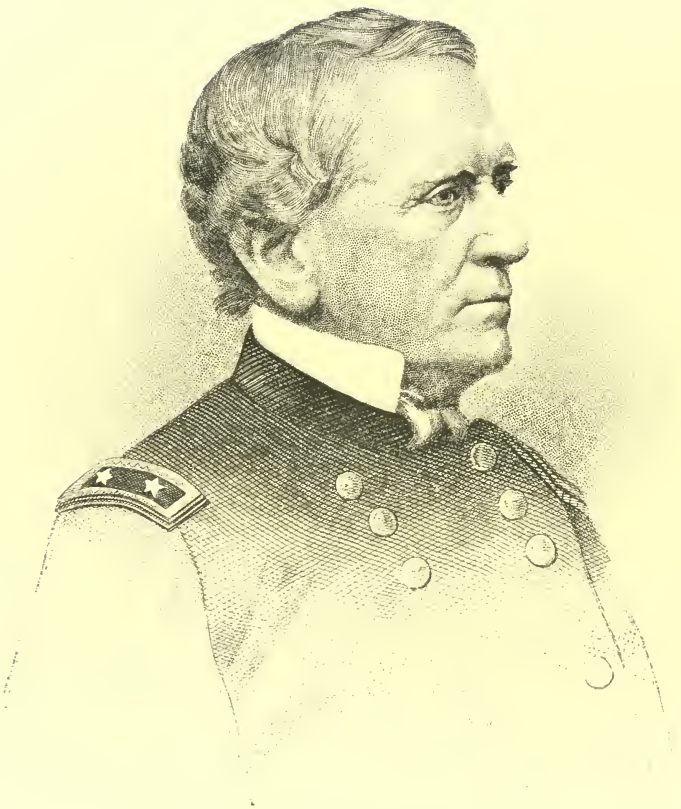
The following may be quoted as a clear expression of the anti-slavery views that Mr. Garrison promulgated: He was ever earnestly opposed to the formation of a political party by the Abolitionists, from a conviction that such a measure would inevitably corrupt the purity of the movement and postpone the day when emancipation might be secured. He never sought or contemplated the abolition of slavery in the states by congress or any other branch of the National government, his views as to the powers of that government over the subject being the same that were generally held by statesmen of all parties at the north, as well as by many at the south. His first idea was that slavery might be abolished by moral influence, with such incidental aid as the National government could constitutionally afford, and without disturbing the union of the states; but upon this point he at length changed his opinions, his observation of the movements of political parties and his reflections upon the provisions of the Constitution relating to the subject, leading him to the settled conclusion that some of the conditions of compact

between the free and the slave states were immoral, and that a dissolution of the Union was necessary to the freedom of the north and the emancipation of the slaves.

Mr. Garrison stood firmly by these views until the Rebellion changed the whole aspect of the slave question, when he clearly saw that the system must be crushed as one of the fruits of war. All his energies were devoted to the advancement of the Union cause; and it was a proud and happy day for the old veteran when, in April, 1865, he was one of that party that saw the stars and stripes once more run up above Fort Sumter. The last number of the *Liberator* was issued in December of the year last named, and recorded the ratification of an amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting human slavery in the United States. His life work thus done, the remainder of his days were spent in honor and peace He died at New York on May 24, 1879.

GERRIT SMITH.

ANOTHER great anti-slavery leader was Gerrit Smith, who was born at Utica, New York, on March 6, 1797. The heir to an immense estate, he graduated from Hamilton college in 1818. He was from the first interested in the condition of the slaves, and in 1825 he joined the Colonization society, and gave largely of his means to aid colored people to settle in Africa. He was very generous and gave away large sums of money to various worthy objects. In 1852 he was elected to congress, but having no taste for public life, resigned at the close of the first session. He was an outspoken foe of slavery, and was one of the firm friends and backers of John Brown during the long struggle of the latter in Kansas. He also contributed funds to the scheme formulated by Brown in his attack upon Harper's Ferry, although Mr. Smith probably had no knowledge as to what those designs really were; and his grief for the outcome of that tragic event, and anxiety for the loss of life that it caused, led to a temporary overthrow of his reason. During the war he was a generous friend of the Union cause. He was noted for his generosity, strong religious nature and sympathy for the wronged and down-trodden everywhere. He occasionally preached in a church he had built with his own means, and was a writer of considerable point and power.



JOHN A. DIX.

His published works are as follows: 'Speeches in Congress,' 'Sermons and Speeches,' 'The Religion of Reason,' 'Speeches and Letters,' 'The Theologies,' 'Nature the Basis of a Free Theology' and 'Correspondence of Albert Barnes.' Mr. Smith died in New York on December 28, 1874.

CHARLES SUMNER.

CHARLES SUMNER, the statesman and orator, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 6, 1811. He received his first instruction in the Boston Latin school and went from thence to Harvard, from which he graduated in 1830. His attention was turned in the direction of the law and his earliest employment was found as reporter in the circuit court of the United States, and while thus employed he found time to publish three volumes of Judge Story's decisions, under the name of 'Sumner's Reports.' During the same time he edited the *American Jurist*, a law journal that won an enviable reputation. He found early distinction by an appointment, during three winters that Story was compelled to be in Washington, as law lecturer to the law school, his favorite topics being those that related to constitutional law and the law of nations. He spent a year of travel in England and returned to America in 1840, where he began to take high rank as an orator, delivering a number of addresses on various occasions that attracted attention the country over. He had voted with the Whig party from the first, but in 1846 made a speech to the convention of that party in Massachusetts, on the "Anti-Slavery Duties of the Whig Party." His opposition to the war with Mexico and his sentiments in relation to slavery led to his separation from the Whigs and his affiliation with the Free-soilers. When Mr. Webster withdrew from the senate to enter the cabinet, Mr. Sumner was elected his successor by a combination of Free-soilers and Democrats. He took his seat on December 1, 1851, and retained it by successive reëlections until his death—a period which enabled him to give a long and brilliant service to his country. He took a decided stand upon the slavery question from the first, his first important speech being against the Fugitive Slave act, arguing that congress had no power under the Constitution to legislate for the return of fugitive slaves, and that if it had, "the act in many essential particulars conflicted with the Constitution and was also cruel and tyrannical." He

also took a leading part in the debate on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska question. It was during his two days' speech upon "The Crime against Congress," delivered on May 19 and 20, 1856, that the language was used which incensed Preston S. Brooks, a member of congress from South Carolina, who, on May 22, made a villainous and cowardly attack upon Mr. Sumner, as he sat writing at his desk. With a heavy blow he felled him to the floor, and beat him until he was insensible. His injuries were such that he did not recover for three or four years. His term of office as senator expired on March 4, 1857, and in the January preceding, Massachusetts returned him by a unanimous vote in the senate and one of like character in the house, with the exception of seven votes. In March, 1857, he went to Europe in aid of his health, and made a like journey in May, 1858, submitting to a course of very severe medical treatment, and only returning in the autumn of 1859. Upon resuming his seat in the senate, he still spoke against slavery whenever occasion offered; and when the war opened, he opposed all compromise with slavery, and was one of the first to declare in favor of the emancipation of the slaves. He made a number of important speeches during the war and reconstruction periods. Because of his opposition to the proposed annexation of San Domingo, he came into personal antagonism with President Grant, and out of the difficulties that ensued, he was led to forsake the Republican party in 1872 and support Horace Greeley for President. In September of the same year he was nominated for governor of Massachusetts by a convention of Liberals and Democrats, but declined. From thenceforward he was independent in politics. He was the author of the Civil Rights bill and also of another proposed measure which met with severe opposition and was most vehemently denounced in the north—the removal from the regimental colors and from the army register of the names of the battles won in the recent Civil war. For this he was censured by a formal vote of the Massachusetts legislature, although the vote was rescinded a short period before his death. Mr. Sumner died at Washington, D. C., on March 11, 1874.

PETER COOPER.

PETER COOPER was born in New York city on February 12, 1791. His early days were given to labor, with few chances of education; and after learning the carriage-making trade, employed

himself in various occupations, and at last set himself to the manufacture of glue with such good effect that, in a short time, he had entire control of the trade of the country. He also entered the iron business at an early day, erecting at Canton, near Baltimore, in 1830, large iron works, where he built the "Tom Thumb," one of the first locomotives ever run in America. He also made investments in other iron works at other points, and by these various operations accumulated an immense fortune, which he used in a most generous manner for the good of those by whom he was surrounded. Mr. Cooper was also connected with the early telegraph system of the country, in which he invested a large amount of money. He was one of the most earnest supporters of the ocean telegraph in its days of trial and development, and was at one time president of several local telegraph companies and also of the North American Telegraph association which, twenty years ago, represented two-thirds of all the telegraph lines in the United States.

The lack of an education, which he had felt all through his life, coupled with a broad generosity that could not be content unless doing something for others, led Mr. Cooper, at an early day of his career, to the contemplation of a plan by which he might furnish to others what he had not been able to obtain for himself. As a result of this there soon grew up, in a convenient point of New York city, a massive edifice of brown stone, which to-day is known the world over as Cooper Institute—a monument of which any man might well be proud. An act of the New York legislature in 1857, and another in 1859, had given him the legal right to open such an institution, and the organization of "The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art" was the full realization of his generous purpose. In his letter conveying his great gift to a number of chosen trustees, Mr. Cooper said: "My design is to establish this institution, in the hope that unnumbered youth will here receive the inspiration of truth in all its native power and beauty, and find in it a source of perpetual pleasure to spread its transforming influence through the world. Believing in and hoping for such results, I desire to make this institution contribute in every way to aid the efforts of youth to acquire useful knowledge and to find and fill that place in the community where their capacity and talents can be usefully employed with the greatest possible advantage to themselves and to the community in which they live. In order to better the condition of women and to widen the sphere of female employment, I have provided seven rooms to be forever devoted to a Female School of Design, and I desire the trustees to

appropriate out of the rents of the building fifteen hundred dollars annually towards meeting the expenses of said school. It is the ardent wish of my heart that this school of design may be the means of raising to competence and comfort thousands of those that might otherwise struggle through a life of poverty and suffering. In order to encourage the young to improve and better their condition, I have provided for a continued course of lectures, discussions and recitations in the most useful and practical sciences, to be open and free to all that can bring a certificate of good, moral character from parents, guardians or employers, and who will agree, on their part, to conform faithfully to all rules and regulations necessary to maintain the honor and usefulness of the institution." The institute has grandly fulfilled the purpose for which it was founded, and has done fully as much good as its noble-hearted founder hoped it might accomplish.

Mr. Cooper was interested all through his life in questions of a social and economic order, and in 1883 published a work entitled, 'Ideas for a Science of Good Government,' in which were embodied his many addresses and articles upon currency, tariff, civil service, etc. His advocacy of a paper currency led to his nomination for President of the United States by the National Greenback convention, held at Indianapolis on May 18, 1876. Mr. Cooper accepted, not from any expectation of an election, but because he believed in the doctrine and desired to use all the influence of which he was possessed for its advance. The remaining period of his life was passed in ease and quietness, and death came at New York on April 4, 1883, in the ninety-second year of his age.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

HORATIO SEYMOUR was born on May 10, 1810, in Onondaga county, New York, of a family that had already won distinction in that state. When but ten years of age he was sent to Oxford academy, where he remained two years. During two following years he was at school in Geneva, and from thence was sent to the military academy at Middletown, Connecticut. After graduation he returned to Utica and entered upon the study of the law, and was admitted; but the death of his father and father-in-law left large property interests to his direction, which absorbed

all his time and prevented his entering upon an active practice. With a natural taste for politics and a great personal popularity at his home, it was not long before he entered upon a course of public life by an election to the assembly, on a Democratic ticket, in a district where the Whigs were in a natural majority. He took a leading part in the debates, and was soon looked upon as one of the coming young men of the state.

In the spring of 1842 Mr. Seymour was elected mayor of Utica, and afterwards returned to the assembly through several years, being made speaker of the house in 1845. In 1850 he vehemently opposed the passage of a bill for the enlargement of the Erie canal, in opposition to the requirements of the state constitution, and won such favor from his party thereby that he was made the nominee of the Democrats for governor of New York. He was defeated by less than three hundred votes, but in 1852 was again placed in nomination and triumphantly elected. He filled the office with dignity and usefulness and to the general satisfaction of the public, with the exception of his veto of a Liquor law similar to the Maine law, which caused his defeat for a reëlection in 1854.

Mr. Seymour was an active worker in the convention that nominated Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency, and upon the election of the latter was offered a first-class European mission, which he declined. He used all his influence to prevent the breaking out of the Civil war, but when that event occurred, was a friend to the Union cause, and acted as chairman of the committee of his county for the raising of troops. In a public address in 1862 he said: "We denounce the Rebellion as most wicked, because it wages war against the best government the world has ever seen." In the fall of that year he was again nominated for governor of New York by the Democrats, and elected. In his inaugural address on the first of January following, he said: "Under no circumstances can the division of the Union be conceded. We will put forth every exertion of power; we will use every policy of conciliation; we will hold out every inducement to the people of the south to return to their allegiance, consistent with honor; we will guarantee them every right, every consideration demanded by the Constitution and by that fraternal regard which must prevail in a common country; but we can never voluntarily consent to the breaking up of the Union of these states, or the destruction of the Constitution."

When Lee invaded Pennsylvania, Governor Seymour was requested by the National government to forward all the state troops he could raise, to meet the emergency. Three days later the dispatch was flashed back to Stanton: "About twelve thousand men are on the move for Harrisburg, in good spirits and well equipped. The governor says, shall troops continue to be forwarded?" All requirements in that great crisis were promptly met by Seymour and the state administration under his control. It was at this juncture that the drafts commenced in New York and the riots were precipitated. The governor hurried to that city, where, on the fourteenth of July, he issued two proclamations, one calling upon the rioters to disperse, and the other declaring the city in a state of insurrection. Everything was placed under the control of the military and such prompt measures taken that the disturbances were quieted.

In 1864 the governor sent a message to the legislature, advocating the payment of the interest on the state bonds in gold, and the refusal to adopt that policy greatly depreciated their value. He presided over the Democratic National convention of that year that nominated McClellen, and also over that held in New York city in 1868. Although he had again refused to be a candidate, the convention made him its nominee in spite of that refusal. The result of the election was the choice of General Grant. The remainder of Mr. Seymour's life was devoted to various agricultural, charitable and personal interests in which he was interested. He died at Utica on February 12, 1886.

JOHN BROWN.

JOHN BROWN, the abolition martyr, who willingly gave his life to the cause for which he had such love, was born in Torrington, Connecticut, on May 9, 1800. When but five years of age he was taken by his parents to Hudson, Ohio, where his youth was passed. Of a religious turn of mind, he went to Massachusetts, when nineteen years of age, with a view to entering the ministry, but an inflammation of the eyes compelled him to abandon that idea and return home. Having learned the tanner's trade, he carried it on for the next twenty years, but having lost a large share of property by

an unfortunate speculation, he went into the wool trade, and in 1846 he removed to Springfield, Massachusetts, where he opened a wool warehouse. A venture in the wool market of Europe ruined him financially, and in 1849 he located at North Elba, Essex county, New York, and commenced the reclamation of a tract of wild land presented him by Gerrit Smith, the philanthropist. By indomitable will and hard labor on the part of his sons and himself, he made a comfortable home and a profitable farm out of the wilderness. In 1851 he returned to Ohio and again entered the wool business.

It had been an intense conviction with Brown from his youth up that human slavery was a crime, and that any step taken toward putting it down would be right in the sight of God, if not in that of man. In 1854 his four oldest sons migrated to Kansas, which was then undergoing the earliest phases of the great border struggles of that decade. The dangers and hardships they were compelled to undergo, as advocates of free-statehood and abolition, caused them to call upon their father for aid, and his response was immediate. Taking his family back to the farm at North Elba in 1855, he proceeded to Kansas, not as a settler, but to fight upon the side in which his whole soul was enlisted. The story of that struggle cannot be told in this connection, nor all of John Brown's part therein. Suffice it to say that he was soon looked upon as one of the bravest and coolest of the free-state leaders, afraid of no man, caring nothing for life or suffering and ready to go wherever he heard the voice of duty call. One desperate struggle, in which he was a leader on the free-state side, gave him a National reputation and the title by which he became everywhere known—"Ossawattomie Brown"—because of the location at which the fight occurred. Toward the end of 1856 he returned to the east, accompanied by his three sons—the fourth having been killed in the contest above referred to—on a mission for the raising of arms and men; but his course was considered as too aggressive and partaking of the color of open war on the south, and he received little encouragement. In November, 1857, he again returned to Kansas and began preparations for a plan of operations he had been long maturing, which was nothing less than "to attack the institution of slavery in one of its oldest seats, and by the aid of liberated slaves to overthrow it throughout the Union." Selecting a small number of men whom he knew he could trust, he proceeded to Iowa, and during the winter of 1857-8 practiced them in various military exercises. He then unfolded to them his scheme and informed them that Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, was to be the scene of attack. With these friends and a number of escaped

slaves who resided in Canada, he held a secret meeting in May, 1858, at Chatham, in that province, and the result was the adoption of that remarkable "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States" that was drafted by Brown and was an expression of his political opinions. Officers were chosen for this association, of which Brown was to be commander-in-chief.

Brown had hoped to strike his bold blow at once, but a lack of means prevented. He therefore returned to Kansas in June, 1858, where an incident occurred that illustrates the spirit of the man and the hazard of the cause in which he was engaged. "On December 19," to follow one account, "while the excitement was at its height, a slave named Jim secretly crossed the border to Brown's cabin and announced that he and his family had been sold and would be sent to Texas the next day. Brown, with twenty men, divided into two parties, immediately crossed over into Missouri and liberated the slaves, whom, with six other Negroes, making eleven in all, they conveyed into Kansas. In this enterprise one of the owners of the slaves was killed. An unprecedented excitement followed. Not only was a large reward offered for Brown's arrest, but the more moderate free-state men hastened to disavow any sympathy with his daring act. The territory became too hot for him, and he started early in January, 1859, for the north, accompanied by four white companions and the liberated Negroes. Pursued by a party of thirty men, subsequently increased to forty-two, he made a stand in a deserted log cabin, whence, having provided for the safety of the women and children under his charge, he issued forth with seven male companions to do battle with the enemy. The latter precipitately fled, with the exception of four men, who were at once made prisoners. Brown subsequently took the slaves into Iowa, whence, in the middle of March, he conveyed them safely to Canada."

In June, 1859, Brown proceeded in secrecy to Harper's Ferry, where he was joined from time to time by his associates until they numbered twenty-two, of whom seventeen were white and the rest Negroes. Arms and ammunition had been previously sent, and, with the men, were hidden on a lonely farm he had rented some six miles from the Ferry. His purpose in choosing this place was that he might capture the United States arsenal located there, place arms in the hands of the slaves he expected would flock to his standard, and, by the aid of the sheltering mountains, inaugurate a servile war. At ten o'clock on the night of Sunday, October 16, the attack was made, the guards were overpowered and possession taken of the arsenal.



HENRY WILSON.

On the day following some sixty prisoners were taken and lodged in the building. The excitement was intense, and by noon the arsenal was besieged, while the general uprising of slaves for which Brown looked did not occur. The fight was desperate, and many were killed and wounded upon both sides, two of Brown's sons being numbered among the slain. At seven o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, Colonel Robert E. Lee of the United States army, with a body of marines, battered down the door, and Brown and his party were overpowered.

The attack and its outcome made the wildest excitement over the country, north and south; and while many sympathized with the brave old man, there were few who could excuse the open and rebellious act in which he had engaged. He was conveyed to the jail in Charlestown, Virginia, where, with his three surviving comrades, he was almost immediately indicted for conspiring with Negroes to produce insurrection, for treason against the commonwealth of Virginia and for murder. On October 7 Brown was brought to trial, all requests for delay because of physical weakness or the absence of friends being denied. Lying upon a cot in the court-room, he was confronted by a hostile jury and people, but conducted himself with calmness and bravery. On the thirty-first he was found guilty of all the charges against him, and on the succeeding day was sentenced to be hanged on December 2. In a short speech made to the court when sentenced, the brave old man disavowed any intention of committing murder or treason, and declared that his chief object was to liberate the slaves and not to excite them to insurrection. He went to the scaffold without fear, calm, serene and upheld by the belief that he was dying in a noble cause. His body was delivered to his widow and buried on the home-farm at North Elba. His death was, after all, not in vain, as it served to fire the heart and nerve the arm of thousands of the north in the great struggle already at hand; and, as the battle hymn of the Union army expressed it, although his body "lay mouldering in the grave," his "soul went marching on."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, who united to a remarkable oratorical gift a deep love for the cause of slavery, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on November 29, 1811, the son of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston. He graduated from Harvard college in 1831,

and from its law school in 1833, and was admitted to the bar one year later. His heart was touched at an early day with the wrongs of slavery, and he carried devotion to his principles to such an extent that in 1839 he gave up the practice of law because he would not take the required oath of fealty to a Constitution that tolerated such an institution. A natural born orator, his first notable appearance was in Faneuil hall in December, 1837, at a meeting called to consider the murder of Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, at the hands of a pro-slavery mob, in Alton, Illinois. It was a most masterly effort and spread his name and fame over the country. Thenceforth he was one of the most forward leaders of the Abolitionists, advocating disunion rather than the toleration of slavery. When the war broke out he was as pronounced in favor of the Union cause as any man could be, and his voice was heard for the care and aid of the black man on all possible occasions. Toward the end of the war he advocated the arming, educating and enfranchising of the freedmen, and labored earnestly for the adoption of the Fifteenth amendment.

With the emancipation of the Negro, Mr. Phillips' great life work was at an end, but his efforts were then put forth in favor of the causes of labor, temperance, currency reform and woman suffrage. In 1870 he was the candidate of the temperance and labor factions for governor of Massachusetts and received nearly twenty thousand votes. As a lecturer he was for many years in great demand, and his "The Lost Arts" and "Toussaint L'Ouverture" were considered as among the most finished and eloquent platform efforts of the age. Mr. Phillips died at Boston on February 2, 1883.

THADDEUS STEVENS.

THADDEUS STEVENS was one of the great anti-slavery leaders in congress prior to the war, and during that long period of danger and responsibility, stood in the forefront for the Union cause. He was born at Peacham, Vermont, on April 4, 1793. His parents were poor and the boy was himself lame and sickly, but he was possessed of an iron will that overcame all difficulties and a desire for knowledge that made him make the best possible use of all the resources at his command. By hard study he prepared himself for college, and graduated from Dartmouth with honors in 1814. He soon

made his home at York, Pennsylvania, where he taught school and at the same time pursued the study of law, and upon admission to the bar, entered upon practice with unusual success. He made his entrance into politics in 1828, when he advocated the cause of the Whigs and earnestly exerted himself against Jackson. In 1833 he was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature, where he remained by several successive elections, and in which position he became prominent because of his outspoken and fearless denunciation of slavery. In 1838 he was made a member of the state canal commission, and rendered an important service in the extension of the system of internal improvements, upon which Pennsylvania had entered. Removing to Lancaster in 1842, he devoted himself for a time altogether to the practice of his profession, but was again called into public life by an election to congress in 1848. He was made his own successor by a reëlection in 1850. His career in congress at this time was noted because of his steady opposition to the Fugitive Slave law and the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Again called to congress in 1858, he was retained therein during the remainder of his life, becoming recognized before long as one of the great leaders of the Republican party, and one of the most courageous and devoted in the support of its principles. He was foremost in all the measures for the prosecution of the war and the emancipation and arming of the Negroes and their elevation to citizenship. He was one of President Johnson's most determined opponents during the reconstruction troubles; and upon the impeachment trial of that official, was chairman of the managers chosen on part of the house. He died at Washington on August 11, 1868.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, who will ever be remembered because of his prominence in American politics and especially for his famous contests with Abraham Lincoln, was born at Brandon, Vermont, on April 23, 1813. Upon the death of his father, when he was but two months old, the mother retired to a farm, where the boy remained until he was fifteen years of age, when he determined to face the world upon his own responsibility. He accordingly apprenticed himself to a cabinet-maker, but when a year and a half at that labor had impaired his health, he abandoned it, and was an attendant at Bran-

don academy for a year. In 1833, after some time spent in the study of law, he set forth to seek his fortune in the west, where he spent some time as a school teacher in Illinois, was admitted to the bar and entered upon practice. Such was his capacity and such the early recognition of it, that while only twenty-two years of age he was elected by the legislature to the position of attorney-general of the state, which he held until December, 1835, when he resigned to take the seat in the legislature, to which he had been elected. In 1837 he was appointed by the President to the office of register of the land office at Springfield, which he held until 1839. In November, 1837, he was made the nominee for congress by the Democratic party of his district, and in a district that cast thirty-six thousand votes, he was defeated by a majority of only five votes—a magnificent compliment to a man whose age had not yet touched twenty-five.

Mr. Douglas then devoted himself exclusively to his profession until 1840, when he took part actively in the great and exciting campaign that was then inaugurated. In December of that year he was appointed secretary of state of Illinois, and two months later was elected judge of the state supreme court, which latter office he resigned in 1843 to accept a nomination to congress. On this occasion his candidacy met with success, and he was returned to Washington in 1844 and again in 1846. Before he could take his seat under the last election he was elevated to the senate of the United States, and took his seat on March 4, 1847. His record in the house was such as one might expect from one of his force of character and ability. He demanded the full rights of the United States in the difficulty with Great Britain over the Oregon question, and "advocated the policy of giving notice to terminate the joint occupation; of establishing a territorial government over Oregon, protected by a sufficient military force, and of putting the country at once in a state of preparation, so that if war should result from the assertion of our just rights, we might 'drive Great Britain and the last vestiges of royal authority from the continent of North America and make the United States an ocean-bound Republic.'" He was among the earliest advocates of the annexation of Texas, and after the treaty for that object had failed in the senate, he was one of those who introduced the joint resolutions that stood as its substitute. He sustained the Mexican war and, as chairman of the territorial committee, at first in the house and afterwards in the senate, he reported and carried to success the bills for the organization of the territories of Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas and Nebraska, and also bills for

the admission to the Union of Iowa, Wisconsin, Oregon, California and Minnesota.

The position of Mr. Douglas on the question of slavery has been thus defined by one of his most just biographers: He early took the position that congress should not interfere on the one side or the other, but that the people of each state and territory should be allowed to regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves. In accordance with this principle he opposed the Wilmot proviso, when first passed in the house in 1847, and afterwards in the senate, when offered as an amendment to the bill for the organization of the territory of Oregon. In August, 1848, he offered an amendment to the Oregon bill, extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean, thus prohibiting slavery in all the territory north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and by implication recognizing its existence south of that line. This amendment was adopted in the senate by a decided majority, receiving the support of every southern together with several northern senators, but was defeated in the house of representatives by nearly a sectional vote. The refusal of the senate to adopt the policy of congressional prohibition of slavery in all the territories, and the rejection in the house of the proposition to extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific ocean, gave rise to the sectional agitation of 1849–50, which was temporarily quieted by the legislation known as the Compromise measures of 1850.

These measures were supported by Senator Douglas at the cost of a determined attack from powerful elements in Illinois, and it required all his resources and popularity to retain his hold upon the people that years of brilliant service had given. He had now grown to so large a National fame that he was urged as a suitable choice of his party for President; and in the Democratic National convention of 1852, he was complimented by the votes of ninety-two delegates.

During the congressional session of 1853–4 Mr. Douglas introduced the bill to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska—a measure that created the Republican party and joined the issue as to slavery, as it had never been presented to the people before. Its passage caused the wildest excitement in the north, and its author was denounced by the anti-slavery element from one end of the country to the other.

When the Democratic National convention of 1856 was held, Mr. Douglas was once more a candidate and received 121 votes, which were not enough to elect. A year later he entered upon the most famous episode of his career, denouncing and opposing the Lecompton con-

stitution, on the ground that it was not the act of the people of Kansas, and then going home to vindicate his course before the people of Illinois. The canvass that followed was one of the most exciting that ever occurred in American politics, and is memorable because of the joint debates with Mr. Lincoln, held at various points. The vote of the people was averse to Douglas, but his party carried enough members of the legislature to secure his return to the senate.

In 1860 Mr. Douglas was put forward by the Democrats of the north as their candidate for the Presidential nomination; and the split in the Democratic party caused thereby, and the several conventions that were held have been already related in the history of American politics that forms a part of this work. Douglas and H. V. Johnson were made the nominees of the northern wing of the party, and John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane were put forward by the southern, while Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were the Republican nominees. The contest was of a most exciting character, and Lincoln was elected by 180 electoral votes to 12 for Douglas, 72 for Breckinridge and 39 for John Bell, who ran upon a Constitutional Union platform.

Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, Mr. Douglas was an unswerving friend of the Union cause. He took part in the stormy scenes in the senate while state after state was seceding, denouncing secession as a crime, and declaring that "if the new system of resistance by the sword and bayonet to the result of the ballot-box should prevail in this country, 'the history of the United States is already written in the history of Mexico;'" and in a letter prepared at his dictation for publication, during his last illness, he declared that but one course was open to patriotic men, which was to sustain the Union, the Constitution, the flag and the government against all who might assail. He died in Chicago, June 3, 1861.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

OLIVER P. MORTON, the great war governor of Indiana, was born in Wayne county, Indiana, on August 4, 1823. A course of training at Wayne County seminary was followed by a short time at Miami university, at Oxford, Ohio. He commenced the study of law at Centreville, Indiana, and in 1846 was admitted to the bar.

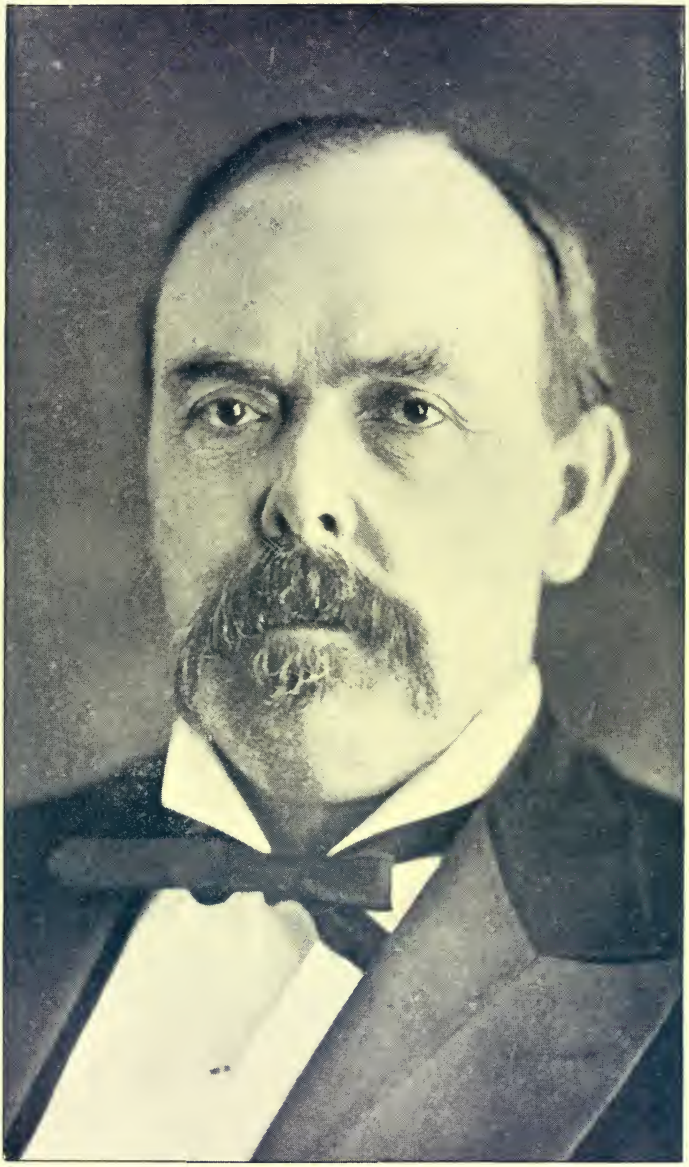
A large and lucrative practice followed. In 1852 he was elected one of the circuit judges of Indiana on the Democratic ticket, and so conducted his judicial duties as to win a reputation for thoroughness and impartiality. In company with a great many other northern Democrats he forsook that party with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Joining the Republican party, he acted with it during the remainder of his life. He became, in 1856, the Republican candidate of the state for the position of judge, but was defeated. In the contest of 1860 he was chosen by the Indiana Republicans as their candidate for lieutenant-governor. He was elected, and on January 14, 1861, took his seat as president of the Indiana senate. Two days later Governor Lane was elected to the United States senate, and under the provisions of the state constitution, Mr. Morton became governor.

It was a task of some magnitude to which the new chief executive addressed himself, even though no war-cloud had been hovering over the southern frontier. On assuming the office he found "that the treasury was depleted, the sinking fund mismanaged and that a complete system of fraud had been practiced by both state and county officers in the disposition of the swamp lands, and the credit of the state much impaired both at home and abroad." He commenced a system of reform with all that resolution and courage with which he was so abundantly supplied, and brought order out of chaos and placed the state finances in as good a shape as the circumstances of the situation would allow.

When the war came, Governor Morton was among the foremost of the loyal state executives of the north in steadying the purpose of the people, in holding up the hands of the President and in providing the men and material by which that war must be waged. His state was well saturated with sympathy for the south, but in his heart and purpose there was not an atom of that character. Hastening to Washington, he assured Lincoln that if he would adopt and hold to a policy of vigor, he would pledge Indiana for at least ten thousand men when they should be required. When Sūmter fell and the call came for seventy-five thousand men, Governor Morton was better than his word, and instead of the six regiments of seven hundred and fifty each that constituted the quota of his state, he took such steps as brought twelve thousand men to the government's defense. Nor did he stop with doing his simple duty, but sought out means by which he could be of service to the Union cause. "Governor Magoffin of Kentucky," it has been related, "was endeavoring to aid the south by taking a

neutral position in the contest, and proposed that Ohio and Indiana should join in this and assume the position of mediators between the government and the rebellious states. Governor Morton not only rejected the proposition but he sent agents into Kentucky from whom he learned the rebels' plan of operations throughout the state, so that when Zollicoffer advanced from Tennessee and Buckner toward Louisville, he sent General Rousseau and the expedition which was starting for St. Louis at once into Kentucky, forwarding at the same time every available man for the defense of Louisville, and succeeded in saving the city. Appealing to the state for aid to redeem Kentucky, he sent regiment after regiment into that state. In a few months Zollicoffer was killed and his army defeated at the battle of Mill Spring. The Federal troops held Bowling Green and Kentucky pretty well cleared of rebels."

In 1863 the Democrats gained control of the state legislature, and in all possible ways, and especially by the withholding of money, sought to tie the governor's hands. With no thought of disheartenment, he applied himself more vigorously than ever, and by the help of loyal supporters of the war, was enabled to raise the money needed until the regular meeting of the next legislature. In 1864 he was elected as his own successor, and filled the arduous position until the close of the war. The labor and responsibility of his position can only be understood by those who know something of the darkness and the peril of the times. He worked day and night, attending to the burdensome cares which his position demanded—the meeting of the calls for new troops, the formation of regiments, their equipment for service, the wants of the sick and the wounded, the thousands of dependent families to be supported at home, to say nothing of the civil duties required of him as the governor of a great state. "During the winter of 1865," says one who stood near him at that time, "he was the most ubiquitous man in the United States. First at Washington in council with the President; then at the front, surveying with his own eyes the battle-field; moving in person through the hospitals; ascertaining the wants of the sick and wounded; supervising the operations of his numerous agents; then at home directing sanitary movements; appointing extra surgeons and sending them to the field; projecting new plans for the relief of dependent women and children; attending personally to all the details of his office. But the strain had been greater than he could stand. At the close of the war, in the summer of 1865, he had an attack of paralysis from which he never recovered."



OLIVER P. MORTON.

Elected to the United States senate as the successor of Mr. Lane, Governor Motron was soon recognized as one of the leaders of that body and of the Republican party. He supported the reconstruction policy of that party, the strict fulfillment of the Nation's pledges in the payment of the National debt and a speedy return to specie payments. In 1870 he was offered the appointment of minister to England, but declined. In 1876, at the National Republican convention, he was one of the leading candidates for the Presidential nomination, receiving 124 votes on the first ballot; and upon the appointment of the famous Electoral Commission of the year following, he was made one of its members. He died at Indianapolis, Indiana, on November 1, 1877.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, the statesman who crowned a long and able public career with eminent services to the Union cause as secretary of state during the slave-holders' war, was born in Florida, Orange county, New York, on May 16, 1801. He showed the possession of unusual abilities even in his childhood, and at the age of nine was sent to an academy at Goshen, after which he entered Union college, Schenectady. His course here was marked by industry and ability, but was interrupted by six months' absence, which were employed in teaching school in the south. Upon graduation, in 1820, he applied himself to the study of the law, and was admitted to practice in 1822. He opened an office at Auburn, and while actively engaged with his profession found time to take part in politics, for which he had a natural disposition. His entrance upon the arena in which he was to become so distinguished was made as one of the newly-rising opponents to the "Albany regency," which had held control of New York politics for so long. In 1828 he was called upon to preside over a convention of the young men of New York, called to endorse John Quincy Adams for a reëlection to the Presidency. He was tendered a nomination to congress, which he declined, but in 1830 was elected to the state senate on an Anti-masonic ticket. In 1833 he found leisure for a visit to Europe, and by 1834 had made such rapid advance in the councils of his party and the respect of the people as to receive the Whig nomination for governor of New York. He was

defeated by W. L. Marcy; but in 1838, being again nominated, he had the honor of carrying the state by over ten thousand majority, as against the successful contestant of two years before. He made one of the most able officials the state ever possessed, his administration having been clearly described in the following words: "Among the measures to which he directed his attention were the extension of public education, the prosecution of the public works, including the enlargement of the Erie canal and the removal of the legal disabilities imposed on foreigners. A prominent feature of his administration was his effort to secure the diffusion of common school education among children of every class, especially those in large cities and of foreign parentage, advocating an equal distribution of the public funds among all schools established with that object. Amid much opposition he exerted all his influence in favor of a reform in the courts of law and of chancery, preparing the way for the radical changes effected in the Constitution of 1846. The geological survey of the state, the perfection of the general banking system and the establishment of a lunatic asylum were also measures of his administration. Imprisonment for debt was entirely abolished, the anti-rent rebellion was subdued and every vestige of slavery was cleared from the statute books. In a controversy between Governor Seward and the executive of Virginia, on the application of the latter for the return of two seamen charged with abducting slaves, Seward maintained that no state could force a requisition upon another state founded on an act which was only criminal by its own legislation, and which, compared with general standards, was not only innocent but humane and praiseworthy."

Reëlected in 1840, Governor Seward's second term was as able and successful as the first. Upon retiring to private life, he devoted himself with the greatest success to the law, in one case of note in which he appeared, showing his sympathy for the slave and his opposition to slavery. His return to public life occurred in February, 1849, when he was elected by the legislature of New York to the United States senate. He became one of the leaders of that body and was noted for his expressed determination to agree to no further concessions to the slave power. He made some notable speeches on the Compromise measures of 1850, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the admission of Kansas. Some of his eloquent and feeling expressions upon the menace of the hour and the source from whence it came were noted by their power and the impression made upon the public mind. On one occasion he said: "It is *an irrepressible conflict* between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will,

sooner or later, become either a slave-holding Nation or entirely a free-labor Nation." And again: "The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare and to liberty. But there is *a higher law* than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purpose. The territory is a part—no inconsiderable part—of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness. I certainly shall never directly or indirectly give my vote to establish or sanction slavery in the common territories of the United States or anywhere else in the world."

Upon the approach of the Presidential contest of 1860, Mr. Seward was looked upon as the leading Republican candidate, and it was thought by the leaders in the east that he would certainly be the nominee. On the first ballot of the convention held at Chicago on May 16, Mr. Seward received 173½ votes as against 102 for Mr. Lincoln. On the second this stood 184½ to 181 for Lincoln; and on the third 180 for 231½ for Lincoln. As the latter was now within 1½ votes of a nomination, they were supplied by Ohio and the work was complete. No man entered more earnestly and heartily into the contest in Mr. Lincoln's support than his late formidable antagonist; and upon the election of the ticket, it was everywhere regarded as a proper and fit compliment when the President tendered to Mr. Seward the position of secretary of state. It was accepted, and on March 4, 1861, he entered upon the discharge of his new duties. During the entire war his management of foreign affairs was politic and effective. Among the chief measures of that character with which he was officially connected was the Trent affair; his declination of the proposal of France to unite with Russia and Great Britain to mediate between the government and the Confederates; his course in respect to the French invasion of Mexico; his reorganization of our diplomatic service abroad; and it was by his tact and good sense that the country was kept from foreign war in the midst of her perplexities at home.

When Mr. Lincoln was reëlected for his second term, Mr. Seward retained his position. An accident of a somewhat serious nature had confined him to his house, and it was there that the assassin found him on the night of the murder of the President and inflicted several severe wounds upon him with a knife. His recovery was slow and painful. When able he resumed the discharge of his duties under Johnson, but

alienated a large portion of his old friends of the Republican party by his support of the President's reconstruction policy.

In March, 1869, Mr. Seward retired from public life and made an extended trip through the western part of the country and on up into Alaska, which had been mainly acquired by the United States through his efforts. In August of the following year he set out upon an extended and delightful tour around the world, and was received everywhere with marks of the highest consideration and respect. He reached his home at Auburn in October, 1871. The remaining year of his life was spent in the quiet of his home, his death occurring on October 10, 1872.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

EDWIN M. STANTON, the great war secretary, was born at Steubenville, Ohio, on December 19, 1814. Reared amid such educational advantages as southwestern Ohio then possessed, he was prepared, in 1831, to enter Kenyon college, at Gambier, where he remained two years. Admitted to the bar in 1836, he commenced the practice of his profession at Cadiz, in Harrison county. His first official position was that of prosecuting attorney for the county. An enlarged practice and an enlarging legal reputation caused him to remove to Steubenville, where he soon took position as one of the leading lawyers of his section. From 1842 to 1845 he was the reporter of the supreme court of Ohio and prepared three volumes of the 'Ohio Reports.' In 1847 Mr. Stanton made still another move in the search of an enlarged field, and located at Pittsburgh, although still retaining an office at Steubenville. He was from thenceforth engaged largely in practice in the United States courts, which branch of his business grew to such proportions that in 1856 he resolved to make Washington his permanent home. From thenceforth he was one of the busiest men and best-known lawyers in the United States.

The government made use of his services in 1858 by sending him to California as its counsel in several important land cases, and while there he performed a great labor in his examination of the Spanish and Mexican archives, with reference to their bearing upon the cases then on hand. He was also retained in important litigation in reference to patents. At the request of President Buchanan, in December, 1860, he entered the cabinet as attorney-general of the United States, and

served as such until the close of that administration. It is needless to tell the American people what was his attitude toward the slaveholders' rebellion, then well under way, nor his devotion to the cause of the threatened Union. So well were these recognized that when, in 1862, Mr. Lincoln felt the need of one who could carry the immense burdens of the war department, and who could be depended upon to remain steady and true no matter what dangers might arise, his unerring judgment of men led him to turn to Edwin M. Stanton. The position was accepted, and then commenced one of the grandest and most remarkable administrations of an important branch of the government in perilous times that was ever witnessed. The secretaryship of war was next to the Presidency in importance and power, and it is the highest praise that Mr. Stanton can receive to say that his conduct therein was all that the government or the people could desire. He labored day and night, was ready to meet any emergency, was never dismayed by the most formidable demands or the most appalling danger; and some of the most successful movements of the war were inspired and directed by him. It is difficult, even at this short distance from the war period, to understand the immense labor and anxiety that devolved upon it, and no wonder need be felt that the strain told upon him at last and was the means of shortening his life. He knew at the time that he was carrying a greater load than any man should bear, but he gave of his strength willingly, and only hoped that it would be sustained until a peace could be conquered and the Union restored.

Mr. Stanton retained his office after the murder of Lincoln and the accession of Johnson, but soon came into collision with the Chief Executive over the reconstruction measures. Mr. Stanton's position was that of the Republican majority of congress, and therefore in direct opposition to the President. Anticipating such difficulty, congress had passed the Tenure-of-office act, which prevented a removal; and the President, therefore, on August 5, 1867, requested the secretary to resign. Mr. Stanton declined to accede to the request, but on August 12 gave way, under protest, to General Grant, who had agreed to accept the office *ad interim*. On January 13, 1868, congress reinstated Stanton, whereupon Grant gladly yielded him the keys of office. On February 21 the President appointed General Lorenzo Thomas secretary *ad interim*, but Stanton refused to vacate the office and held it by force, under the authority of law and congressional sanction. The impeachment trial grew immediately out of these events, and upon the President's acquittal, Mr. Stanton resigned. In confirming his suc-

cessor, the senate adopted a resolution declaring that Mr. Stanton had not been legally removed, but had voluntarily relinquished his office; while the house joined with the senate, at a later date, in giving him a formal vote of thanks for the ability, fidelity and purity with which he had discharged the duties of his great office.

With shattered health and few resources, Mr. Stanton was compelled to return once more to the practice of law as a means of livelihood, and he was connected with a number of important cases for a time. But a grateful and proper recognition of his services came soon, when President Grant, on December 20, 1869, appointed him to the position of an associate justice of the United States supreme court. He was immediately confirmed by the senate, but before his commission could be made out his strength gave way, and the end came almost immediately. He died at Washington on December 24, 1869.

SALMON P. CHASE.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE, who performed such able service for his country as secretary of the treasury during the early days of the war, and afterwards rounded out an honorable public career by taking the place left vacant by Taney on the supreme bench of the United States, was born in Cornish, New Hampshire, on January 13, 1808. His father died while he was yet a child, and when twelve years of age he was taken to Ohio and placed under charge of his uncle, the Episcopal bishop of that diocese. A year was spent in a Cincinnati college, from whence he went to Dartmouth college in 1824 and graduated in 1826. He had charge of a boys' school in Washington for a time, during which he pursued the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1829, and proceeded to Cincinnati, Ohio, in the year following and opened an office. While waiting for clients he prepared an edition of the statutes of Ohio, that was looked upon as an able effort and gave him an acquaintance that soon had a beneficial effect upon his professional prospects. He gained practice rapidly, and in 1834 became solicitor of the Bank of the United States in Cincinnati. Before long he began to exhibit the anti-slavery principles of which he was possessed, and some of his earlier efforts in that direction have been thus described by one of his biographers: "In

1837 he acted as counsel for a colored woman claimed as a fugitive slave, and in an elaborate argument, afterward published, controverted the authority of congress to impose any duties or confer any powers in fugitive slave cases on state magistrates, and maintained that the law of 1793 relative to fugitives from service was void, because unwarranted by the Constitution of the United States. The same year, in an argument before the supreme court of Ohio, in defense of James G. Birney, prosecuted under a state law for harboring a Negro slave, Mr. Chase asserted the doctrine that slavery was local and dependent on state law for existence and continuance, and insisted that the person alleged to have been harbored, having been brought within the territorial limits of Ohio by the individual claiming her as master, was thenceforth in fact and by right free. In 1846 he was associated with William H. Seward as defendant's counsel in the case of Van Zandt before the supreme court of the United States, and argued more elaborately the principles which he had advanced in former cases, maintaining that under the Ordinance of 1787 no fugitive from service could be reclaimed from Ohio, unless there had been an escape from one of the original states; that it was the clear understanding of the framers of the Constitution that slavery was to be left exclusively to the disposal of the several states, without sanction or support from the National government; and that the clause in the Constitution relative to persons held to service was one of compact between the states, and conferred no power of legislation on congress and was never understood to confer any."

In his early days Mr. Chase had cast his vote with the Democrats as a usual thing, and sometimes with the Whigs; but as early as 1841 he began to make his anti-slavery feelings apparent in his politics, as in his law practice. In the year named he was one of those by whom a call was issued for a convention of those who were opposed to slavery and slavery extension. The gathering that was held in response thereto had the honor of organizing the Liberty party of Ohio, which made a nomination for governor and issued an address, prepared by Mr. Chase, setting forth their principles and clearly defining their purpose. He also made a speech before that body, of which Judge Warden, his biographer, has said: "This remarkable discourse insisted that slavery could not, constitutionally, exist within the jurisdiction of congress, whether in the territories, in the District of Columbia or in vessels on the high seas. It set forth the importance of international negotiations for the free admission of the agricultural products of the west into the markets of Europe. It declared against

a mere paper money system of currency, and against the frauds and undue expansions of banks and their suspensions of payment on their issues and deposits. The speaker confessed his faith in favor of free trade, yet so as that, while the expenses of the government should continue to be derived from duties as imports, those duties should be so arranged as to encourage any branch of production or fabrication which should thereby, in a reasonable time, become so established as no longer to require protection."

When the National Liberty convention assembled at Buffalo in 1843, Mr. Chase was a member of the committee on resolutions; and two years later he matured the idea of a southern and western Liberty convention that should embrace "all who, believing that whatever is worth preserving in republicanism can be maintained only by uncompromising war against the usurpations of the slave power, and are, therefore, resolved to use all constitutional and honorable means to effect the extinction of slavery within their respective states, and its reduction to its constitutional limits in the United States."

This gathering was held in Cincinnati in 1845, and the address it issued was also prepared by Mr. Chase, and set forth his views upon slavery with even more clearness and certainty than he had yet declared them. He prepared a call in 1848 for a Free-state convention that was held at Columbus, Ohio, and out of which came the suggestion of the great Free-soil convention of Buffalo in the following words: "That we invite all friends of freedom, free territory and free labor, opposed to the election of Cass or Taylor, to assemble in convention at Buffalo, on the ninth day of August, 1848, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and the vice-presidency of the United States, and take such other measures as the crisis requires." Over the historic gathering that came in response to this call, Salmon P. Chase had the honor to preside; and out of its deliberations came the nominations of Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams.

Mr. Chase entered a field of labor commensurate with his abilities and growing influence when, on February 22, 1849, he was elected by the Ohio legislature to the United States senate, receiving the votes of all the Democratic members of that body and of such Free-soil members as leaned towards the Democracy. He was still acting with that party; but when its platform of 1852 endorsed the Compromise acts and denounced a further discussion of the slave question, he severed his connection and proposed the formation of an Independent Democratic party. Such an organization was actually under way when the passage of the Nebraska bill brought the issue up in a

new manner, and created a new party based upon the views he had long advocated. He was nominated in 1855 to the office of governor of Ohio, by those who were in opposition to the Nebraska bill and the Pierce administration, and was elected; and when the first National convention of the Republican party was held in the year following, he was urged as a candidate by many friends in all parts of the country, but at his own request his name was not presented. In 1857 he was reëlected, after an exciting contest with Henry B. Payne, the Democratic nominee. He was now one of the great Republican leaders of the Nation, and in the Presidential convention of 1860 was proposed as a candidate, and received forty-nine votes on the first ballot. Upon Lincoln's election he offered Governor Chase the portfolio of the treasury, which was accepted, which position he retained until June 30, 1864, when he resigned. He was in a large measure the originator of the financial policy of the government during the War of the Rebellion, the chief features of his administration in that department being "the issue of United States notes, known as greenbacks, which bore no interest, but were made legal tender; borrowing money upon bonds maturing at various dates, and bearing different rates of interest payable in gold; and the so-called National banking system, under which each bank was required to deposit in the treasury one hundred dollars in bonds for every ninety dollars of notes issued by it, and which, superseding state banking systems, secured at once stability to the currency and to the National credit. A large amount of the bonds first issued bore 7.3 per cent. interest, but the great majority were at 6 per cent. None were sold at less than par, and they generally commanded a premium. When Mr. Chase left the treasury department the National debt amounted to $1,740,690,489, to which it was estimated five hundred million dollars would be added in case the war continued another year."

While an active political life was best suited to Mr. Chase's disposition, he accepted the high office of chief-justice of the supreme court, which Mr. Lincoln tendered him in December, 1864, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Taney. In that position he shone with conspicuous ability, and proved himself possessed of the highest judicial attributes. In that capacity he was called upon to preside over the court of impeachment in the case of President Johnson. While fulfilling all the duties of chief-justice and keeping the reputation of that bench up to its former high mark, he had not lost his political ambition, and held a pardonable desire to crown his career by an

occupancy of the highest office in the gift of the people, and was looked upon as a formidable candidate for the Presidency. Having become dissatisfied with the course of the Republican party in congress, he returned in a measure to his former Democratic sympathies; and as the Democratic National convention of 1868 approached, he was regarded by many as the sure nominee, but no realization of that belief followed. In 1872 he was identified with the Liberal Republican movement, and supported Greeley rather than Grant. Because of an impairment of his health by a paralytic stroke, he withdrew from active public life, and died at Washington on May 7, 1873.

HORACE GREELEY.

HORACE GREELEY, the eminent editor, founder of the New York *Tribune* and Anti-slavery and Republican leader, was born at Amherst, Hillsborough county, New Hampshire, on February 3, 1811, the descendant of an honest race of farmers who had inhabited that region for more than a hundred and fifty years. He was of a feeble frame and sickly, and was therefore thrown very much into the care of his mother, who seems to have had a deep influence upon him and to have encouraged his mind toward books and education. Hard work, a little schooling and privations undergone by the family because of poverty and ill-luck were among the familiar things of his childhood. When about fifteen years of age he was apprenticed to the publishers of the *Northern Spectator*, at East Poultney, Vermont, to learn the printer's trade, and entered upon the beginning of his great life work on April 18, 1826. He served faithfully and learned much, and in June, 1830, set out to seek his fortune in the west, finding employment at first at Jamestown and Lodi, New York, and afterwards at Erie, Pennsylvania, to which his family had removed. He was offered a partnership in the *Erie Gazette*, which had then been in existence some twenty years, but declined, although remaining in its employ for some time. Having by this time some knowledge of the material of which he was composed, he determined to seek a larger field, and accordingly, "with twenty-five dollars in his pocket and a small stock of extra clothing in a bundle," he set out for New York city, which he reached on August 17, 1831. After searching for several days he found work, and was employed as a journeyman in several offices until

early in 1833, when he began business for himself, in connection with a partner, Francis V. Story. They engaged a couple of rooms, "spent all they had—less than two hundred dollars—and stretched their credit to the utmost for the requisite materials." Mr. Greeley endeavored to obtain forty dollars worth of type on credit, but was refused by those to whom he applied, until he called upon George Bruce, in Chambers street, who took the risk and accommodated him. "That purchase," to quote Mr. Greeley's own words, "has since secured to his concern the sale of not less than fifty thousand dollars worth of type; I think he must have noted something in my awkward, bashful ways that impelled him to take the risk." Thus equipped, the *Morning Post* was started—a two-cent daily owned and edited by Dr. H. D. Shepard, for whom Greeley and Story were printers. It was not long before the owner came to the end of his means and the *Post* was discontinued. Mr. Story was soon after drowned and his place was taken by Jonas Winchester; and on March 22, 1834, the reorganized firm issued the first number of the *New Yorker*, a weekly devoted to current literature, with a summary of the daily news. Of this sheet Mr. Greeley was editor, and among other things it was always noted for the accuracy of its political news. The *New Yorker* was in existence some seven years, but was never profitable. After a couple of years a dissolution of the partnership occurred, Mr. Winchester taking the job printing business and Mr. Greeley the newspaper, which he then considered firmly founded and worth some money. But the financial panic of 1837 came at a time when he was not prepared for it and left him utterly stranded. He struggled on for some time and made good all who had paid in advance, when the paper permanently suspended.

That same panic had brought the Whigs, with whom Mr. Greeley was then identified, into power; and upon the persuasion of Thurlow Weed he was led to take charge of the *Jeffersonian*, a small paper that was to be published in 1838, at Albany, in the interest of the Whigs. In addition to this labor, he wrote also for Mr. Weed's paper. As the Presidential contest of 1840 approached, it was decided to issue a new weekly campaign paper, to be called the *Log Cabin*, which was to support the candidacy of Harrison and Tyler. It was published both in New York and Albany, and was conducted with such a vim and spirit that it became one of the sensations of the day, and had soon secured a circulation of eighty thousand—a fit exponent of the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign that was conducted with such uproar and enthusiasm all over the country. The young editor was emboldened

to another venture upon his own account, and on April 10, 1841, the first number of the New York *Tribune* saw the light of day. Mr. Greeley was at first the sole proprietor, publisher and chief editor, but he soon formed a partnership with Thomas McElrath, who assumed control of the business department. The *Tribune* was then a small sheet and retailed for one cent. Some five hundred subscribers had been obtained before the issue of the first number. The expenses in the first week were five hundred and twenty-five dollars and the receipts ninety-two, which has been well described as "a decidedly bad prospect for an editor whose whole capital was one thousand dollars, and that borrowed." But the paper was a success from the start, subscribers coming in at the rate of three hundred per day; its fourth week seeing a total of six thousand, its seventh eleven thousand, etc. In the autumn of 1841 the *Weekly Tribune* was started, the *New Yorker* and *Log Cabin* lists being merged in it. The pride of Horace Greeley's life lay, as it well might, in this great newspaper which has since accomplished so much in influence and enterprise, and it was with a pardonable pride that he wrote in his autobiography: "Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings; the only earthly certainty is oblivion; no man can foresee what a day may bring forth, while those who cheer to-day will often curse to-morrow; and yet I cherish the hope that the journal I projected and established will live and flourish long after I shall have mouldered into forgotten dust, being guided by a larger wisdom, a more unerring sagacity to discern the right, though not by a more unfaltering readiness to embrace and defend it at whatever personal cost; and that the stone which covers my ashes may bear to future eyes the still intelligible inscription, 'Founder of the New York *Tribune*.'"

It is needless to say of the editor of the *Tribune* that he was one of the great political forces of the land, and that he made his journal one of the most potent influences of the time. When Henry Clay was nominated to the Presidency in 1844, Mr. Greeley, although an Abolitionist in declaration and principle, gave him a warm support, and, as he himself declares, "gave every hour, every effort, every thought to his election; traveled and spoke in his behalf; wrote an average of three columns of the *Tribune* each secular day; and gave the residue of the hours saved from sleep to watching the canvass" and doing whatever he could to render the campaign more effective. When the election of Polk occurred and the war with Mexico followed, Mr. Greeley opposed it, and he supported Taylor with only a lukewarm support. In 1848 he was elected to congress to fill a short

vacancy, serving from December 1 of that year until March 4, 1849, where he distinguished himself by an attack upon and exposure of the mileage system. He had little personal interest in office holding, and upon the expiration of his term turned himself with renewed energy to the conduct of his paper and the advancement of reforms in which he was interested, among which was the industrial experiment of the "North American Phalanx," a socialistic experiment that was being tried at Red Bank, New Jersey. He also delivered numerous addresses at agricultural fairs, lectures upon various topics and a number of political speeches, his choice topics being education, temperance and labor organization. He made two trips to Europe at this period, one in 1851 and another in 1855. He passed the winter of 1855-6 in Washington, where, because of some free passages published in the *Tribune*, he was brutally assaulted on the capitol grounds by a ruffian member of congress from the west, and was confined for some time by his injuries.

While Mr. Greeley was a strong anti-slavery man and an unswerving friend of the Union, he was at first disposed to let the southern states go in peace; but when war was actually commenced, he was one of the most earnest in urging its prosecution. In 1864, under the official consent of the President, he went to Canada to confer with certain peace commissioners from the south, but the meeting came to naught. He was also a Presidential elector and a delegate to the Republican National convention of that year. When the war was ended, he favored a policy of universal suffrage and of amnesty; and to show that he, for one, was friendly to the conquered south, and in proof of that disposition, he was one of the signers of the bail bond of Jefferson Davis—an act, we are told, that brought upon him so much censure in the north that "the sale of his 'History of the American Conflict,' which had been very large on the publication of the first volume, suddenly stopped almost entirely on the second, then just issued."

In 1869 he was the Republican nominee for comptroller of the state of New York, and was defeated, although receiving a very large vote. The next year he was a candidate for congress in the sixth district, but was defeated.

In 1872 Mr. Greeley was opposed to the reëlection of Grant and favored the Liberal Republican movement then inaugurated. In view of that fact, the convention of that new-formed party, which met at Cincinnati on May 1, placed him in nomination for the Presidency, with B. Gratz Brown of Missouri upon the ticket for vice-president.

The Democratic convention, which met at Baltimore in July, adopted the platform of the Cincinnati gathering, endorsed its nominees and went before the country in support of a candidate who had been a life-long foe and bitter opponent to the Democracy. Mr. Greeley accepted, gave up the editorship of the *Tribune* and made a personal canvass of the country, traveling and speaking constantly until the very eve of election. The vote was largely in favor of Grant, who carried all the states with the exception of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee and Texas. The severe labors of this campaign, the unpleasant position in which he was placed as the leader of a party he had always opposed, the ridicule that was showered upon him, his defeat and the death of his wife that occurred at about this time, all wore upon him, and soon after the election he was prostrated by a disorder of the brain, and sank rapidly. Death came to his relief at Pleasantville, New York, on November 29, 1872, before the meeting of the Electoral college, and in consequence the votes that belonged to him were given in compliment to other candidates. It was a sad ending of a life of usefulness; and no matter what anger and strife was stirred up by his Presidential contest, it was quieted by the side of his open grave. "His funeral," says his biographer, "though simple, was perhaps the most impressive ever witnessed in New York. The body lay in state in the city hall, through which an unbroken stream of visitors passed for the entire day; and the funeral services were attended by the President and vice-president of the United States, the vice-president elect, the chief-justice, and many other eminent citizens from distant places."

BENJAMIN F. WADE.

BENJAMIN F. WADE, the statesman who represented Ohio for so many years in the United States senate, and who showed such uncompromising opposition to slavery, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on October 27, 1800. His boyhood and youth were passed very much as were those of a majority of the New England youths about him, with alternations of work and leisure and schooling, as the circumstances of his family would afford. In 1821 his parents removed to Ohio and took up their residence in Ashtabula county. The son worked at farming in the summer and taught school in the

winter until 1826, when he commenced the study of law, and in 1828 was admitted to the bar in Ashtabula county. He commenced practice with moderate success and soon after became associated with Joshua R. Giddings; and in 1835 made his entrance to official life by an election to the office of prosecuting attorney, which he held for two years. Of his record in that position his ablest biographer, Honorable A. G. Riddle, has said: "Wade was a vigorous, safe and popular prosecutor, relentless where he was satisfied of a culprit's guilt. He put no others on trial. The kindness of his nature ever prompted him to see that convicts were as leniently dealt with as the public good permitted." So well had he performed his duties in this minor capacity that the Whigs of his district in 1837 sent him to the state senate. Defeated for a reëlection two years later, he was once more nominated in 1841 and elected; resigned the office and was again elected in the ensuing fall. While in the senate he commenced that battle against slavery which was continued so long as the institution existed. His firmness and courage were then proved in the fight he made against various measures introduced in aid of the slave-holder. Upon one memorable occasion, when measures to secure the arrest and return of fugitive slaves were before the senate, he made a brave fight against them. He said—referring to the makers of the Ordinance of 1787—"Dare you disappoint them and with them the hopes of the world? Did they intend you should become the mean apologists of slavery; throw down these barriers against its encroachments, built up with such cautious care; make the state its great hunting ground, and this to reassert a title in human flesh, which the laws of God, of nature, your Constitution, alike refuse to recognize? To affirm that these great men intended this is to pronounce upon them the foulest libel. Yet such is your argument. While I have a seat on this floor, am a citizen of this state—nay, until the laws of nature and nature's God are changed—I will never recognize the right of one man to hold his fellow-man a slave. I loathe, I abhor the accursed system, nor shall my tongue belie my heart." At that time Wade was in advance of the sentiment of the Reserve, but by the teaching of such men as Giddings and himself, it advanced rapidly to the high plane upon which he stood.

In 1840 Wade was one of the leading speakers of Ohio in support of Harrison, and took an earnest part in the several campaigns following. In 1847 he was elected president-judge of the third district of the state; and in 1851, by a combination of Free-soil and Whig votes in the state legislature—after long balloting without result—he was advanced to the position of senator of the United States. He there

entered upon a conspicuous career, marked, as had been his career heretofore, by his resoluteness, earnestness of feeling and deep-seated opposition to slavery. In 1852 he was one of the six senators who voted for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law; he spoke and voted against the bill to abrogate the Missouri Compromise; against the acceptance of the Lecompton constitution; against appropriation of thirty million dollars for the acquisition of Cuba, and against all the measures of compromise proposed by the south or for the south, after the election of Lincoln. His course was such as to win the hearty approval of his own state and of the north, and he was reëlected to the senate in 1857 and again in 1863. When the war broke out he was one of the foremost to demand a vigorous prosecution thereof, and one of the men upon whom the administration depended for aid and counsel; was chairman of the joint committee on the conduct of the war, and favored the enactment of a law to confiscate the property of the rebels and emancipate their slaves. The chairman of the territorial committee, he reported a bill in 1862 abolishing slavery in all the territories of the government and prohibiting it in any that might afterwards be acquired. When Vice-President Johnson became President, Mr. Wade became *pro tempore* president of the senate and acting vice-president, and would have become President had Johnson been found guilty upon the impeachment trial. In March, 1867, he was elected president of the senate. Upon the conclusion of his third senatorial term, the Ohio legislature was in the hands of the Democrats and Allen G. Thurman was chosen as his successor. Mr. Wade's only appearances in public life after that event were as one of the commissioners appointed in 1871 to go to San Domingo for the purpose of investigating the advantages of the annexation of that country—a measure which he cordially endorsed; as a delegate to the National Republican convention of 1876, and as a Presidential elector in that year. He died at his home in Jefferson on March 2, 1878.

THOMAS CORWIN.

THOMAS CORWIN, a man whose presence in American politics will not be soon forgotten, was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, on July 29, 1794. His parents soon after moved across the river into what was then the Northwestern territory, but is now



Levi P. Morton

Ohio, and settled near the present location of Lebanon, Warren county. The father was a prominent member of the community in which he lived, serving for a time in the Ohio legislature. The son saw hard work on a new-cleared farm during the most of the year, relieved by a few months of country schooling in the winter. In 1814 he was given a position in the office of clerk of Warren county, and in the year following commenced the study of law. In 1818 he was admitted to the bar and succeeded in gaining a fair practice that promised a large share of future success. In 1822 he began public life as most prominent statesmen commence it—by an election to the state legislature, where he won favorable attention from all quarters by a speech in opposition to a bill that proposed the establishment of a whipping-post as a punishment for minor crimes. He showed, even at that early age, the possession of that marvelous eloquence and wit that made his name in after years a household word, and drew crowds to hear him whenever and wherever there was a possibility that he might speak. He gave seven years of able service in this minor legislative position, and in 1830 was promoted by an election to the lower house of the National congress. Politically, he had been an adherent of Henry Clay in 1824, while in 1828 he had supported John Quincy Adams. Through the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren he acted with the Whigs upon all important political measures, while in 1836 and 1840 he supported Harrison.

In 1840 he was nominated by the Ohio Whigs to the office of governor, and the personal campaign he made in all portions of the state was one of the most brilliant and remarkable personal contests ever witnessed in America. It was during that time that he rose to the zenith of his fame and popularity, speaking every day for more than one hundred days, at as many different places, delivering addresses from two to three hours in length in the open air, and being followed by enthusiastic crowds wherever he went. He was elected, and so well fulfilled the duties of his office that, in 1845, he was sent to the United States senate. He denounced the Mexican war, supported Taylor as a candidate for the Presidency, and upon the accession of Fillmore to Taylor's place, was made secretary of the treasury, which office he held until March 4, 1853. He then returned to his practice at Lebanon, where he remained until 1858, when he was again elected to the National house of representatives. He served there until 1861, when he was made the United States minister to Mexico, returning home upon the arrival of Maximilian in that

country. He practiced law in Washington thereafter, until his death, which occurred suddenly at that city on December 18, 1865.

JOHN A. DIX.

JOHN A. DIX, the statesman and soldier whose memorable message at a critical moment became a war slogan of the loyal north, and who served his country in various important positions, was born in Boscawen, New Hampshire, on July 24, 1798. His youth was uneventful until the breaking out of the second war with England, in which he served on the frontier from 1812 to 1815 as ensign and the adjutant of a battalion. He read law, and upon admission, established himself in practice at Cooperstown, New York. He early became identified with the Democratic party; in 1830 was appointed adjutant-general of the state, and three years later secretary of state and superintendent of common schools. His advance in the respect of the people and the confidence of the people was rapid, and in 1842 he was elected to the general assembly of the state, which was followed in 1845 by an election to the United States senate, to fill a vacancy caused by the election of Silas Wright to the governorship of New York. When the question of slavery was pressing itself to the front, near the middle of the century, Dix became the exponent of the Free-soil section of the Democratic party; and in 1848 he was named as their candidate for governor, but was defeated. In 1853 he held the position of assistant treasurer of the United States at New York, but soon terminated his connection therewith by resignation.

When the mutterings of civil war were heard, General Dix was among the foremost of the friends of the Union, and when Howell Cobb, on December 10, 1860, resigned the secretaryship of the treasury to join the Confederacy, he was appointed to the vacancy. At that time New Orleans was in the practical control of the rebels, and it was necessary that the two revenue cutters lying there should be secured to the government as quickly as possible. Secretary Dix ordered them to New York, whereupon the captain of one of them directly refused to obey. The secretary then flashed to the lieutenant of the vessel an order to arrest the captain, and to treat him as a mutineer if he offered a resistance, closing his dispatch with those

memorable words, "If anyone attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!"

Upon the actual breaking out of the war, General Dix offered his services to his country, for active service in the field. He was appointed major-general of the New York militia, and on May 16, 1861, was made major-general of the United States volunteers and placed in command of the Department of Maryland. In 1862 he was transferred to Fortress Monroe and placed in command of the Seventh army corps. The year following he was stationed at New York, which he protected during the great draft riots of that year. During 1864–5 he had charge of the Department of the East. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he comported himself with such judgment, courage and modesty that he won the confidence and admiration of the entire people.

In 1866 General Dix was appointed United States minister to France, where he remained two years. In 1872 he was named by the Republicans of his state as their candidate for governor of New York, and was elected. His administration of civil affairs was as excellent as those of war. He died in New York city on April 21, 1879.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN, one of the heroes of the Union side in the great War of the Rebellion, was born in Lancaster, Ohio, on February 8, 1820, the descendant of one of the early settlers in Massachusetts colony. The death of his father when he was but nine years of age left the widowed mother with more cares upon her hands than she could well manage, and as a result he was adopted when but nine years of age by United States Senator Thomas Ewing of Lancaster. He was well cared for in the schools of Lancaster, and when sixteen years of age was appointed, through his foster-father's influence, to a cadetship at West Point. He entered upon the life and studies of the institution with great earnestness, and in 1840 graduated sixth of his class. He was appointed brevet second lieutenant in the Third artillery and sent immediately to service in Florida, where he remained two years, employed in the duties of camp life, varied with occasional minor encounters with the Indians. In 1842 he was stationed at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, where, with

occasional seasons of employment in other parts of the south, he remained until 1846. In 1846, upon the breaking out of the war with Mexico, he was sent to Pittsburgh and given charge of a recruiting office; but, in response to his own request for active service in the field, he was ordered, in the summer of the year last named, to California, to act in concert with Colonel Kearney's overland expedition. In that service he was employed as acting-assistant adjutant-general of the forces in the Tenth Military department, and in that responsible place showed those qualities of executive ability, celerity and courage of action that were so conspicuous in his after career. In 1850 he returned to the east, and in the year following was breveted captain in reward of his services in Mexico.

In 1853, seeing no early chance of advancement in the army, Captain Sherman resigned his commission and became manager of the branch banking house of Lucas, Turner & Company, at San Francisco, where he was engaged with moderate success for some years, until the branch house was closed up. Early in 1860 he accepted the position of superintendent of the State Military Academy of Louisiana, at Alexandria.

When the long-threatened cloud of civil war was descending over the land, it was hoped by the leaders in the south that the military experience and unquestioned ability of Sherman could be made available in the southern cause, the more so as he was then located in the south and had formed associations of a pleasing character with his neighbors. Overtures of a flattering nature were made him, but when war could no longer be averted, he took prompt measures to show which side he was on, and placed in the hands of the governor of Louisiana the following expressive letter:

"Sir, as I occupy a quasi-military position under this state, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such a position when Louisiana was a state in the Union, and when the motto of the seminary inserted in marble over the main door was: 'By the Liberality of General Government of the United States: The Union—*Esto Perpetua.*' Recent events foreshadow a great change and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraws from the Federal Union, I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the old Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives, and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word. In that event, I beg you will send or appoint some authorized agent to take charge of the arms and munitions of war here belonging to the state, or direct me what disposition should be made of them; and, furthermore, as president of the board of super-

visors, I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me as superintendent the moment the state determines to secede; for on no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to or in defiance of the old government of the United States."

Proceeding to the north with his family, Sherman went to Washington and endeavored to impress upon those in authority the fact that actual war was upon them—he had lived in the south and knew better than any northern statesman the sentiments and purposes of the leaders upon the other side. It was the desire of those who knew Sherman best and best appreciated his qualities, to furnish him employment where he could be of service to the country in preparing for the struggle then so surely at hand. Employment was sought for him as chief clerk of the war department, and that failing, as quartermaster-general in place of General Joseph E. Johnston, who had resigned to follow the fortunes of his seceding state. Neither place was assigned him, but when Sumter fell and the north saw its need of men and military skill, the ex-captain was directed to proceed to Ohio and raise a regiment of three month men. He did not go, as he had no faith in short enlistments at that time. He foresaw something of the extent of the struggle and believed the government should be prepared for it.

But his chance came. On May 14, 1861, he was reappointed in the regular army with the rank of colonel, and on the seventeenth was made brigadier-general of volunteers, and commanded a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run, July 21. In October he was appointed to the command of the Department of the Cumberland, but afterwards took charge of a camp of instruction at St. Louis till February, 1862, when he was placed in command of the District of Paducah, Kentucky. His great military career can be only related briefly here. He commanded a division in the Tennessee and Mississippi campaign—to follow the condensed story of one of his biographers—was in the battle of Shiloh April 6–7, where he was wounded; was in the advance upon and siege of Corinth April 15 to May 30, and was made major-general of volunteers May 1. He commanded the hastily organized expedition which attempted to capture Vicksburg, December 27–29. In 1863, in command of the Fifteenth army corps, he led the expedition which carried Arkansas post by assault January 11, and till July 3 was actively engaged in the siege of Vicksburg. He was made brigadier-general in the regular army, his commission dating from July 4, and during the summer and autumn was engaged in various operations in Mississippi and Tennessee. He commanded the left

wing of the army at Chattanooga, November 23–25, and at the beginning of December he compelled General Longstreet to raise the siege of Knoxville. In February, 1864, with twenty thousand men, he marched to Meridian, Mississippi, and broke up the railroads centering there. He held the command of the Department and Army of the Tennessee till March 12, when he took that of the Military Division of the Mississippi, composed of the Departments of Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee and Arkansas. Having organized at Chattanooga an army of one hundred thousand men, he invaded Georgia, engaging the Confederate forces under General J. E. Johnston, whom he forced to evacuate Dalton, May 12; at Resaca, May 15; Cassville, May 19; Dallas, May 25–28, and afterwards almost daily till the protracted operations about Kenesaw mountain, near Marietta, June 20 and July 2, which involved a severe repulse June 27. He occupied Marietta on July 3, and after several other engagements repeatedly defeated General Hood, Johnston's successor in command, before Atlanta, the severest battle being fought on July 22, and began the siege of that city. On August 12 he was made a major-general in the regular army. The battle of Jonesboro was fought August 31. In the night of September 1 Atlanta was evacuated by Hood, and General Sherman occupied the city till the middle of November, when he began his famous march to the sea. He reached Savannah December 13, stormed and captured Fort McAllister, and on the twenty-first received the surrender of the city. With the Savannah river as his base, he marched into the Carolinas and occupied Columbia, South Carolina, on February 17. He captured Cheraw on March 3, and Fayetteville, North Carolina, on the twelfth. On the sixteenth he fought the battle of Averysboro and on the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first that of Bentonville, and on the twenty-third entered Goldsboro. On April 13 he occupied Raleigh, and on the twenty-sixth the Confederate army under General J. E. Johnston surrendered at Durham Station, North Carolina, upon terms which were rejected by the government. Sherman's advance to Richmond and Washington from April 28 to May 24 ended his southern marches of more than two thousand six hundred miles.

The foregoing altogether too brief recapitulation of the military service of General Sherman through the war might have been expanded into volumes of the most absorbing interest. The brilliancy of his various achievements is suggested somewhat by his rapid promotions and the results he was enabled to accomplish. The "march to the sea" will live in song and story as one of the brilliant and

romantic movements of American warfare; while the personal dash and daring of the leader make him a figure for men to admire and the people to love. Standing next to Grant in the line of those who saved our land, his name will forever be associated with that of the chief for whom he had such regard, and with whom his relations were ever so cordial. To use the words of Grant himself: "Sherman is not only a great soldier but a great man. He is one of the very great men in our country's history. He is a many-sided man. He is an orator with few superiors. As a writer he is among the first. As a general I know of no man I would put above him. Above all, he has a fine character, so frank, so sincere, so outspoken, so genuine. There is not a false line in Sherman's character, nothing to regret. As a soldier, I know his value. I know what he was before Vicksburg. You see we had two lines to maintain. On one side was Pemberton, his army and his works. That I was watching. On our rear was Joe Johnston, who might come at any time and try and raise the siege. I set Sherman to keep that line and watch him. I never had a moment's care while Sherman was there. I don't think Sherman ever went to bed with his clothes off during that campaign, or allowed a night to pass without visiting his pickets in person. His industry was prodigious. He worked all the time, and with an enthusiasm, a patience and a good humor that gave him great power with his army. There is no man living for whose character I have a higher respect than for that of Sherman. He is not only one of the best men living but one of the greatest we have had in our history."

So much might be said in illustration of the spirit in which Sherman carried himself all through the war, if space would only permit. With unquestioned loyalty and obedience to his chief he won the same feelings from those under him. Never afraid to strike a merciless blow when occasion demanded it, and to strike with all the power there was in him, no one was before him in extending mercy and granting forgiveness when they could be safely extended. Evidences of this may be found all through his military career. Yet every word he uttered and every movement he made showed that it was his purpose to conquer a peace that should be sure and lasting. We hear his message to the mayor of a southern city, who had protested against his orders that the people should be removed from Atlanta: "I cannot discuss this subject with you fairly, because I cannot impart to you what I propose to do, but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy as pos-

sible. You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices to-day than any of you to secure peace. But you cannot have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico, which is eternal war. The United States does and must assert its authority whenever it has power; if it relaxes one bit to pressure it is gone, and I know that such is not the National feeling. This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of *Union*. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the National government, and instead of devoting your houses and streets to the dread uses of war, I and this army become at once your protectors and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may."

Sherman's farewell to his troops at the conclusion of the war shows something of the temper and feeling of the man. In the conclusion thereof he said: "As long as that enemy was defiant, nor mountains, nor rivers, nor swamps, nor hunger, nor cold had checked us; but when he who had fought us hard and persistently offered submission, your general thought it wrong to pursue him further, and negotiations followed, which resulted, as you all know, in his surrender. How far the operations of the army have contributed to the overthrow of the Confederacy, of the peace which now dawns on us, must be judged by others, not by us. But that you have done all that men could do has been admitted by those in authority, and we have a right to join in the universal joy that fills our land because the war is over and our government stands vindicated before the world by the joint action of the volunteer armies of the United States.

"To such as remain in the military service, your general need only remind you that successes in the past are due to hard work and discipline, and that the same work and discipline are equally important in the future. To such as go home, he will only say that our favored country is so grand, so extensive, so diversified in climate, soil and productions, that every man may surely find a home and occupation suited to his tastes; and none should yield to the natural impotence sure to result from our past life of excitement and adventure. You will be invited to seek new adventure abroad; but do not yield to the temptation, for it will lead only to death and disappointment. Your general now bids you farewell, with the full



PHIL H. SHERIDAN.

belief that, as in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace you will make good citizens; and if, unfortunately, new war should arise in our country, Sherman's army will be the first to buckle on the old armor and come forth to defend and maintain the government of our inheritance and choice."

On the twenty-seventh of June, 1865, General Sherman was appointed to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, comprising the Departments of the Ohio, Missouri and Arkansas, with headquarters at St. Louis. On July 25, 1866, he succeeded Grant, who was made general, as lieutenant-general of the United States army, and on August 11 took command of the Division of the Missouri. In November and December he was employed on a special mission to Mexico. When Grant vacated the office of general, because of his election to the Presidency, Sherman was promptly and properly advanced, his commission taking effect on March 4, 1869.

In the fall of 1871 General Sherman obtained a leave of absence and spent a year in travel in Europe and the east, and was everywhere received with the honor due his high rank, his military renown and his character as a man. Upon his return home he made his residence for a time in Washington, but in October, 1874, removed his headquarters to St. Louis. When he reached the proper age, on November 1, 1883, he was placed upon the retired list, and chose the city of New York as his home. During his later years he found leisure for the preparation of his 'Memoirs,' in two volumes, and published in New York in 1875. They give a graphic review of the war, and attempt to treat all questions fairly and all men with respect. No man in the country was in more demand after the war than Sherman at the reunions of the soldiers, and not even Grant himself was more honored or loved by those who had been under his command. Some of his speeches at these gatherings are models of eloquence and wisdom, and show that his patriotism upon social and political questions is as true and sincere as it was in the bloody and terrible days of war.

PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

NEXT to Sherman in the list of those who won honors upon the fields of the Rebellion is Philip H. Sheridan, who succeeded Sherman in the command of the American army. Some question has

been raised as to the exact place and date of his birth, some giving it as Ireland and some New York city; but the biographers generally agree upon Somerset, Perry county, Ohio, as the place, and March 6, 1831, as the date. He received a common school education, and at the age of seventeen was appointed to a cadetship in the National Military academy at West Point. He graduated in 1853 and was assigned to the First regiment of infantry, with the rank of brevet second lieutenant. He was sent immediately to his regiment, which was stationed at Fort Duncan, Texas. In 1855 he was made a full second lieutenant and was transferred to the Fourth infantry, then on duty in Oregon. On his arrival in San Francisco he was placed in command of the escort of the expedition engaged in surveying the branch of the Pacific railroad designed to connect that city with the Columbia river. During the next six years he was engaged in various services against and among the Indians of that section, and learned much in practical warfare that was of service to him in after years.

When the Rebellion broke out, he was made a captain in the Thirteenth infantry and sent to service under Halleck, in Missouri. He was before long advanced to the post of acting chief-quartermaster and commissary, in the preparation of the army for a campaign in the southwestern portion of that state. He was soon after transferred from the regular to the volunteer service by being made, on May 25, 1862, colonel of the Second Michigan volunteer cavalry. He was now in a position where his ambition for active service could be fully gratified, and his course from thenceforward was brilliant and sure. "The war in the southwest," says one of his biographers, "in northern Mississippi and Alabama, after the battle of Shiloh, was to be pushed with spirit; and the cavalry, unhappily discredited at the beginning of the struggle, was to be, as the area widened, in constant demand in protecting outposts, cutting the enemy's extended lines of communication, penetrating his vast territory in destructive raids and bearing its full proportion of military duty in concert with the armies in the field. In all these services Sheridan was conspicuous." He took active part in the pursuit of the rebels from Corinth from May 30 to June 10, and in the engagement at Booneville on July 1. For his services therein he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers. While in command of the Eleventh division of the Army of the Ohio, he led the advance into Kentucky, was in the battle of Perryville on October 8, and took part in the subsequent march to the relief of Nashville.

General Sheridan was next assigned to the Army of the Cumberland,

where his division was in the campaign of Tennessee from November, 1862, to September, 1863; and for his gallant part in the battle of Murfreesboro, he was made a major-general of volunteers. His further career during the war has been thus summarized: "He captured a train and prisoners at Eagleville in March; crossed the Cumberland mountains and Tennessee river in August; took part in the battle of Chickamauga September 19–20, and in the operations about Chattanooga, including the battle of Missionary Ridge, November 23–25; and was subsequently engaged in east Tennessee till March, 1864. From April 4 to August 3 he was in command of the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac, and with his ten thousand men was actively employed in operations in the Wilderness and between it and Richmond, May, June and July. While mainly employed in reconnoitering and in protecting the flank of the army, his corps made several vigorous raids, cutting off railway connections and capturing or destroying stores; was more than twenty times engaged with the Confederate cavalry, and took an important part in the actions in and about Cold Harbor. On August 4 he was appointed to the command of the Army of the Shenandoah, and on the seventh to that of the Middle Military division. He defeated Early on the Opequan, September 19, for which he was made brigadier-general in the United States army; at Fisher's Hill, September 22, and at Cedar Creek October 19, where he turned a rout into a brilliant victory, for which he received the thanks of congress. On November 8 he was made major-general. From February 27 to March 24, 1865, he was engaged in the raid from Winchester to Petersburg, during which he destroyed the James river and Kanawha canal, cut important railway connections, destroyed military and commissary stores and had numerous skirmishes with the enemy. From March 25 to April 9 he was in the Richmond campaign. On April 1 he gained the battle of Five Forks, which insured the abandonment by the Confederates of Petersburg and Richmond, and he led in the pursuit of Lee and was present at his capitulation, April 9."

Long ere this Sheridan was recognized as one of the great generals of the war, and was one of the leaders most admired and trusted all through the army and the north. He had won a high place in the regard of Grant, who in later years paid him this generous mark of regard: "As a soldier, as a commander of troops, as a man capable of doing all that is possible with any number of men, there is no man living greater than Sheridan. He belongs to the very first rank of soldiers, not only of our country but of the world. I

rank Sheridan with Napoleon and Frederick and the great commanders of history. No man ever had such a faculty of finding out things as Sheridan, of knowing all about the enemy. He was always the best informed man in his command as to the enemy. Then he had that magnetic quality of swaying men, which I wish I had—a rare quality in a general. I don't think anyone can give Sheridan too high praise. When I made him lieutenant-general there was some criticism; why not Thomas or Meade? I have the utmost respect for these generals—no one more; but when the task of selection came, I could not put any man ahead of Sheridan."

On the conclusion of the war, Sheridan was appointed to the command of the Military Division of the Southwest, and afterwards of the Department of the Gulf, of the Fifth Military district, including Louisiana and Texas, and of the Department of the Missouri. On March 4, 1869, he was made lieutenant-general, on the promotion of Sherman to the generalship, and assigned to the command of the Division of the Missouri, including the Departments of Dakota, the Missouri, the Platte and of Texas, with headquarters at Chicago. Early in 1875 he was stationed for a time in Louisiana, because of political troubles that there threatened. On the retirement of Sherman, on November 1, 1883, because of age, the command of the United States army devolved upon Sheridan.

Early in the summer of 1888, General Sheridan was attacked with heart disease, and, although lingering for some weeks, with alternations of hope and fear in the hearts of the people, the sad and fatal ending surely came, and no aid of love or science could be of avail. In honorable recognition of his services, the grade of general of the army that had been held by Grant and Sherman was revived, and while upon his dying bed he was appointed thereto. Removed from his home in Washington to Nonquitt, Massachusetts, he revived for a time, but the new-born hope was soon dispelled, and he passed away on the evening of August 5. The grief of the people was intense, and all the honors possible were paid to his memory, as the remains of one of the gallant heroes of the war were carried back to Washington and laid away in Arlington, surrounded by the thousands who had died for the cause for which he fought.

GEORGE H. THOMAS.

GEORGE H. THOMAS, also one of the great generals of the war for the Union, was born in Southampton county, Virginia, on July 31, 1816. He was given an education in the best schools in his neighborhood, and at the age of nineteen commenced the study of law; but in 1836 an appointment to West Point changed the nature of his whole career. He maintained a good standing, and in 1840

graduated twelfth in the class of forty-five. Appointed brevet second lieutenant in the Third artillery, he joined it in Florida and for some time was engaged in operations against the Indians. Gallant conduct there advanced him to the first lieutenancy. His regiment was ordered to Mexico on the breaking out of the war, and landed at Corpus Christi in July, 1845. He saw service at Resaca de la Palma and Monterey, and for gallant conduct at Buena Vista was breveted major. He was a part of Taylor's army until the end of the war. In the fall of 1849 he was again ordered to Florida, where he passed a year in Indian warfare. In 1851 he was assigned to duty as instructor of artillery and cavalry at West Point, and after three years there was ordered to Lower California, with the rank of captain. He was engaged in various services in the west, until in April, 1861, he was ordered to Carlisle barracks, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of reorganizing his regiment, which was among the number Twiggs had surrendered to the rebels. On the reorganization of the army, he was appointed to the colonelcy of the Fifth regular cavalry; was next assigned to a brigade under Patterson in northern Virginia; and in August was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and ordered to report to General Anderson, then in command of the Department of the Cumberland.

He was placed in command of a division of the Army of the Ohio, and took an active part in the operations of Tennessee and Mississippi. Made a major-general of volunteers on April 25, 1862, he was engaged in the operations in Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky. During Rosecrans' campaign in Tennessee and Georgia, he was in command of a corps of the Army of the Cumberland and bore an important part in the battle of Murfreesboro. But it was at Chickamauga that he won his greatest fame, and that conferred upon him the popular title of "the Rock of Chickamauga," by which he passed into popular history. By his courage, coolness and indomitable will, he saved the fortunes of that day and added one of the grandest victories to the achievements of the Union army.

In October of that year he was placed in command of the Army and Department of the Cumberland, and promoted to a brigadiership in the regular army. At the battle of Chattanooga and at Missionary Ridge he was enabled to do most effective service, and during Sherman's Atlanta campaign, his army, comprising three corps and three cavalry divisions, was constantly engaged. In October, 1864, Thomas was ordered to Nashville, to concentrate the forces in Tennessee against Hood, whom he finally routed before Nashville in the

middle of December. For these operations he was made a major-general in the regular army, and on March 3, 1865, received the official thanks of congress, while on the first anniversary of the battle of Nashville, a gold medal was presented him by the state of Tennessee.

From June, 1865, to March, 1867, General Thomas was in command of the Military Division of the Tennessee, with headquarters at Nashville and Louisville, and was subsequently assigned to the command of the Third Military district, comprising Georgia, Florida and Alabama, and afterwards to that of the Cumberland. In 1868 the brevet title of lieutenant-general was offered him, but he modestly declined it on the ground that since the war he had done nothing to entitle him to such distinction. He was placed in command of the Fourth Military division, comprising the territory of the Pacific coast, including Alaska. It was while in the discharge of the duties of this position that he suddenly died, at San Francisco, on March 28, 1870.

HENRY W. HALLECK.

HENRY W. HALLECK, a soldier of the United States army, who at one time held chief command of the Union forces, was born at Waterville, New York, on January 15, 1815. After an academic course, he remained for a time at Union college, and was then appointed to West Point, where he occupied a distinguished position, graduating in 1839, the third in a class of thirty-one. He received the appointment of second-lieutenant in the Engineer corps, and during the ensuing year remained as assistant professor of engineering at the academy. From 1840 to 1844 he was a member of the board of engineers at Washington, and for the two years succeeding was engaged as assistant engineer on the fortifications in New York harbor. He was, meanwhile, a close student of all matters connected with his profession, and wrote several engineering articles that attracted attention. In 1844 he paid a visit to Europe, where he added to his military knowledge at every opportunity within his command. In 1845 he was promoted to a first lieutenancy of engineers, and on the opening of the Mexican war was ordered to California. He arrived at Monterey in January, 1847, where he was at once employed in erecting defenses for that harbor, and at other points along the coast. General Kearney was then in command of

that region, and recognizing in Halleck a man of superior force and culture, appointed him secretary of state in the mixed civil and military government that then prevailed—a position which he continued to hold until the close of 1849. While engaged in this duty and that of engineer, he was also engaged in many of the naval and military operations of that season, and for gallantry in action was breveted captain. Of his other operations in the west his biographer has said: "The civil duties which he had performed in connection with the military conquest of California naturally caused Captain Halleck to be invited, when the war was ended, to a prominent part in the organization of the new state. He became a member in 1849 of the convention called to form a state constitution, the draft of which was entrusted to his hands, and the instrument mainly prepared by him. From 1850 to 1854 he was light-house inspector and engineer, and member of the board of engineers for fortifications on the Pacific. In August of the latter year, 'finding the routine of military duty in time of peace insufficient to employ his active mind, promotion slow and pay entirely inadequate to his support,' he resigned his commission to engage in the pursuits of civil life in California, for which education and habits of mind peculiarly qualified him. He was in 1855 president of the Pacific & Atlantic railroad from San Jose, and soon became known as a lawyer, in which profession he was actively employed, his acquaintance with the peculiarities of Spanish and Mexican law causing him to be much consulted. In 1859 he published a 'Collection of Mining Laws of Spain and Mexico,' and was at the same time engaged in the preparation of an elaborate work on the law of nations, to supply a want suggested by his California experience."

On the outbreak of the war, Captain Halleck was one of the first to offer his services to the cause of the north, and was appointed a major-general in the regular army. He was soon after placed in command of the Military Department of the West, his headquarters being at St. Louis. He directed the military operations in the west and took the command in the field during the Corinth campaign in the spring and early summer of 1862. In July of the same year he was ordered to Washington, where he was appointed general-in-chief of all the armies of the United States, succeeding McClellan, as he had in turn succeeded the veteran Scott. He held this position until March 12, 1864, and to follow his official course during that time would be to go over the history of the war, as already told. When Grant was made lieutenant-general, Halleck received the appointment of chief-of-staff to the army, which he held

until April, 1865, when he was placed in command of the Military Division of the James, with headquarters at Richmond. In the summer of 1866 he was transferred to the Division of the Pacific, and in March, 1869, to that of the south, with headquarters at Louisville. It was in that city that he died on January 9, 1872.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN, who succeeded General Scott as commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and upon whom so many hopes of the people were centered during the early days of the war, was born in Philadelphia on December 3, 1826, the son of a celebrated surgeon of Jefferson Medical college. After receiving a preliminary education at home, he attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained for two years. He there proved a good student, and developing a taste for military life was appointed to West Point, which he entered in June, 1842. He was graduated second in the class of 1846. The Mexican war at this time offered an opportunity for active service, and Second Lieutenant McClellan was assigned to active duty with a company of sappers and miners. He participated as engineer in the siege of Vera Cruz, and saw fire at Cerro Gordo, Puebla, Contreras, Churubusco and at the final assault on the City of Mexico. On his return, in 1848, he was breveted first lieutenant for gallant conduct at Contreras, and captain for his meritorious services at the City of Mexico. For the next three years McClellan was stationed at West Point and devoted his leisure hours to the study of engineering as applied to war. He prepared for the use of the army a manual of bayonet exercise. In 1851 he was engaged on the works at Fort Delaware, and afterward in making one of the surveys of the Pacific railroad. In the spring of 1853 he was appointed captain of the First cavalry and made one of a military commission sent by the government to study and report upon the conduct of the Crimean war and the military systems of Europe. His report was afterward published under the title of "The Armies of Europe." In 1857 McClellan tired of army life and resigned his commission. He was at once appointed chief-engineer of the Illinois Central railroad, and in a few weeks was made vice-president of the road. He removed to Chicago, and here he was made captain of

the Chicago Light Guards. In 1860 he accepted the presidency of the Ohio & Missouri railroad and was holding this position when the War of the Rebellion broke out, which was destined to make him, for a time, the most conspicuous person in the entire Nation.

When Ohio was preparing to do her share in the great duty of the hour, Governor Dennison called on McClellan to take command of a division of Ohio volunteers. He accepted and was appointed a major-general of volunteers, and on May 10, 1861, when Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were constituted a department by the government, General McClellan was placed in command. Four days later he was commissioned major-general in the regular army and directed to disperse the Confederate force which was threatening to overrun West Virginia. This work he successfully executed, defeating the rebels at Rich mountain on July 11, and on the following day, by a forced march upon the rebel camp, compelling General Pegram's surrender near Beverly. For this service he was publicly thanked by congress, and President Lincoln, after the disastrous defeat of the Union forces at Bull Run on July 21, summoned him to Washington and gave him the command of the Division of the Potomac, placing him in charge of the headquarters in Washington. His promotion was rapid at this time, being advanced to the command of the Department of the Potomac on August 17 and of the entire Army of the Potomac on August 20. Upon the retirement of the venerable General Scott on October 31, General McClellan was appointed general-in-chief of the armies of the United States.

"At this time," says the biographer, "General McClellan was exceedingly popular, and his appointment was received as an earnest that the terrible disaster at Bull Run would be retrieved and that the Rebellion would be promptly put down. His performances, however, did not justify the hopes of his friends, and the dash and vigor that had characterized him in his campaign in West Virginia seems to have left him altogether when placed in a position where it could be used to tremendous advantage. He exhibited an excessive caution, which cramped all his better energies and practically disabled him for aggressive warfare. The record of his command of the army was one of indecision, procrastination and inaction. Instead of making an effort to move his grand army and strike the enemy while it was weak, he passed his time in preparing plans for offensive and defensive operations, and in debating with the war department about the orders which it was his duty simply to obey. He claimed that he needed time for organization before moving, and finally, after nearly three months had been passed

in inactivity, during which the enemy had been concentrating its forces, the President ordered him to abandon the plans which he had wasted so much time in formulating on engineering principles and to make a general advance against the rebels on February 22, 1862. This order was issued on January 27, so that McClellan had more than three weeks for preparation; but he was not ready at the time specified, and on March 11 President Lincoln, disgusted with the delay, removed him from the command of all departments except that of the Potomac."

Ready to move at last, on March 17 he embarked with his army of one hundred and thirty-five thousand men for the peninsula. His forces, after delay because of bad roads, found themselves in front of Yorktown, which the Confederates evacuated on the nights of May 3 and 4. On the day following, Williamsburg was taken, and on May 27 the Union forces were within seven miles of Richmond. Halting here for reinforcements, he was harassed by the rebels and was forced to change from an offensive to a defensive position and finally began a retreat with the enemy in pursuit, during which the Seven Days battles were fought, ending with the engagement at Malvern Hill. The Union army reached the James river without being cut to pieces, and Lincoln at once appointed Halleck commander-in-chief.

General McClellan was left for a time in command of the defense of Washington, and afterwards personally conducted the Maryland campaign in command of the Army of the Potomac. The Confederates had under taken theinvasion of Maryland, and McClellan was sent to prevent the success of the movement. The rebels were defeated in the battles of South Mountain, September 14, and of Antietam, September 17, and after this last engagement they fell back across the Potomac and proceeded leisurely on their way to the Rapidan. Instead of vigorously pushing on after them, as the whole north expected him to do, General McClellan's indecision of character and caution again got the better of him, and the fruits naturally expected from the battle of Antietam were lost. A great cry for the removal of McClellan from his command went up from all over the loyal states, and charges that he was in sympathy with the rebels and anxious to see the war ended by a compromise were freely made. The result was that Lincoln, after ordering him to attack the enemy on October 6—an order which he disobeyed on the ground of a lack of supplies and ammunition—relieved him of his command and appointed General Burnside to succeed him. McClellan was ordered to Trenton, New Jersey, to

await orders, and his career as an actor in the war closed forever, as he never again received orders to return to the field.

The attacks made upon McClellan because of his course in the field brought him a strong defense from those who believed in his genius and patriotism; and this feeling took shape in 1864, while he was still waiting for orders, in his selection by the Democratic National convention of that year, as its nominee for the Presidency. He accepted and immediately resigned his commission. The result was the election of Lincoln by a popular vote of 2,223,035 against 1,811,754 for McClellan, and an electoral vote of 212 against 21, the latter votes being cast by New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky. In July, 1870, McClellan was appointed engineer-in-chief of the dock department of New York, a position which he held for two years, during which he devised for that city an excellent system of stone docks. Having made his home in New Jersey, he was nominated by the Democrats of that state as their candidate for governor and elected, serving three years, until January 1, 1881. Since then he held no public position, although offered the Russian mission by President Cleveland, which he declined. He died at his residence at Orange Mountain, New Jersey, on October 29, 1885.

JOSEPH HOOKER.

JOSEPH HOOKER was born at Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1815. He entered West Point at the age of fourteen, and upon graduation was made a second lieutenant in the First artillery He was advanced to a first lieutenancy in the following year, and held the rank of adjutant at the Military academy, and in various minor military duties from 1841 to 1846. Ordered to Mexico, he was breveted captain for gallantry at Monterey in September, 1846, and in the following March was appointed assistant adjutant-general. In 1847 he was breveted major for meritorious conduct at the National bridge, and for his services at Chapultepec was breveted lieutenant-colonel. In 1848 he reached the full rank of captain of his regiment, and, relinquishing his rank in the line, was appointed assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of captain, where he remained until 1853. Being then stationed in California, he retired from the service and purchased a large tract of land on San Francisco bay,

where he quietly pursued the life of a farmer until the outbreak of the Rebellion. Hastening to the east, he tendered his sword to his country's use, and on March 17, 1861, was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers. He was employed in the neighborhood of Washington until March, 1862, when he was placed in command of a division of the Potomac. On May 5 of the same year he was made major-general of volunteers, and took an active part in McClellan's peninsular campaign, especially at the battles of Williamsburgh, Fair Oaks, Frazier's Farm and Malvern Hill, and in the subsequent campaign at Bristor Station, the second battle of Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain and Antietam. In the engagement last named he was wounded. Promoted to a brigadier-generalship of the regular army on September 20, he commanded a grand division under Burnside at the battle of Fredericksburg. He succeeded Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac on January 26, 1863, and in the beginning of May fought the battle of Chancellorsville. He resigned his command on June 27, because General Halleck would not consent to the evacuation of Harper's Ferry and the placing of the ten thousand men there located under Hooker's orders, for a demonstration on the rear of Lee, who was then making his memorable invasion of Pennsylvania. He was succeeded by Meade and the battle of Gettysburg followed.

In September of the same year General Hooker was placed in command of the Twelfth and Thirteenth army corps, which were concentrated about Chattanooga. He took a leading part in the memorable battles there fought in November, commanding in the battle of Lookout Mountain, where he not only won fame and applause, but for which he received the brevet of major-general. He was also prominent and useful in the operations about Atlanta. In August, 1864, he resigned the command of the Army of the Cumberland, because of a question of rank. In September of that year he was placed in command of the Northern department, in 1865 of that of the east and in 1866 of that of the lakes. He was mustered out of the volunteer service on September 1, 1866, and on October 15, 1868, was made brevet major-general of the regular army and retired from the service. He died suddenly at Garden City, Long Island, on October 31, 1879.

HENRY WILSON.

HENRY WILSON, the eighteenth vice-president of the United States, and a statesman who became famous because of his earnest opposition to slavery, was born in Farmington, New Hampshire, on February 16, 1812. His name was originally Jeremiah Jones Colbath, but having more sense than his sponsors seem to have possessed, he obtained legislative sanction for a change when he was seventeen years of age. At an early age he was apprenticed to a farmer, where he remained for eleven years, in which time he received less than a year's schooling. But he was a persistent and careful reader, and endless books passed through his hands. Upon obtaining his legal freedom, he went to Natick, Massachusetts, where he worked for two years at shoemaking. He spent some time in several academies, but was unable to continue his education because of the failure of the person to whom his small savings had been entrusted. He then went back to the last, and there remained until his ability was recognized by those about him and he was made a member of the state legislature. He served three terms from Natick in the lower house and two as the representative of Middlesex county in the state senate.

In this capacity Mr. Wilson made his mark as an opponent of slavery. Acting with the Whigs, he was a delegate to the National convention of 1848, and when that body rejected a series of proposed anti-slavery resolutions, he withdrew from it and took part in the organization of the Free-soil party. About that time he became proprietor of the Boston *Republican*, which he edited for two years. In 1850 and 1851 he again served as a state senator, during which time and afterwards he was active in advancing the Free-soil movement, serving for four years as chairman of the party's state committee, president of its National convention at Pittsburgh in 1852, and also of the National committee, and becoming a candidate for congress upon its platform and suffering defeat by less than a hundred votes. In 1853 he served in the Massachusetts Constitutional convention and was a candidate for governor, but was defeated.

His day finally came, in 1855, when the legislature of Massachusetts sent him to the United States senate, where he found an opportunity to make his sentiments effective by his vote and an audience of the whole American people, to whom his arguments could be addressed. It was not long before he was heard in the delivery of a speech in which he advocated the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law and the abolition of slavery in the territories and the District of Columbia. He

was associated for a short period with the American, or Know-nothing party, but was compelled to abandon it, as he had the Whigs, upon its adoption of a pro-slavery platform. He assisted ably in the formation of the Republican party, to which he adhered during the remainder of his life.

Mr. Wilson's course in the senate was brilliant and consistent. He made a brave and scathing speech when his colleague, Mr. Sumner, was assaulted by Brooks; and spoke also on the Kansas question, the Treasury-note bill, the tariff and many others of pressing interest during the decade of 1850–60. One that he made in 1859 in defense of free labor created a great excitement and had an immense circulation all through the north. In the same year his course was endorsed by his constituents by a nearly unanimous vote for another senatorial term. Upon the breaking out of the war, Mr. Wilson's course was such as would be naturally indicated by what has gone before. In March, 1861, he was made chairman of one of the most important committees—that on military affairs—where he remained until the close of the war. It fell to his lot to be one of the great instruments by which the dream of his life was accomplished, and it was by his hand that bills were introduced to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, for abolishing the "black code," for enrolling colored men in the militia and for granting freedom to all who entered the military service of the United States and their families. No man in the north gave a more willing and patriotic service to the Union cause all through the war than did he.

Upon the conclusion of the war, Mr. Wilson took a prominent part in the reconstruction measures, advocating a generous treatment of the south and insisting upon the granting of all civil and political rights to the emancipated slaves. In 1865 he was elected to the senate for the third time, and in 1872 he was made the nominee of the Republican party for vice-president, upon the ticket with Grant, and elected. He made an excellent presiding officer over the body of which he was so long a member. In addition to his other labors, Mr. Wilson found time for the preparation of a number of literary works, among which may be mentioned his 'History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,' 'History of the Anti-Slavery Measures of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth United States Congresses' and 'History of the Reconstruction Measures of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses.' In 1873 the vice-president had a shock of apoplexy, from which he had nearly recovered when, in November of

1875, he was prostrated by a second. Upon receiving a third he died, upon the twenty-second of the month last named.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE was born at Liberty, Indiana, on May 23, 1824, the son of a well-known circuit judge of that part of the country. At the age of eighteen he received an appointment to West Point, from which he graduated in 1847. Appointed to the usual second lieutenacy in the Third artillery, stationed for a time at Newport, Rhode Island, he was ordered to New Mexico in 1849 as first lieutenant in Captain Bragg's famous battery. When that command was reorganized as cavalry, he saw active service against the Indians. In 1850 and 1851 he served as quartermaster in the Mexican boundary commission; was promoted to a first lieutenancy; resigned and went to Bristol, Rhode Island, and built a manufactory for a breech-loading rifle which he had invented. Disappointed in not receiving a government contract that Floyd, the secretary of war, had promised him, the enterprise was a failure, and he retired from it at a great pecuniary loss. He removed to the west and became cashier in the land office of the Illinois Central railroad, and subsequently treasurer of the company. When the War of the Rebellion broke out, Governor Sprague of Rhode Island tendered him the command of a Rhode Island regiment of volunteers, which was accepted. Within four days after his arrival in Rhode Island he was on his way to the front to assist in the defense of the National capital. His gallant endeavors to prevent the battle of Bull Run from ending in disaster gained for him the special commendation of General McDowell and the appointment of brigadier of volunteers. During the remainder of that summer he was employed under General McClellan, with whom a warm personal friendship existed, in organizing the Army of the Potomac. In the middle of January of the year following—1862—he was despatched upon the celebrated "Burnside expedition" which so greatly encouraged the north and added to his renown. With a force that consisted of sixteen thousand men, with a large naval force under Goldsborough, he set sail from Fortress Monroe with the object of capturing the enemy's forces on Roanoke island and gaining control of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. The battle of Roanoke island was

fought on the eighth of February and the enemy was utterly routed. This success was followed by an attack upon Newburn, which was carried on the fourteenth of March, and in the following month he succeeded in reducing Fort Macon. For these gallant services General Burnside was made a major-general of volunteers, while the legislature of Rhode Island voted him a sword.

Only the briefest outline of the remainder of General Burnside's military record can be given. Recalled at the close of the Peninsula campaign, he was sent to Fredericksburg, where he remained until after the defeat of Pope in the second battle of Bull Run. When the rebels invaded Maryland, he was placed under McClellan, and gained the battle of South Mountain on September 14, 1862; commanded the left wing at Antietam, and afterward one of the three corps into which the Northern army was divided. On November 7 he superseded McClellan in the command of the Army of the Potomac; moved to Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock with the purpose of crossing the river at that point and moving upon Richmond, but ere he could cross, Lee had taken possession of the heights on the opposite bank. Burnside crossed and his repeated attempts to force the Confederate lines were all repulsed. Because of criticisms of his course by officers high in command, Burnside asked for their removal, in default of which his resignation was tendered. It was accepted, and he was succeeded by Hooker on January 26, 1863. In the May following he was given charge of the Department of the Ohio, where he succeeded in freeing east Tennessee of the Confederates, for which service he received the thanks of congress. He was relieved of command in the west and in January, 1864, again placed in command of the Ninth corps, which followed Grant across the Rapidan on May 5 and took part in the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania and the North Anna. The corps was then attached to the Army of the Potomac and bore a prominent part in all the stirring scenes that followed, down to the siege of Petersburg. In the early part of that siege, Burnside's lines were close to those of the enemy and opposite a strong redoubt which formed an important part of the Confederate defense. Burnside undertook to blow this up by running a mine under it, and the explosion occurred on June 30; but because the general assault that was to follow was not made, the affair proved a total failure. General Burnside tendered his resignation, which Lincoln refused to accept, but he was granted a leave of absence. Not being again called into active service, he resigned on April 15, 1865.

In 1866 General Burnside was elected governor of Rhode Island and



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reëlected in the two following years. In 1870 he paid a visit to Europe, and on his return was elected to the United States senate and was reëlected. He had entered upon his second term when he died at Bristol, Rhode Island, on September 12, 1881.

GEORGE G. MEADE.

GEORGE GORDON MEADE, the son of a Philadelphia merchant who was employed at the beginning of the present century as United States consul and navy agent at Cadiz, Spain, was born at that place on December 30, 1815. His parents returning to America while he was a boy, he was placed at a school near Washington, then presided over by Salmon P. Chase, from whence he was sent to a military academy near Philadelphia. In 1831 he was appointed to West Point, from which he graduated in 1835. Assigned as second lieutenant in the Third artillery, he was sent to Florida, where he remained until the next year, in which time he was made a lieutenant. He then resigned his position in the army, with the purpose of pursuing the profession of a civil engineer. He was engaged in this occupation until 1842, when he reëntered the army as second lieutenant in the corps of topographical engineers. In the Mexican war he was employed on the staff of General Taylor, and was engaged in several of the brilliant and successful operations of that chief, earning a brevet rank of first lieutenant. On the conclusion of that war, he was employed in engineering duties on the coast and also for a short time in Florida. In 1851 he was made a full lieutenant, and in 1856 promoted to a captaincy in the Engineer corps. When the War of the Rebellion opened, he was engaged at Detroit in the National survey of the great lakes. On the thirty-first of August, 1861, he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and commenced active service in command of the Second brigade of McCall's Division of the Pennsylvania Reserve corps. He took part in the action of Dranesville, Virginia, on December 30; at Mechanicsville on June 26 of '62; at Cold Harbor on the day following, and at Frazier's Farm on the thirtieth, where he was severely wounded, a ball striking his arm and another entering the hip bone and passing around his body. He was taken to his home in Philadelphia, where he so rapidly recovered that by the middle of August he rejoined the army on the James; and in the movement

of the army to the north he was attached to the command of General McDowell, in the Army of Virginia, under General Pope. In the final operations of General Pope's campaign, General Meade commanded a brigade of General Reynolds' division, and was actively engaged in the arduous movements of the march to Washington. In the campaign of McClellan in Maryland, which followed on the invasion of that state by General Lee, General Meade, with the Pennsylvania Reserves, was attached to the corps of General Hooker and bore a distinguished part in the action at South Mountain; and again in the battle of Antietam, in which he commanded the Division of Reserves and had two horses shot under him in the engagement. On the return of the army to Virginia, he was, at the solicitation of General Hooker, appointed major-general of volunteers. He took part with his old division in the battle of Fredericksburg in December, and at the close of the month was appointed to the command of the Fifth army corps. In the movement of General Hooker upon Lee's army in May, which resulted in the battle of Chancellorsville, Meade's corps was employed in the right wing, was actively engaged in the advance, and on the retreat covered the passage of Rappahannock.

In June, 1863, General Meade was selected to succeed Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac; and on July 1–3 he fought and won the great battle of Gettysburg that checked the advance of Lee into the north and so inspired and aided the northern cause. This battle has been well called "the central point of the war," and although Meade was criticised by many for not following Lee and destroying him, a sufficient answer thereto can be found in the statement of Grant, who said long after the war: "If Meade made any mistake, if he did not satisfy the wishes of the country, who hoped for Lee's destruction, he made a mistake which anyone would have made under the circumstances. He was new to the chief command. He did not know how the army felt toward him, and having rolled back the tide of invasion, he felt that any further movement would be a risk." For his eminent services on this bloody field he was made a brigadier-general in the regular army.

During the fall of that year Meade participated in several minor actions in Virginia, and from May 4, 1864, to April 9, 1865, was under Grant, in the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac, from the battle in the Wilderness to the capture of Petersburg and the surrender of Lee. On August 18, 1864, he was made a major-general in the regular service. During the great events of those closing months the direction and supervision of the entire series of operations

were left to him, and never were his services more conspicuous than towards the end. In recommending the promotion last referred to above, Grant said: "General Meade is one of our truest men and ablest officers. He has been constantly with that army, confronting the strongest, best appointed and most confident army in the south. He therefore has not had the same opportunity of winning laurels so distinctly marked as has fallen to the lot of other generals; but I defy any man to name a commander who would do more than he has done with the same chances. Commanding all the armies as I did, I tried as far as possible to leave General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him and were general in their nature, leaving all the details and execution to him. The campaigns that followed proved him to be the right man in the right place. His commanding—always in the presence of an officer of superior rank—has drawn from him much of that public attention which his zeal and ability entitled him to and which he would otherwise have received." Yet another mark of appreciation came when congress, on January 28, 1866, extended him a vote of thanks "for the skill and heroic valor with which, at Gettysburg, he repulsed, defeated and drove back, broken and dispirited, beyond the Rappahannock, the veteran army of the Rebellion."

From July 1, 1865, to August 6, 1866, General Meade was in command of the Division of the Atlantic; from the date last named until in 1867 that of the east; and subsequently of the Third Military district, comprising Georgia, Florida and Alabama, with headquarters at Philadelphia. He died at his home in the city last named on November 6, 1872.

ANDREW HULL FOOTE.

ANDREW H. FOOTE, one of the naval heroes of the Rebellion, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on September 12, 1806. He entered the naval service of the United States in 1822 as midshipman, and was made a lieutenant in 1830. In 1833 he was flag lieutenant of the Mediterranean squadron, and in 1838 sailed around the globe as first lieutenant of the war sloop *John Adams*, during which time he took part in a spirited attack on the pirates of Sumatra. In 1849 he was placed in command of the brig *Perry* and was dispatched to the

squadron on the African coast, where he aided during the two and a half years that followed in suppressing the slave-trade. He served for a time on the Naval Retiring board, and in 1856 was appointed to the command of the sloop *Portsmouth* and ordered to the China station. He there showed great energy in protecting American citizens in the war then raging between the English and Chinese; and when he was fired upon from behind the Canton barrier forts, he demanded an apology. When it was refused he attacked the four forts and by quick and brilliant work dismantled and captured the four, although they were massive granite structures, with one hundred and seventy-six guns and five thousand men, while his attacking force consisted of only two hundred and eighty soldiers and marines.

When the war broke out in 1861, Foote was executive officer of the Brooklyn navy yard. In July he was commissioned a captain and in September was appointed flag officer of the flotilla fitting out for service in the western waters. On the fourth of February, 1862, he sailed from Cairo, on the Ohio, with a fleet of seven gunboats, for the attack of Fort Henry, on the Tennessee. "With his customary energy," says his biographer, "he entered upon this new career, hastening the work of preparation of the flotilla, which he brought nobly into action in the successful attack upon Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, on the sixth of February, 1862. Taking the lead in the flag-ship *Cincinnati*, followed by the *Essex* and other gunboats of the squadron, the fort on the river-bank was attacked at short range, and after a severe and closely contested action of one hour and fifteen minutes, was compelled to surrender to the navy alone, the coöperating land forces not being in time for the conflict. Returning to Cairo to refit in haste for further operations, the next Sunday found Captain Foote in the pulpit of the Presbyterian church of that place, preaching an excellent sermon in the absence of the pastor and offering humble and hearty thanks for his victory."

At the attack upon Fort Donelson he also performed brilliant work. In that struggle he was wounded in the ankle, but still remained in active duty. He also aided in the siege and capture of Island Number Ten, in March and April; and when that island had fallen and the success of the naval operations on the Mississippi was assured, he was relieved from duty and allowed to return home to recover from his wound and repair his shattered health. He had, meanwhile, for his gallantry in these operations, been given the rank of rear-admiral. When partially recovered, he was employed as chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, and in June, 1863, was appointed to the

command of the South Atlantic Blockading squadron, and was on his way to that duty when he was taken ill in New York city, where he died at the Astor house on June 26, 1863. The feeling of the Nation over his loss was well expressed by the secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles, who said: "Among the noble and honored dead, whose names have added lustre to our naval renown and must ever adorn our National annals, few will stand more prominent than that of the gallant and self-sacrificing Christian sailor and gentleman whose loss we now deplore."

NATHANIEL LYON.

NATHANIEL LYON, one of the early martyrs of the Rebellion, was born at Ashford, Connecticut, on July 14, 1818. After a preliminary course at an academy in Brooklyn, of his native state, the bent of his nature was gratified by an appointment to West Point, from which he graduated in 1841. Taking the customary grade in the Second regiment of infantry, he was sent to Florida—in which the long-drawn war was then coming to a close—where his company was distinguished by its activity in the military operations of 1842. In 1846 his company was sent to join Taylor on the Rio Grande and afterwards transferred to Scott. For signal services in this war he was breveted captain. Upon the conclusion of the war he was sent to California, where he was employed for several years in operations against the Indians. He passed a portion of the spring and winter of 1854 at Washington, and was afterwards again sent to the west in service against the Indians. On the inauguration of Lincoln he was placed in charge of the arsenal at St. Louis, where, we are told by his biographer, his forethought and capacity "determined the political fortunes of the state. The governor and a large party of wealthy, influential citizens were ready and anxious to side with the south in the rebellion inaugurated in South Carolina. Under the pretense of armed neutrality, though a convention which had been called had pronounced in favor of the Union, it was the effort of Governor Jackson and the legislature to hold the power of the state in their hands under influences adverse to the National government. To resist this and to keep Missouri loyal to the Union was the work of Captain Lyon, to which he devoted every energy. With a handful of men at the arsenal,

he baffled the efforts of a mob of insurgents who beset the place, and secured the removal of large quantities of arms stored there to Illinois. A few days after this incident, on the thirtieth of April, he was formally authorized by President Lincoln to enroll a force of ten thousand citizens of the state and, if necessary for the preservation of the peace and the authority of the United States, proclaim martial law."

Soon after this Lyon effectually broke up a camp of rebels established by C. F. Jackson, the governor of the state. When the latter assembled a force at Boonesville he was routed, on June 17, by Lyon, who had now become a brigadier-general of volunteers. On August 2 he defeated a body of Confederates near Springfield, which was followed by the battle of Wilson's Creek. In this fierce fight against superior forces he bore himself with marked gallantry, and after receiving two wounds, fell mortally pierced by the third—on August 10, 1861. One of the first martyrs of the cause, his death profoundly moved the north and served as a new incentive to the support of the flag. The remains were carried reverently back to the east amid a sorrowing people. "Through St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York and Hartford to his last resting-place amidst the home scenery of his youth at Eastford, where, in front of the village church, in the presence of the governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island and others in authority, and a congregation of faithful mourners, an oration by the Honorable Galusha A. Grow, the speaker of the National house of representatives, was delivered and the last services performed. Certainly among the heroes of three wars whose lives are recorded in these pages, no purer or more devoted patriot has challenged our attention than Nathaniel Lyon."

As if the offering of his life was not enough to prove his devotion to the cause, General Lyon bequeathed his fortune, some thirty thousand dollars, to the government, to aid in the carrying on of the war.

GIDEON WELLES.

GIDEON WELLES, the secretary of the navy during the entire War of the Rebellion, was born at Glastonbury, Connecticut, on July 1, 1802. When reaching the proper age he pursued the study of law, but left that avocation and became editor and part proprietor

of the Hartford *Times*. He retained the responsible editorship thereof until 1836. In 1827 he was elected to the state legislature, where he remained until 1835, when he became comptroller of state by an appointment from the legislature. He filled the office of postmaster of Hartford for a time, and was returned to the state comptrollership in 1842. In 1846 he was appointed by President Polk chief of a bureau in the Navy department, where he remained three years. He was a member of the Republican party from its beginning, and in 1856 was its candidate for governor of Connecticut, but was defeated. When Lincoln was looking about for someone who could properly be trusted with the great responsibilities of the Navy department during the troublesome times ahead, his choice fell upon Mr. Welles, and the faithfulness and ability with which the duties therein were discharged during his long incumbency showed that the selection was wisely made. He remained in the Navy department not only during Lincoln's incumbency of the Presidential office but to the close of Johnson's term in 1869. Some of his leading labors, outside of this great work in the navy, may be thus briefly summarized: While in the Connecticut legislature he strove to expunge from the statute book the last remnants of those puritan laws which had given his state a peculiar reputation; was instrumental in obtaining the abolishment of imprisonment for debt; opposed special and private legislation, and effected the organization of banking and other business interests in his state under general laws. The end of Mr. Welles' busy and useful life came at Hartford, Connecticut, on February 11, 1878.

DAVID G. FARRAGUT.

DAVID G. FARRAGUT, also one of the naval heroes of the Slaveholders' Rebellion, was born at Campbell's Station, near Knoxville, Tennessee, on July 5, 1801. His father was at that time a major in the United States army, and amid the stirring scenes in which his boyhood was passed—troubles with the Indians and the War of 1812—he early imbibed a desire for a military or naval life. His early formed wish was gratified when he was permitted to enter the navy at the age of eleven, his first service being on board the *Essex*. He

first saw active warfare in the engagement that resulted in the capture of the *Alert*, and again when the *Essex* was herself overcome in the bay of Valparaiso, on March 28, 1814. He also took part in the attack on pirates at Cape Cruz, Cuba, in 1823. His life from that date until the breaking out of the Rebellion was a busy and eventful one, and has been thus briefly summarized: For the next sixteen years we find him engaged in various services on board the *Brandywine*, *Vandalia* and other vessels on the coast of Brazil and on the receiving ship at the Norfolk navy yard. He was commissioned commander in 1841, and ordered to the sloop-of-war *Decatur*, in which he joined the Brazil squadron. Three years' leave of absence succeeded, when he was again on duty at Norfolk, and in 1847 was placed in command of the sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, of the home squadron. He was then for several years second in command at the Norfolk navy yard, and in 1851 was appointed assistant inspector of ordnance. He held this appointment for three years, when he was ordered, in 1854, to the command of the new navy yard established at Mare island, near San Francisco, California. In 1855 he was commissioned captain, remaining in charge of the navy yard on the Pacific till 1858, when he was ordered to the command of the sloop-of-war *Brooklyn*, of the home squadron, from which he was relieved in 1860. The opening of the Rebellion thus found him at home awaiting orders.

Farragut's residence was at Norfolk, and when the rebellious people about him were preparing to take Virginia out of the Union, he was regarded with suspicion and distrust, as one who could never be persuaded to fight against the old flag. Fearing detention, he made his preparations, and when the news came that Virginia had passed the Ordinance of Secession, he collected a few valuables, put his pistols in his pocket and with his family took a vessel for the north. Hastening to Washington, he remained nine months in inactivity, his first service being in command of the expedition for the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi river. Under date of January 20, 1862, he was ordered to the Gulf of Mexico. In March his flag-ship, the *Hartford*, entered the Mississippi, accompanied by the vessels of his squadron. The forts a little above the river mouth were bombarded, the fire being kept up day and night for nearly a week, but the enemy added to his defenses, and beyond the burning of the barracks at Fort Jackson, little destruction was done. On the night of April 24 Farragut signaled his squadron to get under way, and, delivering broadsides of grape as he sailed, ran past the forts under a tremendous and galling fire—an exploit of the grandest

daring, that filled the land with his fame. Once past these sentinel forts, he destroyed a rebel fleet consisting of twenty-four armed steamers, four iron-clad rams and a large number of fire-rafts. Two batteries were silenced three miles below the city, and on noon of the second day he anchored before New Orleans. The city surrendered, and the north hailed the event with acclaims of the greatest joy. The hero of that event was made rear-admiral for this deed.

Farragut next proceeded to the attack of Vicksburg, but from the lack of a coöperating land force, the expedition failed; but in the autumn following he captured Corpus Christi, Sabine Pass and Galveston. In March, 1863, he once more passed up the river to Vicksburg, but met so tremendous a fire that but two of his vessels succeeded in passing the batteries. "All the vessels of his squadron," says one account, "were terribly cut up, and the fire-frigate *Mississippi* was destroyed. With his flag-ship and her small consort he kept on to Vicksburg, and established communication with the upper Mississippi fleet and with the army under General Grant. By this exploit he obtained control of the river between Port Hudson and Vicksburg, established a blockade of the Red river, and thus intercepted the supplies from Texas destined for the Confederate armies. About the last of May he returned and engaged the batteries of Port Hudson, and from that time till July 9, when the garrison surrendered, efficiently coöperated with the army in its investment of the place."

In the summer following, Farragut proceeded to the attack of Mobile, and on the morning of August 5, 1864, passed Forts Morgan and Gaines, engaged and defeated the fleet of Confederate iron-clads, and won a victory in the surrender of Mobile only matched in importance by that of New Orleans itself. It was in this engagement that Farragut had himself "lashed to the mast," so that he could see and direct all the movements of the fight. In honor of this victory congress voted thanks and created in his express honor the grade of vice-admiral, to which he was appointed on December 21, 1864. On July 25, 1866, the same power created a still higher office—that of admiral—to which the old hero was appointed.

In 1867 Farragut sailed to Europe in the frigate *Franklin*, and took charge of the squadron there located. He remained abroad until 1868, and wherever he touched he was welcomed by people and authorities alike, as a hero worthy of all praise. While on a journey undertaken for the aid of his broken health, he died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on August 14, 1870.

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK, another of the heroes of the late war, was born in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, on February 14, 1824. After the usual school training he was appointed to West Point in 1840, from which he graduated in 1844, and was appointed lieutenant in the Sixth infantry. He served mainly on frontier duty, and, on the breaking out of the Mexican war, was engaged with his regiment in the march from Puebla to the capital, under the command of Worth. He early showed possession of those qualities that won him such renown in after life, being breveted first lieutenant for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco. He was present at the capture of the city of Mexico, and was employed in various military operations until the close of the war. He was next stationed in Missouri, where he remained for several years, and afterwards saw active service in Florida, on the staff of General Harney, whom he accompanied to Kansas on his projected Utah campaign. When that was abandoned, he was sent with the Sixth infantry, as quartermaster, to Bernicia, and he was there, in California, on duty, when the Rebellion called the north to arms. Recalled to the east, he was made chief quartermaster to General Anderson in Kentucky, but was soon appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and assigned to the Army of the Potomac, which McClellan was then organizing. In the campaign of the peninsula, he was conspicuous for gallantry at the battles of Williamsburgh and Frazier's Farm; and took an active part in the subsequent campaign in Maryland, at the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. When the operations of the army were once more transferred to Virginia, he was actively engaged with his division at the battle of Fredericksburg, having previously been appointed major-general of volunteers. He also performed gallant service at Chancellorsville. In June, 1863, he was appointed to the command of the Second corps, and in the battle of Gettysburg in July, was sent at the close of the first day's operation, on the death of General Reynolds, by General Meade, to represent him on the field. "On his arrival," writes his biographer, "he proceeded, in conjunction with General Howard, to post troops on the favorable position of Cemetery Ridge, and in the ensuing action was placed in command of the left centre. After rendering distinguished services during the decisive day of battle, the memorable third of July, he was, toward the close of the engagement, struck by a musket ball in the thigh; but, notwithstanding the severity of the wound, he continued

on the field, directing the operations of his command. Subsequently, on his recovery, he visited the north and addressed various popular meetings with appeals for new enlistments in his command, which were handsomely responded to with men and money, as it was not difficult to obtain recruits for a corps which, up to that time, had captured over forty flags and taken over twenty-five thousand men, but had never lost a color or a gun."

When Grant assumed chief command and the army was reorganized in March, 1864, Hancock retained command of the Second corps, one of the three consolidated corps into which the Army of the Potomac was then divided. In the great advance of May, Hancock's corps bore an important part in the battle of the Wilderness, and in the general action of the sixth day it took the leading part, driving the enemy in early morning and being forced back after severe and continuous fighting in the afternoon. On this day Hancock was slightly wounded. In the battle of the twelfth, Hancock, who had brought up his corps in the night, opened with a brilliant attack on the enemy's centre. "The morning dawned," writes the historian of that memorable occasion, "enveloped in an auspicious fog of great denseness. The orders were given in silence. The point of attack was a salient angle of earth-work, held by Johnston's division of Ewell's corps. Silently and unseen the corps moved upon the unsuspecting enemy. They passed over the rugged and densely-wooded space, the enthusiasm growing at every step, until, with a terrible charge and a storm of cheers, they reached the enemy's works, scaled them in front and flank, surprising the rebels at their breakfast, surrounding them and capturing Johnston's entire division, with its general, two brigades of other troops, with their commander, Brigadier-General George H. Stuart, and thirty guns. The number of prisoners taken was between three and four thousand. It was the most decided success yet achieved during the campaign. When Hancock heard that these generals were taken, he directed that they should be brought to him. Offering his hand to Johnston, that officer was so affected as to shed tears, declaring that he would have preferred death to captivity. He then extended his hand to Stuart, whom he had known before, saying, 'How are you, Stuart?' but the rebel, with great haughtiness, replied, 'I am General Stuart of the Confederate army, and under present circumstances I decline to take your hand.' Hancock's cool and deliberate reply was, 'And under any other circumstances, general, I should not have offered it.' Hancock's pencil dispatch to Grant, within an hour after the column of attack had been formed, was

in these words: 'I have captured from thirty to forty guns. I have finished up Johnston and am going into Early.'"

In the important movements that ensued Hancock was steadily engaged, taking the lead in the march by Bowling Green, holding the passage of the North Anna river. He was engaged at Cold Harbor on May 30 and in the early days of June, and was also busy in front of Petersburg. On June 19 his old wound so severely troubled him that he was compelled to retire on sick leave, but afterwards resumed his command and took part in several actions, until November 26, when he was called to Washington to organize the First corps of veterans. After the conclusion of a peace, he successively commanded the Middle department, in 1865-6; the Department of Missouri, 1866-7; of Louisiana and Texas, 1867-8; of Dakota, 1870-72; and in November, 1872, was given charge of the Department of the East, where he remained until his death.

General Hancock, in addition to those qualities of courage, judgment and loyalty that made him one of the greatest soldiers of the age, was possessed of great ability and strong mental powers, and even before the close of the war was spoken of in connection with the Presidential nomination by the Democratic party, to which he belonged. His course while in command at New Orleans at the close of the war added to this feeling; and in the Democratic National convention of 1868 he was formally proposed as such, receiving 33½ votes on the first ballot and 144½ on the eighteenth. In the National convention of 1880, at Cincinnati, a movement was set onward in his favor by the Louisiana delegation on the withdrawal of Mr. Tilden. On the first ballot he received the highest numbers of votes cast—171; on the second, 320; and finally, after the changes by states had set in in his favor, 705—within 31 of the entire strength of the convention. He conducted himself in a modest, manly way during the canvass, but was defeated, the electoral vote standing 214 for Garfield and 155 for Hancock. At the funeral of his illustrious competitor General Hancock was one of the most sincere of the mourners present, following the remains to Cleveland, and refusing a reception the Democrats of that city were disposed to tender him. He died at his home on Governor's Island, New York, on February 9, 1886, and was attended to the tomb with all the marks of honor that a great and noble soldier might command.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, one of the forces by which the Union cause was triumphant, and a man who has won fame in the legal arena and in politics as in war, was born at Deerfield, New Hampshire, on November 5, 1818. Dependent upon his own exertions for advancement in life, he early exhibited those indomitable qualities of will and courage with which the American public has become acquainted, and worked his own way to an education. He graduated from Waterville college, Maine, in 1838, after which he entered upon the study of the law in Lowell, Massachusetts. Admitted to the bar in 1841, he soon became known as an able and successful lawyer, especially in the criminal branches. A Democrat by instinct and tradition, he was early interested in the local politics of the day, and made his entry to public life by an election to the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature in 1853. In the same year he served in the Massachusetts Constitutional convention. In 1859 he was advanced to the state senate. The next year he took an important part in the memorable Democratic National convention that met at Charleston, where he endeavored to persuade the party to simply re-affirm the principles enunciated at Cincinnati in 1856. But other counsels, both from the Breckinridge and Douglas factions, prevailed against him, and his proposition was defeated by a vote of 105 to 198. When the northern wing of the same body met at Baltimore at a later date, Mr. Butler took part in the opening proceedings, and then announced that a majority of the Massachusetts delegates would not further participate in the deliberations of the convention, on the ground that there had been a withdrawal, in part, of the majority of the states. He also took occasion to declare that he also left upon the ground that he "would not sit in a convention where the African slave-trade, which is piracy to the laws of my country, is approvingly advocated." In the same year he was the Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts, but was defeated.

When the call came for troops to defend the flag in April, 1861, no one responded more eagerly than Benjamin F. Butler. He already held the commission of brigadier-general of militia, and under direction of Governor Andrew, proceeded immediately to the front. He was on his way with the Eighth regiment at Philadelphia when the advance of his command were fired upon in the streets of Baltimore. Quickly appreciating the situation, he hastened to Havre de Grace, seized the steam ferry-boat at that place and sailed with his troops down

the Chesapeake to Annapolis, where he arrived in time to occupy the town and rescue the old frigate *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides"—from the insurgents. An order to his regiment congratulated them on this patriotic service. "It was given," said he of the honored ship, "to Massachusetts and Essex county first to man her; it was reserved to Massachusetts to have the honor to retain her for the service of the Union and the laws. This is a sufficient triumph of right, a sufficient triumph for us."

General Butler was placed in command of the Department of Annapolis, including the city of Baltimore. In May he was transferred to the command of Fortress Monroe and the Department of western Virginia. He was one of the first to believe that a logical outcome of the war, and a sure way to punish and cripple the south, was the freedom of the slaves, and proceeded, whenever opportunity offered, to put that theory into practice. Whenever slaves came into his lines and their return was demanded by their masters, he refused, on the ground that they were "contrabands" of war—an appellation by which the ex-slaves became generally known.

In August of the year last named General Butler captured Forts Hatteras and Clark on the North Carolinian coast, and then returned to Massachusetts to recruit an expedition for the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. Proceeding south therewith, he took possession of New Orleans after it surrendered to Farragut, on May 1, and governed it with such vigor and purpose as terrorized the rebels and won him a wide reputation as an administrative officer of the first order, and a soldier who meant that the laws of his country should be observed. "Repressing disturbances and counteracting disloyalty," says the historian, "were but parts of General Butler's duty in New Orleans. He had the military safety of his department to provide for, which, with a moderate force, he made amply secure; and, most pressing of all, he had a starving population to support. No less than ten thousand families, numbering about thirty-four thousand persons, were fed each day by the bounty of a relief commission which he instituted. To provide the necessary outlay, he imposed fines upon wealthy citizens who had given their aid to the Rebellion. The intelligent and influential were thus made responsible for the suffering of the poor and ignorant. A thousand of the needy were kept constantly employed in improving the condition of the city, and so beneficial was this labor that a season that was expected to be one of unusual sickness proved to be one of extraordinary health."

In November General Butler was recalled from New Orleans, and

near the close of 1863 was placed in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. In December, 1864, he had charge of an expedition against Fort Fisher, North Carolina, that was not successful. He then returned to Massachusetts and took no further part in the war. He soon took an active part in politics in conjunction with the Republican party, and in 1866 was elected to congress. He took a leading place from the start, in connection with the reconstruction measures, and was one of the most vigorous of the managers appointed by the house of representatives to manage the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. In 1871 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for governor of Massachusetts, being, however, returned to the house in 1868 and 1870. In 1873 he was again candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, but failed to receive it. In 1877 he forsook the Republican party and turned to the Democratic, on the ground that he "had belonged to the Democratic party until it had attempted to destroy the Union, and to the Republican until it had deserted its founders—the laboring men." He went with the Greenback, or "soft money," branch of the party, and in 1878 and 1879 was the candidate for governor of his state, and both times defeated. He made the attempt once more in 1882, and was successful. In 1884 he was nominated by the Anti-Monopoly convention, held at Chicago on May 14, for President of the United States, and also by the National or Greenback convention, held at Indianapolis on May 28, but received no votes in the Electoral college.

SIMON CAMERON.

SIMON CAMERON, the well-known statesman and political leader, who so long represented Pennsylvania in the United States senate, was born in Lancaster county, that state, on March 8, 1799. He early learned the printer's trade, and at the age of twenty-one had so far advanced in education and experience as to take the editorship of a newspaper at Doylestown. Two years later, in 1822, he removed to Harrisburgh, the capital of the state, where he edited a Democratic journal and, as age and opportunity came, took part in the material prosperity of the place, becoming president of a bank, two railroad companies, etc. He had always taken an

active part in political affairs, and in 1845 made his entry on public life by an election to the United States senate, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James Buchanan. The term expired in 1849. Mr. Cameron, at that time, still acted with the Democratic party, and voted in favor of the declaration that war existed with Mexico, and in favor of the proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. Upon the repeal of that compromise, in 1854, he became a member of the newly forming Republican party, with which he ever thereafter acted. In 1857 he was again made a member of the senate. He had now become one of the great leaders of the party to which he belonged, and was often named in connection with the highest office in the land. In the National Republican convention of 1860 he was formally proposed for the nomination, and on the first ballot received 50½ votes. His name was then withdrawn and his friends threw their influence for Lincoln. When Lincoln was elected he tendered the secretaryship of war to Mr. Cameron and it was accepted. He remained a member of the cabinet until January 14, 1862, when he resigned. He was appointed minister to Russia, but returned in November of the same year. In 1866 Pennsylvania again sent him to the senate of the United States, and in 1872 he was given the important position of chairman of the committee on foreign relations, from which Mr. Sumner had been deposed. He was reëlected in 1873, but resigned in 1877, and was succeeded by his son, J. Donald Cameron.

W. S. ROSECRANS.

WILLIAM STARK ROSECRANS was born in Kingston, Delaware county, Ohio, on September 6, 1819. He labored upon a farm and served for a time in a store in his boyhood, and at the age of eighteen received an appointment to West Point, from which he graduated in 1842. He was made a second lieutenant of engineers, and was employed for several years at West Point as assistant professor of philosophy and engineering. From 1847 to 1852 he was charged with the oversight of the construction of harbor fortifications at Newport, Rhode Island, after which he was assigned to special duty as constructing engineer at the Washington navy yard. Because of failing health he was compelled to leave the service, and resigned in the spring of 1854. He then located in Cincinnati as an



W. S. Rosecrans

architect and consulting engineer. He afterward served as superintendent of a prominent coal company, and was also engaged in the refining of kerosene oil. On the breaking out of the Civil war he became aid-de-camp to McClellan, who then commanded the Department of the Ohio, but was soon made a brigadier in the regular army. He bore a prominent part in the Western Virginian operations, and was placed in command of that department when McClellan was advanced to the control of all the Union forces. In March, 1862, he was made a major-general of volunteers and placed in command of the Army of the Mississippi. On September 19 he fought the battle of Iuka, and on October 3 and 4 that of Corinth, in both of which he was victorious. In the month last named he was made commander of the Army of the Cumberland, and fought the battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone river, from December 26, 1862, to January 2, 1863. Crossing the Cumberland mountains and the Tennessee river, he again met Bragg, and was defeated at Chickamauga on September 19 and 20—an affair that was given all the moral effect of a victory by the indomitable courage and resolution of George H. Thomas. General Rosecrans was then relieved of his command, which was given to Thomas. In January, 1864, he was placed in command of the Department of the Missouri, and was mustered out of the volunteer service in 1866. He resigned his commission in the regular army in 1867. He represented this country as minister to Mexico for a few months in 1868 and 1869. Under the administration of President Cleveland, he was made register of the United States treasury.

O. M. MITCHEL.

ORMSBY McKNIGHT MITCHEL, famous first as an astronomer and afterwards as one of the generals and early martyrs of the Rebellion, was born in Union county, Kentucky, on August 28, 1810. When the son was but six years old, the then widowed mother and her family removed to Lebanon, Ohio, where the boy attended school and clerked in a store until he was fifteen, when he was appointed to West Point. Graduating in 1849, he was retained as assistant professor of mathematics. In June, 1831, he was detailed to assist in the survey of the Philadelphia & Morristown railroad, and also the Pennsylvania & Ohio, after which he was sent to his

post at St. Augustine, Florida. He there remained until the following June, when he resigned to engage in the profession of the law. He was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati, Ohio, and practiced two years, when he was led by the natural bent of his mind and the character of his education, to open a scientific school. From 1834 to 1844 he held the position of professor of mathematics, philosophy and astronomy at the Cincinnati college, and by his labors and discoveries won a scientific reputation of a high character. His mind was early set upon a project which he was finally enabled to develop. "This," says his biographer, "was the establishment of an observatory at Cincinnati—an undertaking beset with many difficulties, which were finally overcome by his energy and perseverance. He not only took upon himself to raise the necessary funds, but even devoted all the time he could spare from his duties as professor, to oversee the hod-carriers and brick-layers. In November, 1843, the corner-stone of the observatory was laid by John Quincy Adams, and the building was completed in 1845, when Professor Mitchel, to supply the institution with the necessary apparatus, made a flying trip to Europe, visiting London, Paris and Munich, making his contracts and returning to Cincinnati after an absence of only fourteen weeks. He now took up his quarters at the observatory and commenced his observations of the heavenly bodies, in connection with which he invented a new declination apparatus, which he made the subject of a report to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and which was favorably reported upon by a committee of that body. In 1846 he began and continued the publication for two years of an astronomical journal entitled the *Sidereal Messenger*. In 1847 he held the position of adjutant-general of the state of Ohio. In 1848 he published a series of ten lectures—a popular exposition of the modern astronomy—in a volume entitled, 'The Planetary and Stellar Worlds,' which, from his repute as a lecturer and its intrinsic merits, was received with general favor. He was the same year appointed chief engineer of the Ohio & Mississippi railroad. In 1859 he was made director of the Dudley observatory at Albany, still holding his supervision of the similar institution at Cincinnati. In 1860 he published a second volume of popular astronomy—'A Concise Elementary Treatise on the Sun, Planets, Satellites and Comets'—in which he presented the result of his own observations and the new methods which he had employed in the observatories at Cincinnati and Albany."

It was in the midst of these many useful labors that Professor Mitchel was found on the breaking out of the great war. He

promptly tendered his services to his country, and in August, 1861, was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and assigned to the Department of the Ohio. His labors in his new life were as active and intelligent as they had been in the old. After the occupation of Bowling Green and Nashville, he made a rapid march into Alabama, fought a battle near Bridgeport toward the end of April, 1862, and seized the railroad between Corinth and Chattanooga. For these brilliant services Mitchel was promoted to the rank of major-general of volunteers. In September, 1862, he succeeded General Hunter in command of the Department of the South. Upon taking charge, he not only gave all the needed attention to military affairs but did all that lay in his power for the improvement and care of the helpless Negro population. But before he had fully entered upon the great duties he would have performed so well, he was stricken down before a foe against which no courage or skill could avail—the deadly yellow fever. He died at Beaufort, South Carolina, on October 30, 1862. His fate was that of a martyr to a cause in which his whole heart and all the impulses of his nature were loyally enlisted, and as such he was mourned, and as such he will be forever remembered in the history of the great war.

JOHN E. WOOL.

JOHN E. WOOL was born in Newburgh, New York, in 1789. For some time a bookseller in Troy, he then commenced the study of the law, but enlisted on the breaking out of the War of 1812 and was given a captain's commission. He was wounded at the battle of Queenstown, and for gallantry at that place was made a major. For like services at Plattsburgh he was breveted lieutenant-colonel. In 1821 he was appointed inspector-general of the army, and five years later a brevet brigadier-general. In 1836 he had charge of the removal of the Cherokee tribe to Arkansas, and in 1841 he was promoted to the full rank of brigadier. He was very active in the preparations for the Mexican war, raising over twenty thousand volunteers by his own efforts. He held command during the early part of the battle of Buena Vista, and after General Taylor's return to the United States, was in command of the Army of Occupation until the close of the war. He was then placed in charge of the Eastern Military division, where he remained until October, 1853; was then given

charge of the Department of the East until January, 1854; the Department of the Pacific until March, 1857; and again the Department of the East. In 1861 it was by his celerity and timely assistance that Fortress Monroe was saved to the Union. General Wool was made commander of the Department of Virginia in August of the year last named; was made a major-general on May 16, 1862; and in June was made commander of the Middle department, with headquarters at Baltimore. Released from active service in 1864, the remainder of his life was passed at his home in Troy, New York, where he died on November 10, 1869.

JOHN SEDGWICK.

JOHN SEDGWICK, a Union general who was killed upon the field of battle toward the close of the war, was born in Cornwall, Connecticut, on September 13, 1813. Appointed to West Point, he graduated therefrom in 1837, and was appointed a second lieutenant in artillery. He first saw service in Florida, and gave such gallant service in Mexico that he was successively breveted captain and major. In 1855 he was commissioned a major in the First cavalry, and was made a brigadier-general of volunteers on August 31, 1861. He was assigned the command of a division of the Army of the Potomac in 1862, and took part in the peninsular campaign. He was appointed a major-general of volunteers on July 4 of the same year, and on December 22 took command of the Ninth army corps. In the February following he was transferred to the Sixth corps of the Army of the Potomac. He commanded at the storming of Marye's Heights and in the final battle near Chancellorsville. In the great Pennsylvania campaign he made a forced march of thirty-five miles to Gettysburg, and was there in time to perform good service, commanding the left wing of the army on July 2 and 3, and taking part in the pursuit of the enemy to Warrenton. He was engaged in a number of operations of a minor character, and in the Richmond campaign, in May, 1864, had command of the Sixth corps, and took part in the battle of the Wilderness on May 5 and 6. Three days later, when the Union army was before Lee's entrenchments at Spottsylvania court-house, Sedgwick, with his usual disregard of danger, was in the extreme front of his corps,

with several members of his staff, superintending the posting of his guns, when he noticed the disturbance of his men at the passing of whistling balls. "Pooh, men," said he, in a bantering tone, "they can't hit an elephant at this distance." Hardly had he said these words when a ball struck him in the face, killing him immediately —on the ninth of May, 1864.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

SAMUEL JONES TILDEN was born at Lebanon, Columbia county, New York, on February 4, 1814. His education in early days was largely conducted by his father, after which he went to Yale college, which he was soon compelled to leave because of ill-health. When he had partly recovered, he entered the New York university and completed his college course. He studied law and was admitted, and in 1844 went into journalism, establishing the *News*, for which he wrote for awhile, but soon abandoned that line of labor and went back to the bar. In 1845, by aid of his friends of the Albany Regency, he was elected to the assembly, from New York city. "In his new field of labor," we are told, "he accepted the harder tasks. He pressed forward the scheme for the revision of the state constitution, and became a member of the convention by which that instrument was revised and so many changes in governmental policy were wrought." He then retired from official life, and devoted himself to his profession and the development of corporations in which he had acquired interests.

In 1855 Mr. Tilden was a candidate for attorney-general of New York, but was defeated. But defeat of political ambition did not affect his reputation as a lawyer, which the masterly management of a number of important cases had caused to grow to a very great extent. But the care he gave to his professional duties did not prevent him from political writing and speaking. He was one of the most intense opponents of the new-formed Republican party to be found in the north, and on the eve of the Presidential election of 1860 he published an eight-column letter, in which he denounced that party as the maker of sectionalism, and declared that the logical result of its success would be to put the fifteen southern states in the position of a conquered nation, under the absolute dominion of its

conquerors. Upon the breaking out of the war, he became a Union Democrat, and had the interests of the north at heart, although taking little part in the prosecution of the war.

In 1868 Mr. Tilden once more took an active part in politics by becoming chairman of the New York Democratic state committee. Beginning in 1869, he was one of the instruments by which the infamous Tweed ring was broken up in New York, and its leaders punished or forced into exile. In 1874 he was nominated for governor by the Democratic party of New York, and elevated, by a large majority, over General John A. Dix. He made an excellent record as a reformer while in that position, and almost from the beginning of his term therein was looked upon as an available Presidential candidate of his party, for the Presidential nomination. When the convention of his party met at St. Louis in 1876, there was a general feeling that Mr. Tilden would be nominated, and the result proved that surmise correct. On the first ballot he received 417 votes, and on the second 535, or more than enough to nominate. The result of the contest that followed is known to history, and has been fully related elsewhere in this work. Both sides claimed the states by which the decision must be made known, and the Electoral Commission of 1877 was the result, the election being given to General Hayes by an electoral vote of 185 to 184. Mr. Tilden accepted the result in quietness, although always insisting that he had been legally elected President of the United States, that his exclusion from the office was a crime, and that the offense was not against him but against the Nation, and was "to be punished by the people in the overthrow of those who profited by it." In the Democratic National convention of 1880, an attempt was made by Mr. Tilden's friends to justify his claim by a renomination, but it came to naught. Mr. Tilden, in advanced age and feebleness, passed the remainder of his life in the seclusion of his home at Greystone, his country residence near Yonkers, where he died on August 4, 1886.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS was born near the town of Zanesville, Ohio, on September 7, 1819. When he was but a few months old his father removed to Madison, then the chief city of Indiana.

His boyhood, like that of a majority of our western men of note, was passed in labor during the summer and in school during the winter, and at the proper age he entered Hanover college, located near Madison. He graduated therefrom in 1841, studied law, was admitted and commenced practice with average success. When but twenty-six years of age he was nominated to the state assembly by the Democrats of his district, and was elected, and soon made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the extension of the state bank's branches, and by the ability with which he urged that opposition. He refused a renomination on the expiration of his term, but in 1850 was elected a member of the state constitutional convention. He won such reputation therein that he was made a candidate for congress by the Democrats of his district, and elected, and upon the expiration of his term was reëlected. He was defeated for the third term, but was soon after appointed by President Pierce commissioner of the general land office. He remained therein until 1859, when he resigned and resumed his professional labors. In 1860 it was desired by the Democrats of Indiana that he should become their candidate for governor. He accepted, and was defeated by Henry S. Lane. During the war, he was for the preservation of the Union, although taking little part in the stirring events of the day. In 1862 the Democrats obtained control of the Indiana legislature, and early in the following year Mr. Hendricks was elected to the United States senate. On March 4 he took his seat, and his reputation and extended public services gave him a high place from the start, and he served with distinction and industry on the committees on claims, public buildings, judiciary, public lands and naval affairs. During the reconstruction era, Senator Hendricks held closely to the theory that the existence of a state which had been in rebellion, "its organization as a state, its constitution, which was the bond of its organization, continued all through the war; and when peace came it found the state with its constitution and laws unrepealed and in full force, holding that state to the Federal Union, except all laws enacted in aid of the Rebellion."

In 1868 Mr. Hendricks had reached so high a place in the regard of his party that he was one of its candidates for the Presidential nomination, and upon one ballot in the National convention received 132 votes. Much against his inclination, he was again nominated for governor of Indiana that year, and defeated. In 1872, although he gave little accord to the nomination of Mr. Greeley for President, he again consented to become a candidate for governor, and was this time elected. Under his administration the debt of the state was

largely taken up, the credit of the commonwealth sustained and its material affairs greatly prospered.

In the National convention of 1876 Mr. Hendricks was once more a Presidential candidate, and on the first ballot received 140 votes. On the second, which nominated Mr. Tilden, he stood second highest, receiving 60 votes. The thoughts of the convention now turned to Governor Hendricks for the second place, and he was nominated by 730 votes out of 738. All that has been said of Mr. Tilden's fate and conduct as the result of that election can be applied to his associate equally as well. In the National convention of 1884 Mr. Hendricks was again named for vice-president, and in the fall of that year elected, Grover Cleveland becoming President. As president of the senate Mr. Hendricks presided with fairness and dignity. He died suddenly at his residence in Indianapolis, on November 25, 1885.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS.

NATHANIEL P. BANKS, an eminent political leader and a soldier of the late war, was born at Waltham, Massachusetts, on January 30, 1816. With work in the mills and an occasional chance at school, his boyhood was passed; and at the proper age he learned the trade of a machinist. He had made such use of his native abilities that he was soon teaching an evening school, and afterwards editing a Waltham newspaper. In 1849 he was elected by the Democrats to the popular branch of the Massachusetts legislature; in 1851 was made speaker of that body, and in 1852, by a coalition of Democrats and Free-soilers, was elected a member of the National house of representatives. In 1853 he presided over the Massachusetts Constitutional convention. Upon the formation of the Republican party in his state, he gave an adherence to its principles and became one of its leaders; and by a coalition of that party and the American, or Know-nothings, he was once more returned to the National house. When the great struggle for speaker of that body occurred, in 1858, and occupied two months time and consumed more than two hundred ballotings, he was the one upon whom the honor was at last laid, and by his ability and courtesy in that position won friends from the members of all parties. Chosen to congress for the third time, he resigned to accept the governorship of Massachusetts, to which he

had been elected in 1857. He was again chosen in 1858; but refused to accept a third nomination, as he had formed a purpose of leaving the state. It was the great season of railroad success in the west, and removing to Illinois, he accepted the responsible position of general superintendent of the Illinois Central railroad.

Mr. Banks was among the earliest to offer his services to the government under the call for aid, and on May 30, 1861, was appointed a major-general of volunteers. He was soon designated as General Butler's successor in command of the Department of Annapolis. As affairs were greatly unsettled in that borderland between the hostile capitals, his duty was a difficult and delicate one; but he brought to its discharge an excellent judgment and a firmness that carried him through all difficulties. After the battle of Bull Run he was called into a more active service, in the command at Harper's Ferry. In the spring of 1862, on the reorganization of the army, he was assigned to the command of the Fifth corps. When the Army of the Potomac made its advance, he led the way in the occupation of Harper's Ferry and the Valley of Virginia. It was by a portion of his command that the battle of Winchester was fought on March 23; and he then followed the enemy in his retreat up the valley toward Staunton. "This was accomplished," says the historian, "by the middle of April, but the advantages of the movement proved less than had been expected. The Union troops were presently withdrawn nearer their base of supplies, to Strasburgh, and, toward the end of May, were attacked at Fort Royal by the advance of Jackson's and Ewell's force, which was sent down the valley to effect a diversion to prevent the meditated reinforcement of General McClellan's army, now before Richmond. The movement was made with spirit and in overwhelming force, compelling General Banks to seek safety from utter destruction in a prudent retreat. This he accomplished with great skill, anticipating the enemy in a rapid movement of the main column to Winchester, whence, after a sharp engagement with a portion of their forces in the vicinity of that place, he, without delay, hastened onward, by way of Martinsburg, to the Potomac. The column arrived at the river at sundown, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, forty-eight hours after the first news of attack on Port Royal."

In August following, General Banks was with Pope in the battle of Cedar mountain; and in the autumn of the same year was engaged in collecting and organizing an expedition with which he sailed from New York early in December. It went with sealed orders, but its destination proved to be New Orleans, where Banks succeeded Butler

in command of the Department of the Gulf with the purpose of carrying on some important operations in that quarter. He took the field early in 1863, and led an expedition into the Teche region, west of the Mississippi. He defeated the enemy in several engagements, and then turned his attention to Port Hudson, which he closely invested. A siege of two months followed, which was terminated on July 8, a few days after the fall of Vicksburg, by the surrender of the garrison. When the disastrous campaign in western Louisiana came to an end, General Banks was superseded in his command. He remained in Louisiana until after the close of the war, and then returned to the north. In 1865 he was elected as one of the Massachusetts representatives in the National congress; and in that term, and those to which he was reëlected, showed his devotion in many ways to the cause of his country, as he had already in the tented field.

JAMES SHIELDS.

JAMES SHIELDS was born in the county of Tyrone, Ireland, in the year 1810. When sixteen years of age he came to the United States, and, after acquiring such education as his opportunities would allow, settled in Kaskaskia, Illinois, where he eventually entered the practice of law. Having a natural liking for politics, and being in a section where his party—the Democratic—was in control, he soon entered public life, and his advancement therein was rapid. In 1836 he was elected to the legislature; in 1839, auditor of state; in 1843, judge of the supreme court of Illinois, and in 1845 transferred to Washington as commissioner of the general land office. Upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers on July 1, 1846. He performed brilliant service there, being twice seriously wounded, and in reward breveted major-general of volunteers. At the close of the war he was once more advanced in political honor, being sent from Illinois to the United States senate in 1849. He removed to Minnesota in 1855, and, on the adoption of a constitution by that territory in 1858, was again sent to the senate. Upon the expiration of his term, the short one, he removed to California.

General Shields answered the call for men in 1861, and on August 19 of the same year was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers.

He succeeded to the command of General Lander on the death of that officer in 1862. He served with ability in various operations, and at Kernstown and Port Royal it is said he "came nearer defeating 'Stonewall' Jackson than any other Federal general ever did." In 1863 he resigned his commission and settled in Wisconsin, but soon after removed to Carrollton, Missouri, where he returned to the practice of his profession and also served as railroad commissioner. In 1874 he was chosen to represent Carroll county in the state legislature, and in January, 1879, was elected by the legislature to the United States senate, to fill out the six weeks of the term of Senator Bogg, made vacant by the death of the latter. He was tendered a reception by the state legislature on his return home. The remainder of his life was passed in quiet, with the exception of an occasional public address, and he died at Ottumwa, Iowa, on June 1, 1879.

JAMES B. McPHERSON.

JAMES BIRDSEYE McPHERSON, whose loss upon a bloody battle-field of the Rebellion testified to his courage and devotion to the old flag, was born in Sandusky county, Ohio, on November 14, 1828. His life was spent in work and study until he was twenty-one years of age, when he entered West Point, from which he graduated at the head of his class in 1853. Appointed brevet second lieutenant of engineers, he was at once appointed assistant instructor of practical engineering at the academy, which he held several months, when he was detailed to serve as assistant engineer in the construction of forts in New York harbor. Two years were spent in this labor, when he was employed in a like manner in the construction of Fort Delaware. In 1857 he was sent to California to erect fortifications in San Francisco bay. In 1861 he was detailed to a like duty at Boston. Upon the opening of the war he was made a lieutenant-colonel and sent to St. Louis as an aid-de-camp to General Halleck. Several months were passed in engineering duty on the Mississippi, when he was sent to Grant in the operations against Henry and Donelson, where he served as chief engineer of the Army of the Tennessee. He was subsequently at Shiloh, and, as colonel on Halleck's staff, held the chief engineering charge of the approaches to Corinth, which ended in its evacuation. On May 15, 1862, he was promoted to

a brigadiership of volunteers, and in June appointed general superintendent of military railroads in the district of west Tennessee. On October 8, 1862, he was made a major-general for gallantry at Corinth. From that time until the close of the siege of Vicksburg, during which he commanded the centre of the Union army, his career was one of unbroken triumph; and, as Grant said of him at the time, "He is one of the ablest engineers and most skillful generals. I would respectfully, but urgently, recommend his promotion to the position of brigadier-general in the regular army." In accordance with this recommendation, McPherson was, on August 1, 1863, so promoted. He soon after conducted a column into Mississippi and repulsed the enemy at Canton. His department was subsequently extended so as to embrace all the region bordering the Mississippi river from Helena to the mouth of the Red river. He distinguished himself at Resaca, Dallas, Allatoona, Kulp House and Knesaw, and in that famous expedition was second in command to Sherman. In the battles before Atlanta his grand division held the left of the line. In superintending the advance of his skirmish line on July 22, 1864, he had ridden from left to right and was returning when he was suddenly confronted by an ambushed party of the enemy and shot in the breast, causing almost instant death. His loss was severely felt by the army and the people, and many and marked were the honors paid to his memory.

GEORGE A. CUSTER.

GEORGE A. CUSTER, one of the great cavalry leaders of the civil war, was born at New Rumley, Harrison county, Ohio, on December 5, 1839. Appointed to West Point, he graduated just in time to see active service, and as second lieutenant of Union cavalry, participated in the battle of Bull Run. When McClellan took command of the army, Custer became a member of the staff of General Phil. Kearney, but after the evacuation of Manassas by the Confederates, he rejoined his command at that point. It was here that he began to show his qualities as a cavalry leader, making his first charge and driving the enemy before him. When the Army of the Potomac lay before Yorktown, he was an assistant engineer under Sumner, and aided in the erection of earthworks near the enemy's line. When the enemy fled from Yorktown and were pursued by Hancock,

Custer went with him and was the first to be across the Chickahominy. He was soon after promoted a captain, and became one of McClellan's aids, serving in that capacity through the Peninsular campaign. He also took active part in the campaign that ended in South Mountain and Antietam. He fought in the battle of Chancellorsville, as aid to Pleasonton, then in command of a division of cavalry, where he exhibited his bravery and dash in a number of severe conflicts. Appointed a brigadier-general on the eve of Gettysburg, he rendered most important service in that great battle, where he routed Wade Hampton's cavalry. He took part in the battle of the Wilderness in 1864, and his brigade led the column in Sheridan's raid toward Richmond. He rendered important service in the battle of Fisher's Hill, after which he remained in command of a division until Lee's surrender. For his services in the battle of Cedar Creek, he was breveted major-general of volunteers, when not yet twenty-six years of age.

In July, 1866, Custer was made a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in the regular army, with the brevet rank of major-general, and was detailed to duty on the western frontier. The operations against the bloody Sioux Indians were commenced early in 1876; and on the twenty-second of June General Custer, with his regiment, passed up the Rosebud river, struck a trail, and followed it to the Little Big Horn, where he found a large Indian settlement. He divided his command and, at the head of five companies, attempted a ford of the river at a point five miles below. A fierce battle ensued, in which he was overpowered by a force of full three thousand Indians, and Custer and every man with him was slain. This untimely end of a brilliant career came on June 25, 1876.

DAVID HUNTER.

DAVID HUNTER, an American soldier who gave years of honorable service to his country, was born in Washington, District of Columbia, on July 21, 1802 He graduated from the United States Military academy and entered the army as second lieutenant of infantry in July, 1822. For the fourteen years following he was engaged in frontier duty, being promoted to the rank of captain of dragoons in 1833. In 1836 he resigned, but reëntered the army six

years latter as pay-master with the rank of major. On May 14, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the Sixth United States cavalry, and three days later a brigadier-general of volunteers. He was in command of a division in the battle of Bull Run, where he was wounded. A month later he was advanced to the rank of major-general of volunteers. In April, 1862, he was placed in command of the army at Port Royal, South Carolina, and in May of that year assumed a great responsibility and caused much heated discussion north and south, by an order which, in intended effect, was to do the work of the Emancipation Proclamation at a later day—an order which declared that "all persons heretofore held as slaves in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, are declared free forever." The exigencies of the situation compelled President Lincoln to annul this action by special proclamation, but Hunter in the east and Fremont in the west had pointed out the road upon which the President and the Nation were eventually compelled to follow.

In May, 1864, General Hunter succeeded General Sigel in command of the Department of West Virginia, where he won the battle of Piedmont on June 18. On August 21, 1862, the Confederate government, because of General Hunter's action in relation to the slaves, declared that in case of capture he should be treated as an outlaw, and that if any of his officers who were concerned in the arming of Negroes should be caught, they should be treated as outlaws. General Hunter acted as president of the court-martial that tried Fitz John Porter, and was also president of the military commission that tried the conspirators engaged in the plot to assassinate President Lincoln. He was retired from active service in July, 1865, and died at Washington on February 2, 1886.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR was born at Lexington, Kentucky, on February 19, 1821. Graduating from the College of New Jersey in 1841, he soon after commenced the practice of law in St. Louis. Upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, he enlisted as a private and served until 1847, when he returned home and resumed his profession. He attached himself to the Free-soil branch of the Democratic party, and in 1848 supported Van Buren for the Presidency, opposed the

extension of slavery into the territories, and for a time served as editor of the *Missouri Democrat*. He commenced public life in 1852 by an election to the Missouri legislature, to which he was returned in 1854. Joining the Republican party upon its organization, he was elected to congress as its representative in 1856, and while there made a speech in favor of colonizing the colored people of the United States in Central America. He was again elected to congress in 1860 and 1862. In 1861 he offered his services to the government in support of the Union, and was commissioned a colonel of volunteers. In August he was promoted to brigadier-general, and for meritorious services was made a major-general on November 29, 1862. During the Vicksburg campaign he was in command of a division, and in 1864–5 had control of the Seventeenth corps in the Army of the Tennessee, and took part in Sherman's campaigns from Chattanooga to Atlanta, in the famous march to the sea and in the Carolinas. He was in every position in which he was placed a brave and competent officer.

In 1866 General Blair was appointed United States collector at St. Louis and commissioner of the Pacific railroad. Because of dissatisfaction with the National administration, he withdrew from the Republican party and returned to the Democratic, and in 1868 was nominated for vice-president by the National Democratic convention upon a ticket with Horatio Seymour in the first place. He received eighty electoral votes against two hundred and fourteen for Schuyler Colfax. In 1870 he was elected United States senator from Missouri to fill a vacancy, his term expiring on March 4, 1873. He died at St. Louis July 8, 1875.

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

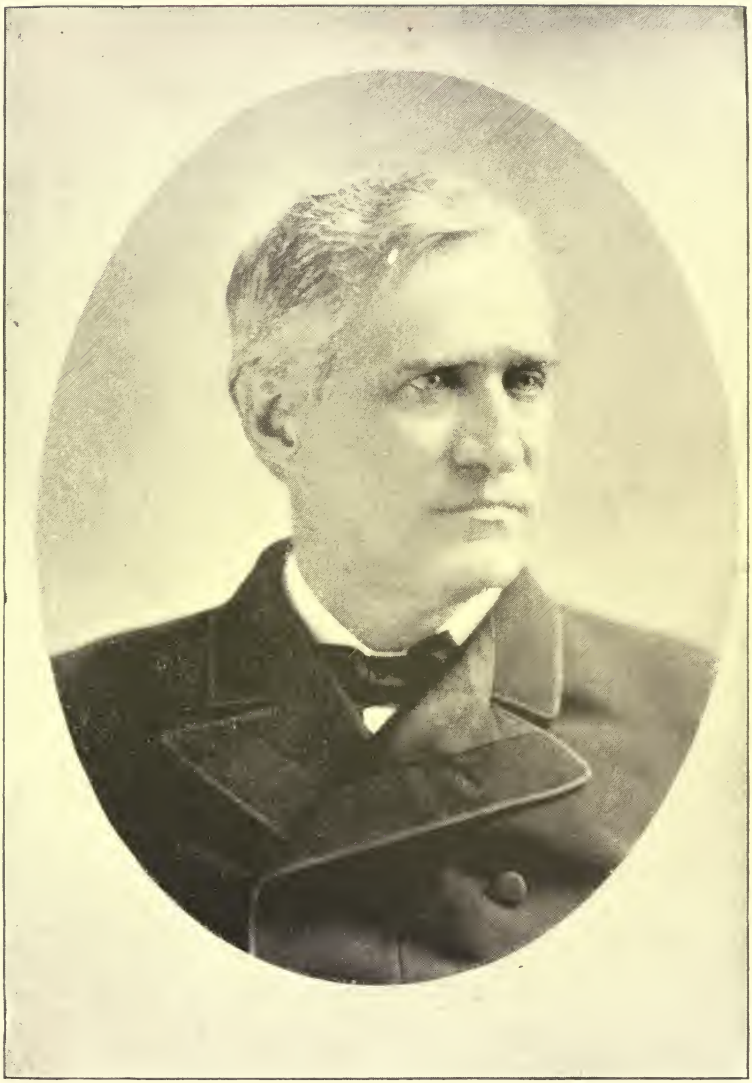
SAMUEL J. RANDALL, an American statesman and a Democratic leader famous for his advocacy of a protective tariff, was born in Philadelphia, October 10, 1828. He was given an academic education, and then embarked in a mercantile life. His career as a public man was commenced in the city councils of Pennsylvania, followed by one term in the state senate of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the First Troop Philadelphia City cavalry, a famous organization that ran back to 1774, and when it tendered its service to the government after the fall of Fort Sumter, and was mustered into service on

May 13, 1861, he accompanied it, holding the rank of sergeant, but acting as quartermaster; and was afterwards appointed to the post of cornet, a rank corresponding to that of captain in the regular army. He saw active service in the field, and performed honorably and bravely all the duties that fell to his lot. Elected a member of the Thirty-eighth congress, he took his seat on December 4, 1863, and has been kept in that body through every session from that day to this. Some of his important committee services during that long period of labor have been as follows: Committee on public buildings and grounds; on banking and currency; retrenchment; expenditures in the state department; privileges and elections; post-office and post-roads; chairman of the committee on appropriations in the Forty-fourth congress, etc., etc. He was long since one of the leading members of the body of which he was a part. Elected a Democrat, he has acted with his party; and while not given to lengthy speeches, has never failed to make his position known with point and power. He has generally stood fairly with the people upon all great questions, and has worked and voted for what he considered best for the country at large. In 1869 he delivered a strong speech in favor of the country keeping faith upon the financial question, declaring that he was "utterly opposed to repudiation" in any form, and adding the declaration that he "wished to remonstrate against the enunciation of any scheme of legislation" which he believed would place his country "in a dishonest attitude before the world." "Not only do I believe that we should pay the debt, but I believe, what is of vastly more importance, that the country has the ability, the disposition and the resources to do it." When Mr. Randall was made chairman of the committee on appropriations, in 1875, he devoted himself to the work of retrenchment, and was instrumental in cutting down the appropriations many millions of dollars. In 1876, upon giving a summary of what he had accomplished in that direction, he said, "I believe the real, natural, safe and permanent way to resumption of specie payments is in the reduction of the expenditures of the government to what is needed by an economical administration. Human foresight, in my judgment, cannot fix the exact hour or day when it shall take place."

Upon the death of Mr. M. O. Kerr, speaker of the house of representatives, Mr. Randall, who was the recognized leader of the Democratic side of the house, was elected to his place, which he assumed on December 4, 1876. It was a season of great excitement and danger, as the Presidential election was in dispute, and each party in control



SAMUEL J. RANDALL.



THOMAS F. BAYARD.

of one branch of the National legislature. By his influence and the strong but careful exercise of his power, he did much to hold in check the turbulent spirits in his party in congress, and to pave the way to the scheme of settlement that finally formulated in the Electoral commission. At the called session of congress, in October, 1877, Mr. Randall was reëlected speaker, as he was again elected in March, 1879. When the house passed into the control of the Republicans, Mr. Randall was once more counted among the strong men on the floor, and as a leader of his party, both within congress and without. In the Democratic National convention of 1880, he was counted one of the strongest candidates after the withdrawal of Mr. Tilden, and on the second ballot received 128½ votes.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

THOMAS F. BAYARD, a statesman and Democratic leader through many years, was born in Wilmington, Delaware, on October 29, 1828, the descendant of a famous old Huguenot family, which had long held an honorable position in his native state. He was educated at a well-known school in Flushing, New York, and from whence he went into a New York counting-house and afterwards to a large West India house at Philadelphia. In 1848 he abandoned commerce and commenced the study of law in his father's office at Wilmington. Admitted to the bar in 1851, he was in 1853 appointed United States attorney for Delaware, but resigned in the following year. By 1869 he had grown to such acquaintance and influence in his native state that he was elected to represent it in the United States senate, the legislature that chose him having on the same day elected his father as his colleague to serve an unexpired term. He was reëlected in 1875. He was a member of the committee on finance from the time he entered the senate, and also performed important work on the committees on the judiciary, private land claims, revision of the laws and others. He was a member of the joint committee that prepared the Electoral bill of 1877, urged its adoption by the senate and was chosen by the Democrats as one of their representatives to act thereunder. Of Mr. Bayard's course in the senate it has been said: "He bore a very prominent part in securing the reform custom-house legislation of 1874; has always taken a leading position in the discus-

sion of questions relating to the south, and has eloquently defended the liberty of the press. For many years he shared with Mr. Thurman the leadership in the senate of the Democratic party, but on various occasions displayed more independence than is generally looked for in a man of such decided political views. Especially was this the case in the consideration of financial measures. His earnest advocacy of specie resumption frequently brought him into antagonism with the majority of his party in the senate, notably in the Forty-sixth congress, in which he firmly resisted the policy regarding the coinage of silver urged by a portion of the finance committee, and also introduced and warmly supported a resolution in favor of repealing the legal tender quality of treasury notes."

Mr. Bayard has often been urged as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. In the convention of 1872 he opposed the adoption of the Liberal-Republican platform, and when calls for the nomination came received sixteen votes; but the candidate of the Liberals, Mr. Greeley, was also endorsed with their platform. In 1876 he received 33 votes; in 1880, 153½; and in 1884, 170. Upon the election of President Cleveland he tendered Mr. Bayard the position of secretary of state, which was accepted.

CARL SCHURZ.

CARL SCHURZ, although of foreign birth, has become so thoroughly identified with the life of his adopted country, and has taken so prominent a part in public life therein, that he has fittingly won a place in this list of America's eminent men. He was born at Liblar, near Cologne, Prussia, on March 2, 1829. He was educated, at first, in the gymnasium in Cologne, and in 1846 entered the university at Bonn. When the revolution of 1848 broke out, the fiery young German espoused the cause of those by whom it was produced and united with Kinkel, professor of rhetoric at Bonn, in the publication of a liberal newspaper. When an attempt was made, in 1849, to promote an insurrection at Bonn, and was unsuccessful, he fled with Kinkel to the Palatinate, became an adjutant in the Army of the Revolution and assisted at the defense of Rastadt. When that fortress was compelled to surrender, he made his escape to Switzerland, but in 1850 secretly returned to Germany, and at a

great risk to himself, bravely effected the escape of Kinkel from the fortress of Spandau, where he had been condemned to an imprisonment of twenty years. In 1851 he acted as Paris correspondent for German newspapers and then spent a year in teaching in Germany. In 1852 he came to America, and after three years' residence in Philadelphia, settled in Madison, Wisconsin. In the Presidential campaign of 1856, he took the stump in favor of Fremont and the new-formed Republican party, and in 1857 ran for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin, but was defeated. Once embarked upon the sea of American politics, the attraction therein was so great that he has since remained continuously thereon. Removing to Milwaukee, he commenced the practice of law; was an influential member of the Republican National convention of 1860; was largely instrumental in determining that portion of the platform in relation to people of foreign birth, and in the campaign that followed made many speeches for Lincoln, both in German and English. Upon the election of Lincoln, Schurz was appointed minister to Spain, but resigned to come home and fight for his adopted country's flag. In April, 1862, he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers, and on June 17 assumed command of a division in the corps of General Sigel, with which he took part in the second battle of Bull Run. He was made a major-general on March 14, 1863, and at the battle of Chancellorsville commanded a division of Howard's corps. He had temporary command of the Eleventh corps at the battle of Gettysburg, and subsequently took part in the battle of Chattanooga.

Upon the close of the war he became, in 1865-6, the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*. In the year last named he removed to Detroit, where he founded the Detroit *Post*, and in 1867 became editor of the *Westliche Post*, a German journal of St. Louis. He was a member of the Republican National convention of 1868, where he served as temporary chairman, and labored earnestly for Grant in the campaign that followed. In 1869 he was elected United States senator from Missouri. In 1872, because of opposition to measures of Grant's administration, he became one of the leaders in the Liberal-Republican movement, and presided over the Cincinnati convention by which Mr. Greeley was placed in nomination. The position of the Democratic party upon the money question soon after, sent Mr. Schurz back into the Republican party, and in 1876 he labored earnestly for that party's National success. Upon the accession of Governor Hayes to the Presidency, Mr. Schurz was made secretary for the interior, which place he ably filled all through

the administration. Mr. Schurz has from the first been one of the most earnest advocates in the land for civil service reform.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS, one of the foremost among modern American orators and jurists, was born in Boston on February 6, 1818. He graduated at Yale college in 1837, and immediately commenced the study of the law in Harvard Law school, and under such eminent instructors as Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf. He was admitted to the bar in New York in 1841, and in 1849 made his advent in public life by an appointment as deputy United States district attorney of New York city, which position he filled for four years with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the people. During this term of service he made himself favorably known by his prosecution of the persons engaged in the Cuban fillibustering scheme. In 1853 he served as counsel for the state of New York in the famous Lemmon slave case. In 1861 he was pitted against Horace Greeley as a candidate for the United States senate, the result of which contest was Mr. Evarts' withdrawal and the election of a third party. When congress proceeded against President Johnson, in the great impeachment case of 1868, Mr. Evarts was the principal counsel for the defendant, and displayed a legal knowledge and power of oratory that made him famous the country over. From July 15, 1868, to the close of the Johnson administration, he held a place in the cabinet as attorney-general. In 1872, by the choice of President Grant, he acted with Caleb Cushing and M. R. Waite as one of the counsel for the United States before the Geneva Arbitration tribunal.

Mr. Evarts spoke in favor of the Republican cause previous to the election of 1876, and upon the installation of General Hayes, was offered the position of secretary of state, which he accepted. He remained in the cabinet until the end of the Presidential term, and managed the important affairs of the foreign office with the greatest success, and to the preservation of friendly relations with all the world. Mr. Evarts was elected by the New York legislature to the senate of the United States, and took his seat on March 4, 1885.

While Mr. Evarts has been engaged at various times in public office, it is as a lawyer and an orator that he is best known to fame. He

has been engaged in some of the most important cases of the country, and his eloquence is only equaled by his deep legal knowledge and learning in various departments. Among the most important cases with which he has been connected, in addition to those named above, may be mentioned the Parrish will case; the contest of the will case of Mrs. Gardner, the mother of President Tyler's widow; as senior counsel for Mr. Beecher in the famous prosecution of that divine by Theodore Tilton; and in advocacy of the Republican cause before the Electoral commission of 1877. His public addresses are numerous, among which was one at the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876.

QUINCY A. GILMORE.

QUINCY A. GILMORE, pronounced by eminent authority the greatest artillerist of the war, and one of its most remarkable engineers, was born at Black River, Lorain county, Ohio, on February 28, 1825. When thirteen years of age he was sent to Norwalk academy, where, after finishing his course as a pupil, he became one of its teachers. A short time in Elyria academy was followed by an appointment to West Point, from which he graduated in 1840 at the head of his class. Made a brevet second lieutenant of engineers he served from 1849 to 1852 as an assistant in the building of forts Monroe and Calhoun. In the latter year he was returned to West Point to serve as an assistant instructor. He served as an engineer at various points during ensuing years, and on the breaking out of the Rebellion asked for an assignment to active service, and was set to the preparation of an expedition against the coast defenses of South Carolina. His reduction of Fort Pulaski in April, 1862, was one of the great events of the war, and earned him a promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. In October of that year he was assigned to command the District of Central Kentucky, where he defeated Pegram at the battle of Somerset and drove him across the Cumberland. Later, in the same year, General Gilmore accomplished some brilliant artillery exploits in the bombardment of Charleston, for which he was highly complimented by his superiors. Soon after he was made a major-general of volunteers; acted for a time as inspector-general of the fortifications of the Military Division of West Mississippi, and in

January, 1865, was given command of South Carolina. He resigned his volunteer commission in December, 1865, and in 1866 was made a member of the special board of engineers to conduct experiments with the use of iron in the construction of permanent fortifications. He was afterwards engaged in various important duties in the line of engineering by direction of the war department. He was also the author of several works of a military character. He died at Brooklyn, New York, April 7, 1888, of disease contracted while superintending the construction and operations of the famous "Swamp Angel" battery in Charleston harbor during the war.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

JOHN G. CARLISLE, an advocate of revenue reform as against a high war tariff, and speaker of the National house of representatives, was born in Campbell (now Kenton) county, Kentucky, on September 5, 1835. There is little in his early life to which interest can attach, as he, like most farmer boys of the pioneer, was compelled to labor on the farm, while his education was gained as opportunity offered or his own ambition impelled. He was a hard student, and before he had attained his majority was earning his own way by teaching school. Such leisure as he had was employed in reading law, until at last he had qualified himself for admission to the bar, when but twenty-three years of age. In 1859 he was elected to the Kentucky house of representatives; in the days of the war he inclined to the side of the north and was a firm advocate of the preservation of the Union. In 1866 he was elected to the state senate and again in 1869. In 1871 he was nominated by the Democrats of his state as their candidate for lieutenant-governor, which caused him to resign his seat in the senate. Elected, he served in that capacity from 1871 to 1875, and while presiding over the senate he won universal esteem as a presiding officer, whose rulings were based on the sound principles of parliamentary law. In 1876 he was elected an alternate Democratic Presidential elector for the state-at-large, and at the same election chosen a member of congress from the Covington district, which he has continued to represent in congress until the present time. In 1880 his popularity was such that he ran without the formality of a nomination. He soon became one of the Democratic leaders of the

house, and, upon the return of his party to power in that branch of the government, he was, on December 3, 1883, elected speaker over Samuel J. Randall—a position he has retained by successive elections. He has ever proved himself a well-informed and diligent member, a skillful debater and an excellent orator. While a pronounced revenue reformer, he can hardly be termed a free-trader in the broad sense of the word.

CALEB CUSHING.

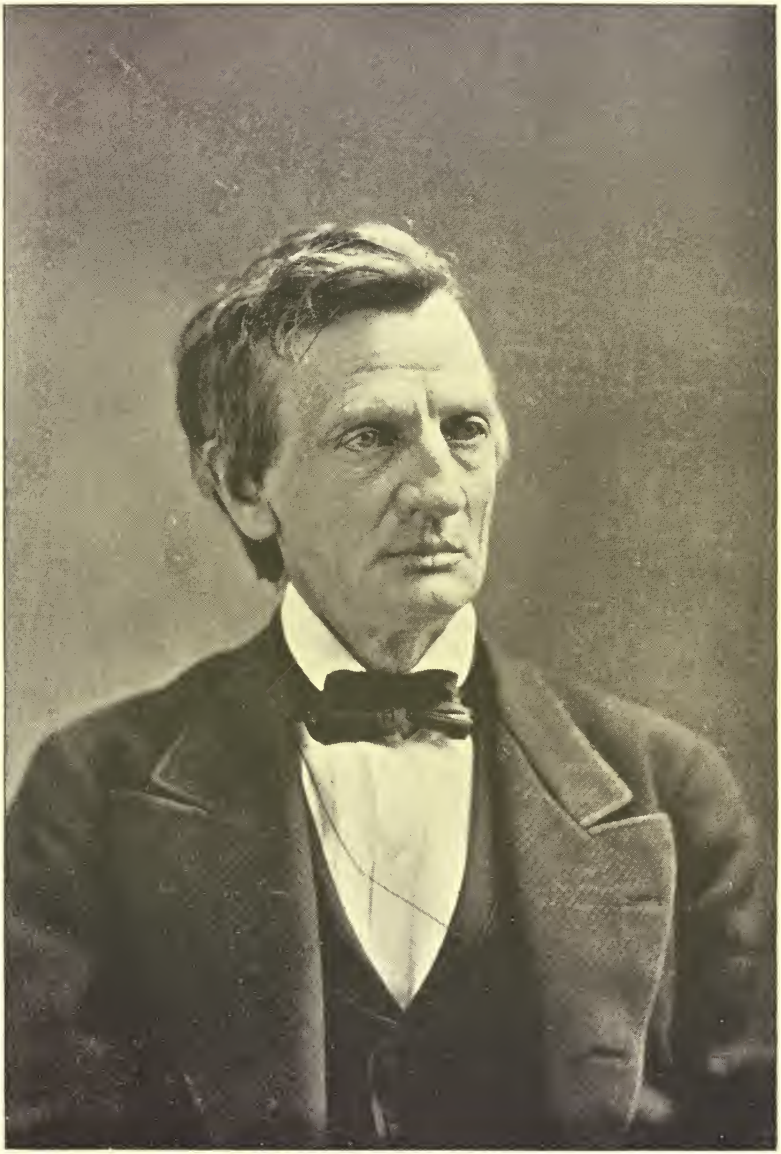
CALEB CUSHING was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1800. A graduate of Harvard in 1818, he gave five years to the study of law, and when admitted, opened an office at Newburyport. His advance in his profession was rapid, and at the same time he made considerable reputation with his pen, contributing to the North American Review and other leading publications of the day. He served in the lower house of the legislature of his state, and was afterwards promoted to a seat in the senate. In 1829 he paid a visit to Europe, where he remained two years, and on his return published two works—an 'Historical and Political Review' of affairs in Europe and 'Reminiscences of Spain.' The years 1833 and 1834 again saw him in the legislature of his state, and upon the completion of this term was made a member of the National house of representatives, where he remained by successive elections until March, 1843. Upon the accession of Mr. Tyler to the Presidency, on the death of Harrison, Mr. Cushing was nominated to the office of secretary of the treasury, but the senate, for political reasons, refused to confirm him. He was subsequently confirmed as commissioner to China, and made the first treaty between that country and the United States. On his return home, he once more served for a time in the Massachusetts legislature. When the war with Mexico broke out, he raised a regiment of volunteers, whose colonel he became, and was subsequently promoted to brigadier-general. In 1847 he became the Democratic nominee for governor of his state, but was defeated, as he was again in 1848. He still represented his home district in the legislature until 1852, when he was appointed associate justice of the state supreme court.

When General Pierce became President of the United States in 1853,

he called Mr. Cushing into his cabinet as attorney-general, which office he held until 1857. Once more a member of the state legislature, he stood by the Democrats in their opposition to anti-slavery aggressions and agitations. In 1868 Mr. Cushing was sent upon a diplomatic mission to Bogata. His most eminent service to his country was given as a member of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, to which he was appointed by President Grant, and which met in Switzerland in 1871. His history of that great body and its proceedings, published in 1873, is the standard authority of the theme of which it treats. Upon the death of Chief-Justice Chase, in 1873, President Grant sent the name of Mr. Cushing to the senate as his successor, but there was such opposition to a confirmation that Mr. Cushing declined to allow his name to be longer considered. He was soon after appointed to the post of minister to Spain, and was confirmed. Our relations toward that country had grown critical because of the Cuban rebellion, and it was only by the skill and good judgment of the minister that peace was continued and good-will once more established. He returned home in April, 1877, and died at his home in Newburyport, on January 2, 1879.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, who for a long period occupied a commanding position in public affairs, was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, on December 10, 1813. A course in the common schools and a short time at an academy were all the educational advantages open to his youth. When twenty years of age he removed to Detroit, then a place of some consequence on the western frontier, but uncertain as to the size to which it might grow, and engaged in the dry goods business. Energetic and industrious, he succeeded, and grew in the confidence and respect of the community. In 1851 that feeling found expression by his election as mayor of the city. In 1852 he was the Whig nominee for governor, and although there was a hopeless Democratic majority against him, he made a vigorous canvass, and by sheer personal popularity ran so far ahead of his ticket that he became recognized as one of the strong and growing men of the northwest. An event in yet stronger emphasis of that fact occurred in the winter of 1856–7, when he was elected as the successor



WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

of General Cass in the United States senate. His career was marked by ability and effective work, and when the war of secession threatened, he was one of the most outspoken and courageous in favor of blow for blow, and the carrying on of the fight in defense of the Union to the end. Reëlected in 1863, Mr. Chandler served as chairman of the committee on commerce, and also on the committees on revolutionary claims, and mines and mining. He was a member of the National committee which accompanied the remains of President Lincoln to Illinois; was a delegate to the Philadelphia convention of 1866, and in 1869 was again elected senator from Michigan. In October, 1875, President Grant tendered him the position of secretary of the interior, made vacant by the resignation of Columbus Delano, which he accepted, and where he remained until Grant's retirement from office. In 1879 Mr. Chandler was again elected to the senate, to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Christiancy's appointment as minister to Peru. As chairman of the Republican National executive committee, Mr. Chandler worked with most effective earnestness for the success of the Presidential ticket, and it was by his declaration, on the evening of election, that certain states in the south had gone Republican, that the Republicans were led to make and maintain the claim that eventuated in the seating of President Hayes by the Electoral commission. Mr. Chandler died suddenly at Chicago, on November 1, 1879.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

WILLIAM ALLEN, a political leader of great influence through many years of active public life, was born at Edenton, Chowin county, North Carolina, in 1806. Left an orphan in infancy, and with no one to aid him to an education, he was thrown upon his own resources, and had a struggle not only to earn a living but to pick up the small fragments of the common branches that somehow he managed to gain. When sixteen years of age he proceeded to the residence of a sister, in Chillicothe, Ohio, and was there permitted to attend the town academy. Admitted to the practice of law before he was twenty-one, he soon gained reputation and practice. He soon after became the nominee for congress of the Democrats of his district, and was elected by a majority of one, and when he took his seat was

the youngest member of the Twenty-third congress. In 1837, when only thirty-one years of age, he was elected a member of the United States senate. He became a leader from the first, partly because of his force of character and partly from his wonderful eloquence. Upon the expiration of his term, he was honored by a reëlection. In the Democratic National convention of 1848, the contest was so strong between Van Buren and Cass that it was feared a division might arise within the party, and to prevent that a committee composed of men from both factions waited upon Senator Allen and asked the use of his name as a compromise candidate, which he refused on the ground that as he was pledged to Cass, such actions would be treason to his friend. He made a tour of New York and Pennsylvania, speaking for Cass. He then retired to private life, where he remained in comparative quiet until 1873, when called forth by the younger generation of Democrats to become their nominee for governor of Ohio. He responded and was elected, although his associates upon the ticket were defeated. Renominated in 1875, he was defeated at the hands of General Hayes. His return to politics was chiefly marked by his advocacy of the greenback theory, promulgated in its special phase, in this instance, under the name of "The Ohio Idea." Governor Allen was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President in the convention of 1876, where Mr. Tilden was made the nominee. He died suddenly, a little after midnight, on July 11, 1879.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

JOHN A. LOGAN was born in Murphysboro, Jackson county, Illinois, on February 9, 1826. His chances for education in his boyhood were of a meagre character, but he used to good advantage such as he had. Of a restless, vigorous nature, the life of a soldier offered great attractions, and when the call came for men in the Mexican war, he was among the first to respond, although but twenty years of age. He was elected lieutenant in a company of the First regiment of Illinois volunteers, served faithfully during the war and at its close returned to Illinois, where he decided to enter upon the study of the law. Elected clerk of the county in 1849, he still pursued his studies and was admitted to the bar in 1851. Commencing practice at his home, he won his way to a successful practice, while at

the same time he became popular as a political leader, and won that hold upon his people that he retained all through life. In 1852 he was elected prosecuting attorney of the Third Judicial District of Illinois, and made his residence at Benton, Franklin county. In the same year he was also sent to the state legislature by the Democrats of Jackson and Franklin counties, and in 1856 was returned to the same office and also made a Presidential elector. So satisfactory was his course in this minor field of legislative labor that in 1858 he was sent to the lower house of the National congress and returned in 1860. In the great political crisis of that year, when the Democratic party broke into the northern and southern factions, led respectively by Douglas and Breckinridge, Logan cast his influence with the former and was one of the foremost of his section in declaring that the Union should be preserved. His feelings can best be understood by a glance at his declarations in those troubled and uncertain days. "I have been taught," he declared in a public speech, "to believe that the preservation of this Union, with its broad flag waving over us as the shield for our protection on land and on sea, is paramount to all the parties and platforms that have ever existed or ever can exist. I would to-day, if I had the power, sink my own party and every other one, with all their platforms, into the vortex of ruin, without heaving a sigh or shedding a tear, to save the Union, or even stop the revolution where it is. In the name of the patriotic sires who breasted the storms and vicissitudes of the Revolution; by all the kindred ties of this country; in the name of the many battles fought for our freedom; in behalf of the young and the old; in behalf of the arts and sciences, civilization, peace, order, Christianity and humanity, I appeal to you to strike from your limbs the chains that bind them; come forth from that loathsome prison, the party caucus, and in this hour, the most gloomy and disheartening to the lovers of free institutions that has ever existed during our country's history, arouse the drooping spirits of our countrymen by putting forth your good, strong arms to assist in steadying the rocking pillars of the mightiest Republic that has ever had an existence."

In 1860 Logan, as has been said, gave an earnest support to Douglas, but when Lincoln was chosen and the threats of disunion made by the south, he declared that Lincoln must be inaugurated, and that he would be one to shoulder a musket, if necessary, to give him his seat. In July, 1861, during the extra session of congress, he left his seat in the house and fought in the ranks at Bull Run. On the close of that disastrous engagement he resigned his seat and went

back to Illinois, where he raised the Thirty-first regiment of Illinois infantry, of which he was made colonel. He took an active part in the battles of Ball's Bluff, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. In one of the fierce assaults of the engagement last named he was severely wounded by a ball in the left arm and shoulder, and also in the thigh, and was compelled to leave for home. In March, 1862, he was made a brigadier-general of volunteers and took part in the movement against Corinth. He was employed during the remainder of the year in the military movements on the Mississippi border, for which services he was promoted to major-general. He was next assigned to the command of the Third division of the Seventeenth army corps, under command of McPherson, and was in the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson and Champion Hills; commanded McPherson's centre at the siege of Vicksburg, and was made military governor of that city after its capture. In the November following, he succeeded to the command of the Fifteenth army corps. Joining Sherman's army in May, 1864, he led the advance of the Army of the Tennessee at the battle of Resaca, defeated Hardee at Dallas and drove the enemy from his works at Kenesaw mountain. His conduct during these days of severe fighting was of the most gallant character, and in the official reports he is mentioned in the highest terms. Upon the sad and untimely fall of McPherson, Logan was ordered by Sherman to take command of the Army of the Tennessee while the whole line was engaged in battle. His splendid courage and enthusiasm had not a little to do with the fortunes of the day, and in the official reports General Sherman had this to say of him: "The sudden death of McPherson devolved the command of the Army of the Tennessee on the no less brave and gallant General Logan, who nobly sustained his reputation and that of his veteran army, and avenged the death of his comrade and commander."

When Atlanta fell, it was thought that Logan could do his country a greater service for a time in a field other than that of war, and he accordingly went to Illinois, where he used his immense personal influence in favor of Lincoln's reëlection to the Presidency. "Always an effective, popular speaker, his eloquence at this period of the war had the flavor and authority of his actual experience in the field. The west, which had supported the struggle so nobly with men and treasure, was not likely at such a crisis, on the eve of final victory, to listen with indifference to the stirring words of so distinguished a soldier, the peculiar growth of her own soil." That designated work accomplished so far as in him lay, General Logan joined Sher-

man at Savannah, and was with him during the rest of that famous campaign and until the dawn of peace. The close of military operations saw him in command of the Army of the Tennessee.

After the war General Logan entered as earnestly into political and state affairs as he had in those of the field. Acting with the Republican party, as he had from the commencement of the Rebellion, he was elected to the National house of representatives in 1866, where he remained, by successive reëlections, until 1871, when he was made a member of the United States senate, which place he held, by reëlections, with an interval of two years, until his death. In all the proceedings and legislation of that period, he was a stern, unflinching friend of the cause for which he had fought, and believed that the fruits won in that long and bloody struggle should be preserved. He soon became one of the leaders in the political organization to which he belonged, and was often mentioned in connection with the Presidential nomination. In 1880 he was one of the three leaders who held the Grant supporters together, and voted for his old commander ballot after ballot to the very end. In the convention of 1884 his name was formally proposed for the highest office within its gift, and on the first ballot he received 63½ votes. Upon the nomination of Mr. Blaine, General Logan declined to accept the second place, but upon the emphatically expressed desire of the convention, reconsidered that determination and was placed upon the ticket. He was defeated in the fall, when Cleveland and Hendricks were elected. In addition to his other labors he found time to prepare two volumes for publication—'The Great Conspiracy,' referring to the Civil war, and 'The Volunteer Soldier in America.' Taken sick with a severe attack of rheumatism in December, 1886, he sank rapidly, and died at his home in Washington on the twenty-sixth of that month. The mourning of the people and the expressions of sorrow from all parts of the country, north and south, showed the love and appreciation in which he was held, while all agreed that he had indeed earned the generally bestowed title of "the greatest volunteer soldier of the Civil war."

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

HENRY WARD BEECHER was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 24, 1813, the son of Lyman Beecher, himself one of the leading ministers of the day. Placed in a Latin school in Boston, he

showed little taste for the classics but a great desire for a life at sea, whereupon his father sent him to school at Amherst that he might prepare himself for the navy. But in a short time he was affected by a revival that occurred in the place, and began to prepare himself for the ministry. He graduated from Amherst college in 1834, and entered upon a course of theological studies at Lane Theological seminary, at Cincinnati, Ohio, of which his father was president. Before he had finished these studies, he commenced to exhibit the possession of those gifts that made him famous, editing, for a time, the organ of the new school of the Presbyterian church, and writing vehement anti-slavery articles. On the completion of his studies he took charge of a small Presbyterian church at Lawrenceburg, Indiana. His eloquence and marked individuality in the pulpit attracted attention to him, and in 1839 he was called to a larger field and audience by an invitation to a church in Indianapolis. He accepted and remained there some eight years. In August, 1847, he was again demanded in a still broader field, and commenced his great life-work in the pulpit in Plymouth church, a Congregational organization in Brooklyn, New York—a place he held during the remainder of his life.

Fearless and bold in his utterances, with an eloquence that few men of his age could command, and descriptive powers of the highest character, he was soon one of the great pulpit orators of the land, and gained a reputation second to none. While he preached the gospel with power, he went beyond many of his day in the declaration that he considered temperance reform and abolition principles as a part of that gospel he was sent to preach. He was in demand everywhere—in the pulpit, upon the platform and as a writer for the press. "His oratory," wrote one, of his early days of power, "ranging from the usual themes of moral and theological discussion over the vast field of social and political reforms, with frequent reference to Negro slavery and the National agitations which have grown out of this question, has given his pulpit a wide celebrity. This influence, exerted upon an always crowded congregation, drawn from the populations of Brooklyn and New York, and the throng of visitors from all parts of the country, constantly assembling in these large cities, has been still further greatly extended by the preacher's popularity as a public lecturer. He is, also, in the enjoyment of an extensive reputation through his contributions to the religious press, chiefly the *Independent* newspaper of New York, a journal of which he was one of the founders." An intense opponent of slavery, he was one of the warmest friends of the Union in the days of peril, and on the breaking out

of the war, Plymouth church, at his instance, raised a regiment of volunteers, of which his son became an officer. In 1862 he made a visit to England, where he rendered an important service to his country by an eloquent vindication of the policy of the American government and an appeal to England to show this country at least fair play in the struggle it had on hand. Toward the conclusion of the war, in 1865, he was requested by the government to deliver an oration in Fort Sumter, on the occasion of the formal restoration of the National flag at the hands of Major Anderson.

In the pulpit Mr. Beecher "discarded the mere conventionalities of the clerical profession." He believed that humor had a place in a sermon as well as argument and exhortation. He was apt at illustration, drawing his material from every sphere of human thought and life. His manner was very dramatic. Toward the end of his life he grew more and more liberal in his theological views, departing largely from the tenets of the Congregational church, but being followed faithfully by the congregation under his charge. The faith and devotion of the latter was something remarkable, as it stood by and supported him all through the trying season when, charged by his old friend, Theodore Tilton, with immoral conduct, he underwent one of the most severe ordeals to which any man could be subjected. That trial and the causes which led to it had a serious effect upon Mr. Beecher's fame and influence, which was never afterwards removed, although he continued in the ministry and carried himself with a bearing that spoke eloquently for his innocence.

In the line of literary labor, Mr. Beecher was industrious and prolific, when his occupation in other directions is taken into account. From 1861 to 1863 he was editor of the *Independent*, and his contributions thereto were partly published as "The Star Papers." He was also editor of *The Christian Union* for a time. His regular weekly sermons were taken down, year after year, and published in various volumes under the title, 'The Plymouth Pulpit.' 'Lectures to Young Men,' 'Industry and Idleness,' 'Life Thoughts,' 'Sermons on Liberty and War,' 'Norwood: A Novel,' were among the various other published works of his pen. In March, 1887, Mr. Beecher was seized with a stroke of apoplexy, and his death was almost certain from the first. After a few days of lingering, in semi-unconsciousness, he passed quietly away, at his home in Brooklyn, on the eighth.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

ROSCOE CONKLING, one of the best known among modern American statesmen and politicians, was born in Albany, New York, on October 30, 1829, the son of Alfred Conkling, a member of congress, minister to Mexico under Fillmore, and a man of influence in his section of the country. The son was given a good academic education, and in 1846 removed to Utica, where he studied law, and where he opened an office in 1849. A natural leader of men and influential in politics, he was soon active in public affairs and ambitious for public distinction. In 1850 he was appointed the district attorney of Oneida county; in 1858 was elected mayor of Utica, and in the same year elected to congress. He was twice reëlected to the popular branch of that body, and while in this service showed the possession of those qualities of force, eloquence and ability that made him so conspicuous when promoted to the senate. His most important committee service began in connection with the affairs of the District of Columbia, of which committee he was afterwards made chairman. He occupied the same relation to the committee on a bankrupt law, and was also a member of the committee on ways and means. He was an unswerving friend to the Union, and favored a prosecution of the war for its maintenance to the end. He was a member of the great reconstruction committee of fifteen. His first great speech, that attracted to him the attention of the country, was in support of the proposed Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. Conkling was elected to the Fortieth congress, but did not take his seat thereunder, being called by his state, in January, 1867, to the United States senate. He was returned to the same office by reëlections in 1873 and 1879. He was a member of the judiciary committee from the first year of his senatorial service, and at one time and another served on nearly all the leading committees, being chairman of those on commerce and the revision of the laws. He was, also, one of the select committee that drew up the Electoral bill of 1877, and gave the measure his support on the floor of the senate. The growth of Mr. Conkling in the senate was rapid and steady, and long before the close of his first term he was looked upon as one of the ablest men and greatest orators of the Nation, and as one of the most powerful among political leaders. He was an advanced Republican, and from first to last a firm supporter of General Grant. He was a formal candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, in 1876, and in the convention of that year received ninety-three votes.

The steady support given Grant in the Chicago convention of 1880 was largely inspired by Mr. Conkling, who was there as the Grant leader, and who had no second choice. In the campaign that followed the nomination of Garfield at the hands of that body, Conkling had little heart and only took part toward the last, at the earnest solicitation of Grant and other leaders. After Garfield's election and the nomination as collector of the post of New York of one who was in political enmity to Mr. Conkling, the latter, with his colleague, Senator Thomas C. Platt, resigned from the senate, and then went before the New York assembly for vindication and a reëlection, under which they could make war upon the administration. They were defeated and others elected in their stead. Mr. Conkling thereupon returned to the practice of the law, in which he was rewarded with an immense business and large pecuniary returns, and in which he remained during the remainder of his life, taking no part in politics of any character. When Mr. Arthur became President, he appointed Mr. Conkling an associate justice of the supreme court, which office was declined.

The long service of Mr. Conkling in public life was passed without a shadow of a stain upon his integrity, and he was loyal and true to his country, his party and his friends in every sense of the word. His ability was as great as his honesty, while he was recognized as one of the most remarkable orators in the land. In the winter of 1887–88 Mr. Conkling was exposed to a terrible snow-storm, the greatest New York city had ever seen, and nearly perished, and from the effects thereof he never recovered. In April he was taken with severe illness that baffled the skill of the surgeons, and after lingering a number of days in the greatest suffering, died on the early morning of April 18, 1888.

MORRISON R. WAITE.

MORRISON R. WAITE, the successor to Salmon P. Chase as chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States, was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on November 29, 1816. He graduated from Yale in 1837 and commenced the study of law under the direction of his father, a prominent lawyer, who at one time occupied the position of chief-justice of Connecticut. Removing to Ohio in 1840, he

settled at Maumee, in Lucas county; he was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in partnership with Samuel Young. The firm soon removed to Toledo, then a growing town that gave a promise of a prosperous future. "The state," says Honorable A. G. Riddle, in an appreciative sketch of the late chief-justice, "was rapidly emerging from the wide ruin of 1837, and taking on the better usages of the older eastern states in business methods and finance. The commerce of the lakes soon became in importance a thing of wonder to strangers. Congress extended maritime laws to the lakes, divided Ohio into two districts, with a court at Cleveland. The bar of northern Ohio was early distinguished for learning and hard-headed ability. Eloquence, oratory, were not cultivated. The law, the logic, of special pleading, of sinewy argumentation, were much patronized. The young barrister found the field fully occupied, and the competition close and sharp. It is saying much for him that at this bar his rise was rapid and permanent. He was soon in possession of important maritime cases, and later became the adviser of railroad companies, appearing in most of the courts along the lake's line from Cleveland to Detroit, as in many of the inland shire towns."

In 1849 Mr. Waite was elected by the Whigs to the Ohio house of representatives, where he was recognized as one of the ablest members of that body. He became a Republican upon the formation of that party, and much against his wish was in 1862 made the nominee of the party for congress. Although he had a majority in Toledo, the city of his home, he was defeated. An earnest supporter of the war, he declined a seat on the Ohio supreme bench, and remained in the active practice of the law, in which he had long ere this come to be ranked one of the leading barristers of the state. The first event that brought him into National prominence was his selection, in 1871, as one of the three American consul, in connection with Mr. William M. Evarts and Caleb Cushing, to represent the United States before the Geneva tribunal, constituted to pass upon the claims of our government against that of Great Britain. In that capacity he showed the greatest ability and knowledge of law, "while his argument on one of the main points—the coaling by the rebel cruisers in British ports—was conclusive of the case, and secured for him more fame in Europe than in his own country, where, until then, he was unknown out of his own state."

Returning to Toledo, Mr. Waite resumed the active labors of his profession, from which he was once more called by an election to the convention held in 1873 for the revision of the Ohio constitution. Of

that body he was by unanimous vote made chairman. It was while in this position that he was surprised by an appointment by President Grant to the office of chief-justice of the United States supreme court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Chase. He took possession of the office on March 4, 1874. Of the work performed therein, the sketch above quoted furnishes us the following account: He entered at once upon his high duties, the head, in fact, as by the Constitution, of the National tribunal. Then in his fifty-eighth year, of perfect health and unimpaired vigor, he gave himself at once unreservedly to the vast business of his court, and so entirely that, to those familiar with the soundness and strength of his frame and constitution, his death, largely due to his great labor, seems untimely. A casual examination of the United States reports, beginning in volume nineteen of Wallace, and running through the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh since produced, will show that, while he decided all the numerous and various motions, everything pertaining to the working process of the court, frequently involving questions of the greatest importance and difficulty, he pronounced opinions in as many cases as any of his hard-working associates. Few men had larger capacity for the best judicial labor. Learned in the best sense, he certainly stood well with his predecessors. Widely, deeply, well-read in the law, quick and retentive, all his requirements were for use only, never for show, and if men were never arrested by a rare stroke of genius, or a masterly reach of learning, they never, in any exigency, found him unequal to its utmost demands. His decisions are marked by the directness with which he opened his way to the heart of his case, the certainty of his grasp of it and the clearness and brevity with which he disposed of it. His mind, all his faculties, were under the guidance of that rare gift, common sense, that which enables the few to instinctively reach conclusions to which the common mind of intelligent men, after many siftings and shiftings, ultimately arrive—a judgment not to be reversed.

The death of Justice Waite on the morning of March 23, 1888, at his home in Washington, was so sudden and unexpected that it came as a shock even to those who were near to him and knew of the slight attack of cold and pneumonia with which he had been taken. He anticipated no such result himself, and had passed a night of comparative ease, but at six o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third turned over in his bed and expired immediately. The grief of the people was deep and profound, as Judge Waite had no enemies, and there was little in

his career as lawyer, as judge or as man, that any could criticise or condemn.

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, vice-president of the United States and an American statesman of some note, was born in New York city on March 23, 1823. He was employed in a store during a portion of his boyhood, both in New York state and in New Carlisle, St. Joseph county, Indiana, to which his step-father's family removed in 1836. In 1841 he held the position of deputy county auditor, at South Bend, where he also commenced to read law. He next served two years as senate reporter for the Indianapolis *Journal*, and in 1845 established a weekly paper at South Bend, called the *St. Joseph Valley Register*, of which he held the dual position of proprietor and editor. He was a Whig in politics, and made his journal an exponent of the principles of that party. His entry upon a long and useful public career was made in 1848, when he was sent as a delegate to the Whig National convention at Philadelphia, of which he was made secretary. In 1850 he was made a member of the Indiana Constitutional convention, and even then showed his friendship to the enslaved race by voting and speaking against the clause prohibiting free colored people from entering the state. The next year he became one of the Whig nominees for congress, and, although running in a strong Democratic district, his personal popularity was such that he was defeated by only two hundred and sixteen votes. In 1852 he again served as a delegate to the National gathering of his party, and was once more made the secretary of that body. Upon the formation of the Republican party, Mr. Colfax unhesitatingly allied himself to its fortunes and gave it his most earnest support. In 1854 he was elected by it to the lower house of congress, and was reëlected for the six ensuing terms. His position upon the question of slavery was consistent with his past record, and one speech made by him in congress upon the extension of slavery and the aggressions of the slave-power attracted wide attention and had a circulation of over a half million copies. His life in congress was one of useful activity and hard labor. In the Thirty-fifth congress he was made chairman of the committee on post-offices and post-roads, which place he continued to occupy until

December 7, 1863, when he was made speaker of the house. So ably did he perform the duties of that responsible office that he was reëlected in 1865, and again in 1867. His growth in the affections and confidence of his party had been steady, of which fact he was made sure in May, 1868, when the National Republican convention named him as its candidate for vice-president, and placed him upon the ticket with General Grant, receiving 522 of the 650 votes cast by the convention. He was elected in the November following, and on March 4, 1869, was inaugurated vice-president. He filled the office with ability and credit, and in 1872 received a vote of 314½ votes for a second nomination to the same office, but was defeated by Henry Wilson.

During the Credit Mobilier troubles of 1873, Mr. Colfax was charged with having been implicated therein, although such action was in opposition to his whole previous life, and those who knew him best were sure that he could do nothing irregular or dishonest. A resolution directing the judiciary committee of the house of representatives to inquire if the evidence taken by the committee of investigation called for the impeachment of any officer of the government, was passed; and when that committee reported on February 24, 1873, it was to the effect that there was no ground for the impeachment of Mr. Colfax, inasmuch as the bribe-taking, if committed at all, had been before he became vice-president. This report was received and nothing more was done with the matter, although the effect was to injure Mr. Colfax's usefulness as a public man, and to prevent his further promotion or retention in the field of public work. After his retirement to private life he lived in quietness, appearing only occasionally as a lecturer. He was very popular as such, and was heard in nearly all the great cities of the Union. At his home in Indiana he retained the confidence and friendship of his people all through life, and there was no more popular man in the state. He was a leading church member and temperance advocate, and very generous. He died suddenly at Mankato, Minnesota, where he had gone for a short season, on January 13, 1885.

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

WILLIAM A. WHEELER, vice-president of the United States, was born in Malone, Franklin county, New York, on June 30, 1819. After the usual preparatory course, he entered the Univer-

sity of Vermont, and at the conclusion of his studies there and a course of law was admitted and commenced practice. He held the position of superintendent of schools in Franklin county for a time, and also served as its district attorney. In 1850 and 1851 he represented his county in the lower house of the New York assembly, and in 1858 and 1859 was a member of the senate, of which he was president *pro tem.* In 1867 and 1868 he served as a member of the State Constitutional convention, over which he had the honor to preside. Elected to congress by a constituency which had come to appreciate his ability and understand his worth, he faithfully served from the Thirty-seventh to the Forty-fourth congress, inclusive, and left that post of honor only to accept a higher. When General Hayes was made the Presidential nominee in the Republican convention of 1876, Mr. Wheeler was unanimously chosen as his associate; and, when the Electoral commission made its report, was inaugurated vice-president of the United States on March 4, 1877. As a presiding officer he exhibited fairness, courage and good sense, while his whole course was marked by an appreciation of the honor of the position and of the dignity with which it should be maintained. He left the office with the respect of the people of all classes. His public labors ended therewith. During the remainder of his life he lived quietly, and on June 4, 1887, passed away from brain troubles, with which he had been afflicted for some six months or more.

DAVID DAVIS.

DAVID DAVIS was born in Cecil county, Maryland, on March 9, 1815, and graduated from Kenyon college, at Gambier, Ohio, in 1832. Some time was given to the study of law in Massachusetts, and afterward at the law school in New Haven. In 1835 the young man settled in Bloomington, Illinois, and was successful in his practice almost from the first. In 1844 he was elected to the legislature on the Whig ticket, and in 1847 was made a member of the convention that framed the Illinois constitution. In the year following he was elected judge of the Eighth judicial court of the state, and reëlected in 1855 and again in 1861. He was a member of the convention in 1860 that placed Lincoln before the people, and was earnest in his support both in the convention and before the people. On December 8, 1862, Mr.

Lincoln appointed him an associate justice of the United States supreme court, and in that position he exhibited great judicial ability, and will ever be regarded as one of the strongest associates of that great body.

In February, 1872, the National convention of the Labor Reform party nominated Judge Davis as its candidate, an honor which he passively accepted in the following words: "Be pleased to thank the convention for the unexpected honor which they have conferred upon me. The Chief Magistracy of the Republic should neither be sought nor declined by any American citizen." His name was used in the Liberal-Republican convention of the same year, where on the first ballot he received 92½ votes. When the regular nominations had been made, he decided to retire, and did so in a formal and final answer to the party upon whose ticket he had been placed.

On January 16, 1877, the legislature of Illinois commenced balloting for a United States senator as successor of John A. Logan. The contest was continued without result until the twenty-fifth, when the Independents, who had made Judge Davis their candidate, were reinforced by the Democrats, who were afraid that a prolonged contest might result in the election of a Republican. Judge Davis thereupon, on March 4, resigned his seat upon the supreme bench and took his place in the senate, where he acted independently of both political parties, although many questions of minor importance found his vote upon the side of the Democrats. When Vice-President Arthur assumed the Presidency on the death of Garfield, there was a tie in the senate and Judge Davis was chosen as presiding officer. In 1883 he retired from the senate and from active life. He died at his home in Bloomington, Illinois, on June 26, 1886.

THURLOW WEED.

THURLOW WEED, eminent as an editor and politician, was born at Cairo, Greene county, New York, on November 15, 1798. Of humble parentage, he was engaged in manual labor of various kinds in boyhood, and when fourteen years of age was set to learn the printer's trade. He was employed as a compositor for several years, and in 1815 went to New York city to seek his fortune. In 1819 he established the *Agriculturist* at Norwich, Chenango county,

but after a couple of years he removed to Manlius, where he started the *Onondaga County Republican*. He was connected with other papers of minor note during these years of early experience, and during the Anti-Masonic excitement caused by the abduction of Morgan, he started a journal called the *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, which at once met with a large share of popular favor and gave its editor a leading place in the councils of the new party. Mr. Weed was twice elected to the legislature on an Anti-Masonic platform, and while there his political ability was so well recognized that he was chosen as the proper man to contend with the so-called "Albany regency," then in full power in New York affairs. Accordingly, in 1830, he established the *Albany Evening Journal*, which took a prominent part in the formation of the Whig party, as it afterwards did that of the Republican. During the thirty-five years in which he had it in control, it held a prominent and influential position in party journalism and brought him into intimate relation with the leading politicians of the country. In many ways he was one of the most prominent political managers of the age, both in state and National affairs, from the days of John Quincy Adams to those of Grant. He made several trips to Europe, that of 1861 being one of National importance, as his mission was to place the struggle in which the Nation was then engaged in a favorable light before Europe, and to ask the European governments to refrain from intervention on behalf of the south.

In 1867 Mr. Weed became editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* of New York, which he was able to fill for only a year, because of failing health. The remainder of his life was spent in comparative quiet, varied by occasional letters to the public press and articles in other publications. He died at his residence in New York city on November 22, 1882.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, whose name will have a permanent place in the history of American diplomacy, came of a race already famous in American statesmanship, being the son of John Quincy Adams and a grandson of John Adams, both Presidents of the United States. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on August 18, 1807. The greatest advantages of education and intercourse

with the world were his from the start, and he made of them a most excellent use. While but two years of age he accompanied his father to St. Petersburg, where the latter was officially located, where he learned to speak several languages; and while he was yet a child his father was appointed minister to England. He spent some time in an English school, and upon his return to America was placed in the Boston Latin school, from whence he went to Harvard college, graduating in 1825. His father was then President of the United States, and the young man spent two years in Washington, after which he commenced the study of law in the office of Daniel Webster. Admitted to the bar in 1828, he gave some time to practice, but was soon called into active public life by an election, in 1831, to the Massachusetts legislature, where he remained for five years. Although a Whig, his sympathies were all against slavery—so much so that in 1848 he was nominated for vice-president, on a ticket with Martin Van Buren, by the new-made Free-soil party. In 1858 he was elected to congress by the Massachusetts Republicans, and reëlected in 1860. In 1861 he was selected by President Lincoln to fill the important post his grandfather and father had held before him—that of United States minister to England. It was, at that crisis in our National affairs, an office of grave responsibility, as the sympathies of the ruling classes in England were largely with the south, and only the surest wisdom and patriotic interest could administer it in behalf of safety and peace. Mr. Adams was compelled to deal with some of the most delicate and complicated cases that could arise between two nations, notably, the capture of the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, and the building of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers in British ports. He showed great diplomatic ability, and so conducted all the important negotiations entrusted to his care as to preserve a peace, and merit and win the confidence and respect of both nations. He was as far as possible from being the wily and intriguing diplomatist, but his bold and outspoken methods were only equaled by his determination and command of himself.

In 1872 Mr. Adams, who had become dissatisfied with the Grant administration, took part in the Liberal-Republican movement, and was generally looked upon as one of the most formidable candidates for the Presidential nomination at the hands of that new organization. Just before sailing to Europe as arbitrator at Geneva on the Alabama claims, he addressed a letter to a friend, which was made public a day or two before the convention, in which he expressed indifference as to the nomination, and declared that he would not

accept if compelled to give guarantees or pledges for his own honesty. Notwithstanding this, his name was strongly urged upon the convention by a large following, and in the convention received the following votes: First ballot, 203; second, 243; third, 264; fourth, 279; fifth, 258, and sixth, 324. It was upon this sixth ballot that Mr. Greeley was nominated by 332 votes. Mr. Adams was the author of numerous addresses and published works, and was the editor of his grandfather's extensive memoirs and works. He died at Boston on November 21, 1886.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

GEORGE F. HOAR, the eminent Massachusetts senator and political leader, was born at Concord, in the state named, on August 29, 1826. He studied in early youth at Concord academy and from thence went to Harvard, where he graduated with the class of 1846. After a course of law at the Dane school, in Harvard university, he settled at Worcester, where he opened an office. He was elected to the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature in 1852, and promoted to the state senate five years later. Henceforth his life was almost one continuous public service, in which his conspicuous ability has only been matched by his high-minded patriotism and devotion to duty. Elected a representative in the Forty-first congress, he was returned to the Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth, and declined a renomination to the Forty-fifth. From 1874 to 1880 he served as an overseer to Harvard college; presided over the Massachusetts Republican state conventions for a number of years, and also ably presided over that of the National Republican party that nominated Garfield in 1880. Among the other public appearances of Mr. Hoar was as one of the managers on part of the house in the impeachment of General Belknap, secretary of war, in 1876; and also a representative of the Republicans of the house in the Electoral commission of 1877. So far had Mr. Hoar advanced in the respect of the people of his state that he was elected to the United States senate to succeed Senator Boutwell, his term commencing on March 5, 1877. He was also reëlected in 1883. In the senate, as in the house, he has been one of the leaders, has done efficient committee work and is recognized as one of the most powerful and finished orators at present in congress.

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

ALLEN G. THURMAN, one of the greatest jurists of the west, and the representative of Ohio in the United States senate through many years of patriotic labor, was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, on November 13, 1813. His parents removed to Chillicothe, the old capital of Ohio, in 1819, and he made that place his home until 1853, when he removed to Columbus, where he has since resided. After a brief course in the Chillicothe academy, he entered the law office of his uncle, William Allen, and, after admission to the bar, entered upon an active and extended practice, not only in Chillicothe but extending all through that section of Ohio, as his legal reputation grew. In 1844 his great ability and popularity led to his nomination as the Democratic candidate for congress and he was elected. During his service in that position, he advocated and voted for the "Wilmot Proviso," and, upon the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as an unnecessary disturbance of a fair settlement of controverted questions. One term in congress was enough, and he declined a renomination. He remained at the bar in an extensive practice until 1851, when he was nominated to the state supreme court by his party and was elected under the new state constitution. He drew the term for four years, two of which he served as chief-justice. He declined a renomination and went back to practice, leaving a record of which any jurist might be proud, in the opinions recorded in the first five volumes of the Ohio reports.

In 1867 the party to which he belonged faced a majority of over forty-two thousand cast in the preceding election and looked about for someone to lead it to victory in the gubernatorial contest just at hand. The convention unanimously nominated Judge Thurman, who accepted and went into the contest with all the strength and earnestness there was within him. Although he did not win the governorship, he cut the great majority down to less than three thousand and carried a Democratic general assembly. As a successor to Senator B. F. Wade was to be chosen, the legislature naturally turned to Judge Thurman, who was elected and took his seat on March 4, 1869. From the first he assumed a leading and commanding position in that notable body. He was no new and untried man, but one of National reputation and everywhere known as a debater and lawyer. From the day of his entrance to the senate he was recognized as the leader of the Democratic minority, and for

twelve years held that position without a rival. He was made a member of the committee on judiciary, and, upon the accession of his party to power in the senate of the Forty-sixth congress, he was made chairman of that important committee and also elected to the position of president, *pro tempore*, and, because of the illness of Vice-President Wheeler, was compelled to preside for a fair portion of the time.

Upon the expiration of his first term, Mr. Thurman was again returned to the senate by the legislature of Ohio, where he continued his course of public usefulness, chief among the measures which he caused to be passed being the famous so-called "Thurman Act," in relation to the Pacific railroads—a measure by which more than one hundred million dollars were saved to the people as an immediate or prospective result. The opposition to the passage of this act was great and unscrupulous, the friends of the railroads employing every means and influence at their command, both in and out of the senate, to defeat it. It was asserted with great vehemence that the bill was unconstitutional, but its constitutionality was established by Mr. Thurman in a speech of great power, and his position was afterwards sustained by a decision of the United States supreme court.

Previous to the National gathering of the Democrats in convention of 1876, suggestions had come from all parts of the country that Senator Thurman should be presented as a candidate for the Presidential nomination. The result was that his friends decided to present his name, and he would have stood a fair chance of selection had not Ohio been divided between his support and that of William Allen, who hoped in his old age to do in the Nation what he had already accomplished in Ohio. Because of this division Thurman's name was not presented, although several votes were cast for him on the second and final ballot, by which Mr. Tilden was nominated. In 1880 he stood a better show of success, but was handicapped again by a divided delegation, as Henry B. Payne, also of Ohio, was actively in the field. On the first ballot Mr. Thurman received 68½ votes, with 50 on the second. In 1884 Governor George Hoadly, also of Ohio, was in the field, and Mr. Thurman, who was a delegate in the convention, was given 88 votes on the first ballot. The presentation of his name on the latter occasion was by no suggestion or motion of his own.

When Mr. Thurman retired from the senate on March 4, 1881, it was with the firm expectation of laying down all public burdens

and giving himself to the quiet of private life and to his books. But the friendship and good-will President Garfield had always felt toward his neighbor from Ohio stood in the way of this purpose, and in 1881 the ex-senator was appointed by the President as one of the representatives of the American government in the International congress to be held in Paris in 1881, where an attempt would be made to agree on the fixing of a uniform rule by which silver could be regarded as money by the countries therein represented. He accepted and sailed from New York on April 5, 1881, and returned in the following October. Soon after his return he was chosen one of the advisory commission in the troubles as to differential rates between trunk line railroads leading from the Atlantic sea-board to the west. In this capacity he was of great service, as his wide acquaintance with all public questions, his knowledge of the country, his studies in connection with railroad problems while in the senate, and the natural logic and fairness of his mind aided him to a comprehensive view and just conclusion.

When the Democratic party, early in the year 1888, was looking about for a strong candidate for vice-president to place upon the ticket with Grover Cleveland, whose renomination to the Presidency was generally conceded, there was a general expression in favor of Mr. Thurman; and the National convention, held in St. Louis in June, ratified that choice and made him its vice-presidential nominee. The expressions in relation to that choice, the country over, showed that it was not only wise in the common meaning of the word, but was one of the highest political expediency .

ROBERT LINCOLN.

ROBERT LINCOLN, the eldest son of the martyred President, and secretary of war under Presidents Garfield and Arthur, was born in Springfield, Illinois, on August 1, 1843. After the common school education of his native place he was sent to Phillips academy at Exeter, New Hampshire, from which he graduated in 1860, and from thence to Harvard college, where he graduated in 1864. On February 11, 1865, he was commissioned captain and assistant adjutant-general of volunteers and served on General Grant's staff until June 10, 1865. He then gave himself to the study

of the law and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He settled down quietly and modestly to the practice of his profession and was thus engaged, in 1881, when called upon by President Garfield to accept the position of secretary of war. He accepted and was installed on March 5, 1881. On the death of Garfield he was asked to continue in the same position in President Arthur's cabinet, where he remained until the close of the term. Since retirement therefrom he has remained quietly in the practice of law at Chicago, and has discouraged all efforts made to connect his name with various offices, among which was the Republican nomination for President of the United States.

HUGH McCULLOCH.

HUGH McCULLOCH, who filled the office of secretary of the treasury at an important period in American financial history, was born in or near 1811, in Maine. After a short period in Bowdoin college he gave three years to teaching, and in 1829 commenced the study of the law. In 1833 he made his home at Fort Wayne, Indiana, then a trading place of some importance, where, in 1835, he was invited by leading citizens to organize and take the management of a branch of the State Bank of Indiana, located at Fort Wayne. Upon acceptance he still held to the purpose of returning to his chosen profession, but he soon became so interested in banking that he determined to devote himself to it permanently. In 1836 he was elected a director of the State Bank of Indiana, and continued to be cashier and manager of the branch, and a director of the State bank, until the expiration of its charter in 1857. It is a matter of history that the success of that institution was largely due to his conservatism and great financial ability. In 1856 a new bank, called the Bank of the State of Indiana, with a large number of branches and an authorized capital of six million dollars, was organized to take the place of the institution which was to pass out of existence. Mr. McCulloch was unanimously elected its president. In May, 1863, Mr. McCulloch was asked by President Lincoln to take charge of the newly-created office of comptroller of the treasury. So well were the duties of that important position performed that, upon the retirement of Mr. Fessenden from the secretaryship of the treasury, Mr. McCulloch was asked to take his place, which he did in March, 1865. His adminis-

tration of the National finances was such as to gain for him the respect and confidence of the financial world, both at home and abroad. He continued in the office during the close of Mr. Lincoln's term and all through that of President Johnson, retiring in March, 1869. In October, 1884, McCulloch was again called to the post of secretary by President Arthur, where he remained until the close of the term on March 4, 1885.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

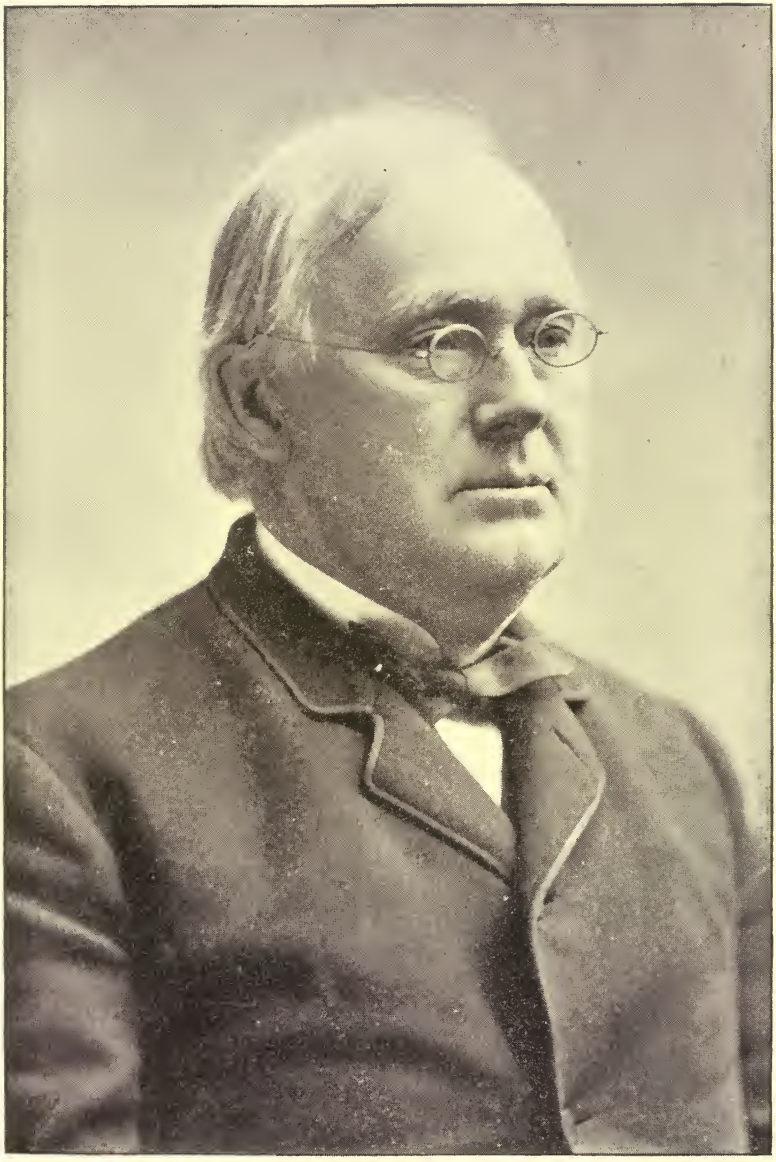
GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, a well-known American senator and statesman, was born in Richmond, Vermont, on February 1, 1828. The usual public school course was given him in boyhood, supplemented by the instructions of a private tutor, and such was his advance that he was made a member of the bar at the age of twenty-one. He commenced practice in his native town, but in 1851 he removed to Burlington, where he soon occupied one of the leading places in his profession. In 1854 he was made a member of the state legislature, where he remained until 1859, serving three years as speaker. He was a member of the state senate in 1861–2. Appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States senate, he took his seat on April 5, 1866—an office which, by continued reëlections, he has since held.

Mr. Edmunds has ever been regarded as one of the purest and ablest members of the senate, and one of the great leaders of the Republican party. As a member of the state legislature, he was distinguished for his thorough knowledge of all matters that came before it; and it was said of him, as had been said of him also as senator, that no measure could by any chance get passed into a law without his scrutiny. As chairman of the judiciary committee of the senate, he had the shaping of many of the most important measures that have ever passed congress. In the contest with President Johnson he was one of the most industrious workers, and in all the legislation of reconstruction and the enforcement of the Constitution, he has acted an influential part. The initiation and passage of the Electoral Commission bill and the Pacific Railroad Funding act were largely due to his influence and exertions; and he was made a member of the commission constituted by the act first named. Mr. Edmunds has been looked upon as the proper timber of which a Presidential candidate

might be made, and in the Republican convention of 1880, on the first ballot, recorded 33 votes in his favor—a vote which was increased to 93 in the convention of 1884.

THOMAS J. JACKSON.

THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON, better known to fame as "Stonewall" Jackson, was born at Clarksburg, Harrison county, Virginia, on January 21, 1824. Reared as a farmer's boy, his gravity and sobriety of manners made him marked, and when only sixteen years of age he was elected constable of Lewis county. In 1842 he was appointed to West Point, from which he graduated in 1846. Breveted second lieutenant of the First artillery, he accompanied Magruder's battery to Mexico, where he first served under Taylor and afterwards under Scott. For gallantry in various places he was successively breveted first lieutenant, captain and major. In 1852 he resigned his commission because of ill-health, and was soon after appointed professor of mathematics in the Military Institute of Virginia, where he remained until the outbreak of the Civil war. He embraced the cause of secession with an enthusiasm that showed him to believe the cause a just one, and with all the earnestness of a deep and sincere nature. Commissioned a colonel by the governor of Virginia, he was, on May 3, 1861, appointed commander of the Army of Observation at Harper's Ferry, which he resigned to General Joseph E. Johnston a few weeks later, retaining command of the infantry. He took part in the battle of Bull Run, where, in the language of the Confederate General Bee, he "stood like a stone wall," which gave him the popular appellation above referred to. Advanced successively to a brigadier-generalship and a major-generalship, he conducted various operations of offense and defense in such a manner as showed him a master of his art and one of the great Confederate leaders of the war. To follow his career would be to write the history of the various operations about Richmond and in the east from the beginning of the war until the day of his death. On May 2, 1863, during the exciting scenes along the Richmond & Fredericksburg railroad, Jackson, on riding from the front, accompanied by a few members of his staff, was mistaken by his own followers for a Federal and fired upon. Several of those with him were killed, while he fell from his horse wounded in



GEORGE F. HOAR.

both arms. Placed on a litter, he was hurriedly conveyed to the rear. His left arm was immediately amputated, and two days later he was removed to Guinea's Station, on the railroad above mentioned, where, for several days, he appeared to improve. But pneumonia set in and death relieved him from all pain on the afternoon of the tenth. He was honored by a public funeral at Richmond, and the feeling all through the Confederacy was that the south had lost one of her ablest generals and bravest men.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, who won fame as an American soldier and statesman before he engaged in the conspiracy for the overthrow of the government and became the official head of the Confederate States of America, so-called, was born on June 3, 1808, in what was then Christian, but is now Todd county, Kentucky. While he was yet a child his parents removed to Mississippi, where they settled near Woodville, Wilkinson county. After a collegiate education the son was sent to West Point, from which he graduated in 1828. He served in the Black Hawk war of 1831-2, and in March, 1833, was made lieutenant of dragoons, in which capacity he was engaged in 1834 in operations against the Indians. He resigned his commission on June 30, 1835, and became a Mississippi cotton planter. In 1845 he was elected a representative to congress on the Democratic ticket, where he assumed an important part in the great public questions then pending before the country. In July, 1846, he was elected colonel of the First regiment of Mississippi volunteers, and accompanied it to Mexico, where he performed such gallant service that he was tendered by President Polk a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers, which he declined on the ground that the appointment of officers of militia belonged exclusively to the states, and that in such action the President had exceeded his constitutional rights.

In August, 1847, Colonel Davis was appointed United States senator from Mississippi, and at the ensuing election was unanimously reëlected to the same position for the full term, and in 1850 was again made his own successor. In September, 1851, he was nominated for governor of Mississippi, but was defeated. In 1853 he was appointed secretary of war in the cabinet of President Pierce, which post he held until the end of the term in 1857. His administration of the war department

was marked by ability and energy, and was highly popular with the army. Upon retirement from the war department he again entered the senate for the term ending March 4, 1863. He was already recognized as one of the great leaders of the Democratic party, and at the convention of 1860 received a number of votes for the Presidency, although it was announced that he was not a candidate.

Mississippi passed the Ordinance of Secession on January 9, 1861. On the twenty-fourth Mr. Davis left the senate and returned home, where he found that he had already been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of Mississippi, with the rank of major-general. On February 4, 1861, the Confederate congress met at Montgomery, organized a provisional government, and on the ninth, by a unanimous vote, elected Jefferson Davis "president of the Confederate States of America." He was inaugurated on the eighteenth and immediately appointed his cabinet and entered upon a career the full history of which can only be told in that of the Confederacy. While he was earnestly in favor of a separation of north and south, he was also in favor of peace, and in his inaugural declared that "the moment that this pretension (our subjugation) is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce." Such views naturally led to a defensive policy, while the policy of the north compelled it to act upon the aggressive. In November, 1861, an election was held by the Confederacy, and Mr. Davis was chosen president for the full term of six years, with Alexander Stephens for vice-president. His inaugural address and his subsequent message to congress were devoted mainly to a vindication of the principles on which the Confederacy had been organized and conducted, to a review of recent military operations, and to the suggestion of measures for promoting the strength and efficiency of the army and the navy. When Mr. Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, it was responded to by Mr. Davis by the declaration that it was a measure of great cruelty by which "several millions of human beings of an inferior race, peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere," were "doomed to extermination." He pronounced it "the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man." The disasters to the Confederate arms at Vicksburg and Gettysburg caused great discontent with the executive, and compelled him to undergo a storm of denunciation and criticism all through the south. The history of the president is that of the Confederacy to the end of the war. When the news came of Lee's defeat, Mr. Davis left Richmond, on the evening of April 2, by the train for Danville, where he issued a proclamation declaring

that the capital had been abandoned only in order that the army might be free to act. He declared it to be his purpose never to submit, exhorted his constituents "to meet the foe with fresh defiance and with unconquered and unconquerable hearts." A temporary government office was opened at Danville, but was abandoned in a week, when the news came that Lee had surrendered to Grant. On May 10 he was captured at Irwinville, Georgia, by General Pritchard and a body of Union troops, and was conveyed to Fortress Monroe, where he arrived on May 19. He was confined here two years, and in May, 1867, was brought before the United States circuit court at Richmond on a charge of treason. He was admitted to bail, Horace Greeley being one of those who signed his bond. After a short stay in Richmond he went to New York and from thence to Canada, and in 1868 to England and France. He soon returned to America. In December, 1868, the case against him was nolled and he was discharged. For a time he acted as president of a life insurance company in Memphis, Tennessee, and then went to his home in Mississippi, where he has since quietly remained. He has ever declared his adhesion to the principles of "the Lost Cause," and has never admitted that the south was wrong in its attempt to secede from the Union.

ROBERT E. LEE.

ROBERT E. LEE was a distinguished member of the United States army before his adherence to the doctrine of states rights led him to follow his native state in her attempt to leave the Union, while his course as the chief military leader of the Confederacy showed that he was the possessor of great military ability and personal qualities of the highest order. He was born at Stratford, Westmoreland county, Virginia, on January 19, 1807, the son of "Lighthorse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary fame. Entering West Point academy in 1825, he graduated in 1829, the second in a class of forty-six. Appointed a lieutenant of topographical engineers, he arose to the rank of captain, and on the breaking out of the Mexican war, was appointed chief engineer under General Wool. For able and brilliant service in that war he was successively made a major, a lieutenant-colonel and brevet colonel. In 1852 he was made superintendent at West Point, where he remained three years; in 1855 was sent to

Texas, where he remained on border duty until 1859, and in the autumn of the same year returned to Washington, from whence he was sent to the capture of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, and it was only by his firmness that his prisoners were saved from the fury of the mob.

On March 16, 1861, Lee was commissioned colonel of the First cavalry, and from what was known of his character and history, it was thought that he would remain true to the cause of the Union; but on the twentieth of April he resigned his position, and in a letter to General Scott used these words: "Save in defense of my native state, I never desire again to draw my sword." His resignation was accepted, and he took up his residence in Richmond as commander of the forces of Virginia. His military record during the war can be briefly traced. Assigned to command the Confederate forces in western Virginia, disaster only met his arms, and he was transferred to the coast and took his station at Charleston, South Carolina. In March, 1862, he assumed chief command of the Confederate forces with the rank of general-in-chief. The operations by which McClellan was practically paralyzed ensued. Lee began a northward movement, and in the movements that followed Pope's army was demolished and driven back upon Washington; and by his conduct of affairs Lee created new hope for the Confederacy and honor for himself. At Antietam, however, he met with a repulse hardly less disastrous than the whole series he had inflicted upon the northern army. His course thereafter was largely one of defense until he prepared for his famous movement north, and after defeating Hooker at Chancellorsville, was himself met and beaten upon the famous field of Gettysburg. The various movements that followed, ending in the fall of Petersburgh and Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army, have been already described elsewhere and space need not be taken for repetition here. The whole north joined in a feeling of respect for the fallen chief, and gave many evidences of a high appreciation of his character.

General Lee was called to the presidency of Washington college of Lexington, Virginia, on September 28, 1865. His great executive ability, liberal culture and influence over men and his devotion to duty brought the college into a new life and vigor and won for it an influence and fame never possessed before. He had charge of the college from 1865 to 1870, avoiding notoriety of all kinds and seeking by all the means in his power to make the peace of Appomattox

one of fact as in name, and to quiet the apprehension and remove the anger of the south. General Lee died at Lexington on October 12, 1870.

P. G. T. BEAUREGARD.

ANOTHER American soldier who, like Lee, dimmed an otherwise fair fame by fighting against the flag he had followed so long, was P. G. T. Beauregard. He was born near New Orleans in or near 1817, and graduated from West Point in 1838. During the war with Mexico he earned the brevet rank of captain by gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco, and a majorship at Chapultepec. In 1853 he was made a captain of engineers. From the close of the war up to 1860 he was stationed at New Orleans for the greater part of the time, having charge of the construction of the mint, custom-house and marine hospital, and also of engineering operations on the lower Mississippi and the gulf. In January, 1861, he was appointed superintendent of the academy at West Point. A month later he resigned his position and commission and accepted a brigadier-generalship from the Confederacy. He had charge of the attack upon Fort Sumter, and was afterwards sent to Virginia, where he really commanded at Bull Run, although Johnston, who outranked him, came upon the field and fought the battle upon plans already formed by Beauregard In the spring of 1862 he was sent to the west to act as second in command of the Department of Tennessee. When General A. S. Johnston was killed at Pittsburgh Landing, Beauregard took command, with a fair share of success, but was eventually beaten and driven from the field. Soon after, failing health compelled him to forsake active service, but he was afterwards placed in command of Charleston, which he successfully defended through 1863. In 1864, when Grant was working toward Richmond, Beauregard held Petersburg until the arrival of Lee, speedily checking the advance of General Butler. In the autumn of 1864 he was placed in command of the Department of the West, and made great but unavailing efforts to prevent Sherman from advancing to the sea. He reached the highest grade in the Confederate ranks—that of general; and on the conclusion of the war made his home in New Orleans, where he engaged in business pursuits.

JOHN SHERMAN.

JOHN SHERMAN, who for many years represented Ohio in the United States senate, and who, as secretary of the treasury under President Hayes, made a record that will ever give his name an honored place in the financial history of America, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, on May 10, 1823. His father, Charles Robert Sherman, sat for a time upon the supreme bench of Ohio, and his sudden death, in 1829, left his widow in straitened circumstances and nine children to care for. A separation of the family was a matter of necessity, one son, William T., as has been shown, becoming the adopted son of Senator Ewing, and entering upon a career of military renown. John, the eighth child, was taken charge of by an uncle of the same name, in 1831, and given a home at Mount Vernon, Ohio, where he remained four years in school. When twelve years of age he returned to Lancaster, where he entered an academy with a purpose of preparation for college. The need of proper means and a desire to support himself compelled him to give up the idea of college after two years of study, and he found employment as a rod-man in a corps of engineers engaged upon the Muskingum improvement. Such was his advance in this new-found field of labor that when only fifteen years of age he was placed in charge of the section of that work in Beverly, where he remained until the summer of 1839. Even in that humble position, and at his early age, he was fated to feel the force of political influence, and he found his occupation gone in the year last named, because in principles he was a Whig. He then decided to study law, and proceeding to Mansfield, Ohio, entered the office of Charles T. Sherman, an elder brother there located. Admitted to practice in 1844, he at once became a partner of his brother, and by ability and industry soon won an enviable position at the bar.

Politics were natural to Mr. Sherman, and he exhibited great influence therein, and won success from the very first. In 1848 he was a delegate to the Whig National convention; and four years later was a member of that which met at Baltimore and nominated Scott. He was elected to congress by the Whigs of the Mansfield-Sandusky district, and took his seat on December 3, 1855. Naturally a speaker of force and power, and thoroughly acquainted with public affairs, he took a leading place in the house almost from the start. He took part in the debates upon all the great questions at that time before congress and the country—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Dred Scott decision, the imposition of slavery

upon Kansas, the Fugitive Slave law, the National finances and other measures in which the very life of the Nation was involved. When congress found it necessary to send a committee to Kansas to investigate the border troubles, Mr. Sherman was made a member, and was the most fearless and determined of the trio into whose hands was given this delicate and dangerous task. Because of the illness of the chairman, Mr. Howard of Michigan, the preparation of that report devolved upon Mr. Sherman. It was one of the clearest, ablest and most convincing documents to be found in American state papers, and the facts it fearlessly set forth were never controverted, and had great influence in preparing the north for defense of the Union in the dark days so near at hand. Of necessity, because it spoke the truth in a troubled time, the report created a great deal of feeling, and intensified the antagonisms then existing in congress; and it became the basis upon which the Republican party made its first great National fight in 1856. Mr. Sherman acted with that party and in the support of Fremont, favoring an opposition to the extension of slavery, and not declaring for its abolition. His work in congress was most carefully and industriously performed, and all bills for the appropriation of public money were by him most closely scrutinized; while he denounced as illegal the then prevalent system of making contracts in advance of appropriations. He was reëlected to the Thirty-sixth congress, which began its session amid the excitement of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. He was one of the candidates for speaker of the house, over which a protracted struggle was had, and when within three votes of an election, he withdrew from the race, and Mr. Pennington of New Jersey was elected. Made chairman of the committee of ways and means, he took a decided stand against the grafting of new legislation upon appropriation bills, declaring that "this is a practice which has grown up within the last few years, and the committee of ways and means deem it their duty at once to put a stop to it; and we have determined, so far as we can, to resist the adoption of all propositions looking to a change in existing law by amendments upon appropriation bills. The theory of appropriation bills is that they shall provide money to carry on the government, to execute existing laws, and not to change existing laws or provide new ones."

Returned again to congress in 1860, Mr. Sherman was one of the most able and indefatigable of its members in aiding to provide means for the carrying on of the government in its perilous straits. In the beginning of Buchanan's administration the public debt was less than

twenty million dollars, but at this time it had been increased to nearly five times that amount, while its finances were in such a crippled condition that the government was unable to meet its running expenses. Mr. Sherman, as chairman of that important committee, proved himself equal to the emergency. His first step was to secure the passage of a bill authorizing the issue of what have since been known as the treasury notes of 1860.

So rapid had been Mr. Sherman's advance in the confidence of the people, and so well were his duties performed in the lower house, that in March, 1861, when Mr. Chase was called into the cabinet of President Lincoln, Mr. Sherman was elected to fill his term in the United States senate—an office to which he was reëlected in 1867 and again in 1873. During the greater portion of this extended senatorial career he was chairman of the committee on finance, and served also on the committees on agriculture, the Pacific railroad, the judiciary and others of a minor character. Upon the fall of Sumter he tendered his services to General Patterson; was appointed his aid-de-camp, without pay, and remained with the Ohio regiments in his command until the meeting of congress in July. At the close of this extra session he returned to Ohio and received authority from the governor to raise a brigade. Under this power, and largely at his own expense, he recruited two regiments of infantry, a squadron of cavalry and a battery of artillery, comprising over two thousand three hundred men —a force which honorably served all through the war and was known as "Sherman's brigade." But the greatest services performed by him during the Rebellion were in connection with the finances of the country, where all his efforts were exerted to maintain and strengthen the public credit, and to provide for the support of the armies in the field. When specie payments were suspended, about the opening of 1862, the issue of United States notes became a necessity. The making of them a legal tender was not received with great favor, and it was mainly by the efforts of Senator Sherman and Secretary Chase that this feature of the bill authorizing their issue was carried through the senate and the house. The legal tender clause was declared justified as a matter of necessity. The records of the debate show that he made the only speech in the senate in favor of the National Bank bill, while its final passage was secured only by the personal appeals of Secretary Chase to the senators who were in opposition to the measure. In addition to this, Mr. Sherman introduced a refunding act in 1867, which was adopted in 1870, but without the resumption clause. In 1874 a committee of nine, of which he

was chairman, was appointed by a Republican caucus to secure a concurrence of action. They agreed upon a bill fixing the time for the resumption of specie payments at January 1, 1879—a measure which was reported to the caucus and the senate with the distinct understanding that there should be no debate upon it on part of the Republicans, and that Mr. Sherman should be left to manage it according to his own discretion. The bill was passed, leaving its execution dependent upon the will of the secretary of the treasury for the time.

Mr. Sherman was one of the committee of leading men sent to Louisiana during the great dispute over the Presidential election of 1876, and great reliance was placed in Washington upon his investigations and report in connection therewith. Upon General Hayes' accession to the Presidency, Mr. Sherman was offered the secretaryship of the treasury and accepted, assuming the office on March 4, 1877. His transfer from the senate finance committee to the treasury department was regarded with great satisfaction by all who were in favor of refunding the public debt into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, and who desired the success of resumption in 1879. Both of these measures were successfully accomplished during his incumbency; and in addition to his other claims upon history, Mr. Sherman, by his able administration of this great office, will be remembered as one of the great financial ministers of America. He retired from the treasury department upon the expiration of President Hayes' term; and upon the elevation of Senator-elect Garfield to the headship of the Nation, he was chosen to the vacancy thus made, where he became one of the leaders in the senate.

While Mr. Sherman's name had been mentioned in connection with the Presidency, it was not until 1880 that he was regarded as one of the formidable candidates for the nomination at the hands of the Republican party. In the National convention of that year he was given 93 votes on the first ballot, which increased to 107 on the thirty-fourth. In that of 1884 he was given 30 on the first ballot. He was the leading candidate before the country in 1888, and in the convention held at Chicago in June, was honored with 229 votes on the first ballot, which strength was practically maintained until General Harrison was declared the nominee.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

JAMES G. BLAINE, a statesman and one of the great leaders of the Republican party during some of the most trying scenes in its history, will live in the records of American politics, by the side of Clay and Jackson, as a man admired by all for his brilliant talents and courage, and beloved as few public men are by the great mass of the party to which he belonged. He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on January 31, 1830, at Indian Hill farm, the home of his maternal grandfather, Neal Gillespie. At eleven years of age he was sent to school at Lancaster, Ohio, where he resided with the family of his relative, the Honorable Thomas Ewing, at that time secretary of the treasury. Early in life he displayed those brilliant qualities that made him so famous in after life, graduating from Washington college in 1847, when but seventeen years of age. He then taught school for a time in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, wrote for the press and studied law, but never entered upon practice. In 1853 he went to Maine and entered upon the brilliant career that has made him the greatest and most honored man of the state. He was for a time editor of the Portland *Advertiser*, and afterward of the Kennebec *Journal*. He was chosen a member of the Maine legislature in 1858, where he served four years, two of which were passed as speaker of the house. His rapid promotion in power and the confidence of the people has been thus briefly stated by no less an authority than Governor Kent of Maine: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the Kennebec *Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the state. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the executive committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the state, always leading his party to a brilliant victory." In 1862 he was elected to the lower house of congress, and by successive reëlections was retained therein until his promotion to the senate. Among the important committees upon which he served during his early congressional career may be mentioned that on military affairs, the special committee on the death of Abraham Lincoln and as chairman of that on the war debts of the loyal states. In the Fortieth congress he

served on the committee on appropriations and rules. Although young in comparison with the veteran statesmen and politicians about him, Mr. Blaine always commanded the attention of the house, and before he had been in congress many years, ranked among the best as a debater. He was a staunch friend of the Union from the beginning of the war to the end, and during the darkest days won attention from the country and cheered many by the delivery of a speech upon "The Ability of the American People to Suppress the Rebellion." While a member of the post-office committee, he took an active part in securing the system of postal cars now in use. All through the troubled period of reconstruction he was active and energetic in influencing legislation, and especially prominent in shaping some of the most important features of the Fourteenth amendment, particularly that relating to the basis of representation.

In the Forty-first congress Mr. Blaine's ability and influence were more fully recognized by his election as speaker of the house—an office which he held through the two succeeding congresses. It has been truthfully said that "no man since Clay's speakership presided with such absolute knowledge of the rules of the house, or with so great a mastery in the rapid, intelligent and faithful discharge of business. His knowledge of parliamentary law was instinctive and complete, and his administration of it so fair that both sides of the house united at the close of each congress in cordial thanks for his impartiality. Even more marked than his career as speaker was Mr. Blaine's course in the house when he returned to the floor at the close of his speakership." This was especially true of his speeches during the debates on the proposition to remove the political disabilities of Jefferson Davis. With an eloquence, a dash and a spirit that aroused the north and thrilled loyal hearts everywhere, he attacked the defenders and apologists of the late Confederacy, and won a victory that endeared him to his party and made him, even more than before, one of its great and best beloved leaders.

In June, 1876, when Lot M. Morrill of Maine resigned his senatorship to accept a seat in the cabinet as secretary of the treasury, Mr. Blaine was appointed to fill the vacancy. When the Maine legislature met in January, 1877, he was promptly elected not only for the unexpired term but also for that which would end on March 4, 1883. He was one of the most prominent members of that branch of congress as he had been in the other, and took a prominent part in every important debate. So prominent had he now become, not only in congress and within the Republican party but in the general affec-

tion of the people, that his name was used in connection with the Presidency for a long time prior to the gathering of the National Republican convention of 1876, and by the time that body had gathered, he was the leading power among all who had been named. He was presented to that body, which met at Cincinnati on June 14, in a speech of signal power and eloquence, by Robert G. Ingersoll, in which his description of Mr. Blaine's parliamentary charge upon the hostile forces in congress gained for him the appellation "The Plumed Knight," by which he was afterwards popularly known. As in the case of all candidates, the forces in the minority united against him and the nomination was given to Governor Hayes. Mr. Blaine's vote on the various ballots stood as follows: 285, 296, 293, 292, 286, 308, 351. During his senatorial career, lying between 1876 and 1880, he grew yet more firmly fixed in the affections of his friends and followers, and when the National convention of the year last named approached, it was generally recognized that next to Grant he was the strongest candidate in the field. When the votes upon the Presidential nomination were taken in that body in June, he was given 284 votes on the first ballot to 306 cast for Grant. On the thirty-fifth ballot—General Garfield being nominated on the thirty-sixth—he still had 257 votes. He labored earnestly for the election of the successful candidate, and when Garfield was declared the choice of the people, it was a general desire and a foregone conclusion that Mr. Blaine should become a member of his cabinet, which desire was echoed and ratified by Garfield himself, who offered Mr. Blaine the portfolio of the secretary of state. It was accepted and he entered upon the discharge of his duties on March 4, 1881. He was a close personal friend of his chief, and was walking arm in arm with the latter in the Washington depot when the bullet of the assassin was sent upon its fatal work. All through the long sickness Blaine was the one upon whom the people depended, and who supplied, as far as a subordinate could, the place of the President in the affairs of the government. When Garfield died, his chief secretary was chosen by congress to pronounce the funeral oration in the memorial services held by that body in his memory, and his speech upon that occasion was one of the most eloquent and most touching ever delivered on American soil.

Upon the accession of Mr. Arthur to the Presidency, Mr. Blaine tendered his resignation, but at the urgent request of the President withheld it until December 12, when he was succeeded by Mr. Frelinghuysen. In his administration of the foreign office, the retiring secretary had shown a mixture of caution and courage that had marked

him as able in diplomacy as he had been in debate or politics, and had also evinced a broad grasp of mind of which his previous career had given few hints. Upon his retirement to private life, he returned to his home in Maine to await in quietness the development of events. From his peculiar relations to the brief administration of which he had been a part, he was spoken of as Garfield's political heir, and the feeling deepened as 1884 approached that he was the man upon whom the Presidential nomination of that year should be laid. The convention met at Chicago on June 3, and the will of the party was made apparent when Mr. Blaine was declared the nominee, the various votes standing as follows: First ballot, 334½; second, 349; third, 375; fourth, 541. John A. Logan was placed upon the ticket as vice-presidential nominee. Mr. Blaine took an active part in the canvass that followed and made several speeches, but the day was won by his opponent, Grover Cleveland of New York.

Mr. Blaine philosophically accepted the verdict of the people and remained in the quiet of private life. Some months preceding the Republican Presidential convention of 1888, he made a visit to Europe and paid no attention whatever to the progress of home political events so far as he had personal relation thereto. But there was an earnest and energetic faction at work within the party that demanded that he should again become candidate. When the proper time came for a definition of his position, Mr. Blaine sent home a plain and emphatic letter which definitely withdrew him from the race; but despite even that, the movement in his favor went on. A second letter, equally as plain, followed, but even it had so little effect that when the convention met in June, at Chicago, there was a general feeling that the chances of his nomination even yet were about even. Although his name was not formally presented, he was balloted for, and on the first ballot received 35 votes; and two cablegrams from himself to friends in the convention were necessary to prevent a further continuation of the struggle, and votes were yet cast for him upon the eighth ballot, by which General Harrison was nominated. No man in the world ever had a more earnest and loyal following, through years of public life, than was that attached to the political fortunes of James G. Blaine.

MELVILLE W. FULLER.

MELVILLE W. FULLER, one of the leading lawyers of the west, and named by President Cleveland as the successor of Morrison R. Waite as chief-justice of the United States supreme court, was born in Augusta, Maine, on February 11, 1833. He was fitted for college in Augusta, and entering Bowdoin college, graduated therefrom with the class of 1853. He at once commenced the study of law at Bangor, and after attending lectures in the law department of Harvard university, began the practice of his profession in Augusta, in 1856. While awaiting the advent of clients, he for a time acted as editor of the *Age*. Feeling, however, that the law was his true field of labor, and seeing also the advantages of a larger and newer field of operation, he went west and made Chicago his home. His ability was speedily recognized and properly rewarded. He at once took a prominent place at the bar, and his powers and reputation have grown with the passing years. In 1861 he was elected a member of the State Constitutional convention, and in 1862 elected to the state legislature. Although a Democrat, running in a strong Republican district, he was elected by large majorities upon both occasions. He served as a delegate to the National Democratic conventions of 1864, 1872, 1876 and 1880, and in 1860 he was selected by the people of Chicago to deliver an address of welcome to Stephen A. Douglas upon the latter's nomination to the Presidency. The legal practice of Mr. Fuller has been extensive and important. In his practice before the supreme court he has been associated or come in contact with the leading barristers of the country, and has ever shown himself equal to any of them as a lawyer or orator. He was nominated to the supreme court on April 30, 1888, and after some delay confirmed by the senate.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, a soldier and a statesman, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on August 20, 1833, the son of John Scott Harrison and grandson of William Henry Harrison, President of the United States. He commenced the study of law in Cincinnati, and, after admission, went to Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1854, and commenced practice. He made headway in the profession, and, being an orator of unusual ability and an earnest Republican, was soon known as one of the foremost

political speakers of the state. In 1860 he made his entry upon public life by an election to the office of reporter of the Indiana supreme court. In July, 1862, Governor Morton, under the call of the President for three hundred thousand three years' men, requested Mr. Harrison to assist in recruiting the regiment from the Sixth Indiana district, and for that work gave him a commission as second lieutenant. He soon raised a company—A, of the Seventieth regiment—of which he was elected captain. He then assisted in filling up the other companies of the regiment, which was complete and ready to go to the front in less than a month, and of which he was made colonel. After a variety of service in Kentucky and Tennessee during the next eighteen months, up to January, 1864, Colonel Harrison's regiment was formally assigned to the First brigade of the Third division of the Twentieth army corps, and with this organization he served until the close of the war, doing gallant service and being promoted to a brigadiership.

From the time of leaving Indiana with his regiment until the fall of 1864, after the capture of Atlanta, General Harrison had taken no leave of absence, but, having been nominated by the Republican State convention of that year for the office which he had relinquished to go into the field, he took a thirty days' leave of absence, during which he made a brilliant canvass of the state and was elected for another term. He then rejoined the army, was in the siege and battle of Nashville, and served until the surrender of Johnston; and was with his command at the final grand review of the Union forces at the close of the war. In 1868 he declined a reëlection as reporter and resumed the practice of law. In 1876 he became a candidate for governor under peculiar circumstances, having been placed on the ticket by the Republican state central committee, while absent from the state, to fill a vacancy caused by the declination of the regular nominee. He had, before the convention, declined to take the nomination, but, as the action of the committee was in deference to the popular demand, he accepted it and threw himself into the fight with his accustomed vigor. This campaign, although unsuccessful, greatly extended General Harrison's acquaintance and reputation among the people. In 1880 he again took an active part in the campaign, and when it was found that the Republicans had carried the state legislature, he became at once the leading candidate for United States senator. His nomination was foreshadowed before the legislature convened; and before the caucus met, all the other candidates withdrew. His service of six years in the senate gave

him a National reputation. During this period he grew very rapidly in public estimation. His senatorial term expired March 4, 1887, and, as the Democrats were in possession of the Indiana legislature, he was not returned.

General Harrison had, ere this, been often spoken of as an available candidate for the Republican nomination for President, and when the National convention of that party met at Chicago in June, 1888, he was most prominent among those whose names were mentioned. He gained steadily in favor from the first, and on June 25 received the nomination for President on the eighth ballot, his vote from first to last standing as follows: First ballot, 80; second ballot, 91; third ballot, 94; fourth ballot, 217; fifth ballot, 213; sixth ballot, 231; seventh ballot, 278; eighth ballot, 544. The result was accepted with satisfaction by the Republicans in all quarters of the land.

LEVI P. MORTON.

LEVI P. MORTON, banker and statesman, was born at Shoreham, Vermont, on May 16, 1824. After receiving a common school education he began his business career as a clerk in a Concord, New Hampshire, dry goods store. In 1850 he became a member of the firm of Beebe, Morgan & Co., merchants of Boston. In 1863 he founded the banking house of Morton, Bliss & Co., in New York city, with that of Morton, Rose & Co., in London, as correspondents. These two houses were largely instrumental in making resumption of specie payments in the United States possible, and in enabling the government to fund the United States debt. The firm of Morton, Bliss & Co. soon became one of the most powerful and prominent among American banks. Mr. Morton entered public life in 1876 by a nomination to congress by the Republicans of the New York Eleventh congressional district, and, although defeated, he greatly reduced the usual Democratic majority. In 1878 he was elected in the same district and took a high position in congress whenever matters of finance were under consideration. Sent as United States minister to France, he remained abroad until the Democratic administration came into power in 1885. In January of that year he was a candidate for United States senator before the New York legislature, but Mr. Evarts was elected in his place. In the Republican Presidential convention of 1888, held at Chicago in June, he was proposed as a candidate for vice-president, and was nominated on the first ballot by 591 votes.



Benj Harrison

HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS.

FIFTY YEARS OF MICHIGAN AS A STATE.

GENERATIONS of men come and go, ripening with years for the inevitable harvest, but institutions in harmony with eternal laws may expand and strengthen as the cycles of time roll on, and with every passing century strike their roots deeper and take on some new form of perennial growth.

A panoramic, historical view of the region which embraces Michigan, beginning with the first meagre accounts we have of it, would be of intense interest and give us many startling surprises. First, we should see on a background of almost total darkness the desperate struggles of powerful tribes of Indians contending, in their savage way, for its possession. Then a day of promise seems to dawn when the Jesuit fathers come, inspired with the purpose to convert the wandering tribes of savages to the true faith, but destined to give tireless labors for a harvest which seems but scanty when they come bringing in their sheaves. Not altogether in vain, however, do they labor, for on the picture we trace how the gleam of their mission fires lights the way for trade and settlement, and how the early commerce finds protection in the rude cross planted at the missions, about which the Indians gather with their furs and peltry for barter. Shortly appears upon the canvas the venerable figure of Father Marquette, who in 1668 plants at the Sault Ste. Marie the first permanent settlement in Michigan, and three years later founds the mission of St. Ignatius on the Straits of Mackinaw. Ninety years more roll on and the Chevalier la Motte Cadillac is seen to select with unerring sagacity as the site for his town the commanding position now held by the commercial metropolis of the state; but the town he establishes grows but feebly under the monopoly of trade which represses the energies of its people until it passes under British control. Then immediately the gloomy

and threatening countenance of Pontiac rises before us, and we have in succession the dramatic surprise and capture of Mackinaw, with the massacre of its garrison and traders, followed by the close and persistent siege of Detroit, in the progress of which first romance and then tragedy excites intense interest. And then all through the war for independence the lines of British influence over the Indians are seen to centre at Detroit, which is the mart for captives and the place where scalps torn from the heads of men, women and children in the back settlements are gathered in and paid for. Even after the treaty of peace the baleful British influence over the Indians is not withdrawn until two American armies have been disastrously repulsed, nor until a third, under General Wayne, has annihilated the savage power.

Willingly we allow so grewsome a canvas to be rolled up from our sight that we may open the record book of American supremacy. And here we find the very first pages radiant with the history of that grand and inspiring event in our National life—the founding of territorial government for the country northwest of the Ohio, on the principle of entire and absolute exclusion of chattel slavery. When the founders of the new government thus took stand in advance of their age, they builded not wisely merely, but better than they knew; for their act was such "a deed done for freedom" as sends "a thrill of joy prophetic" through the universe. In putting slavery under perpetual ban, a blow was struck at oppression everywhere whose echoes were never to die away till the conscience of the world should be so quickened that in America every shackle should fall from human limbs, and even in distant Russia church bells should ring in a jubilee of emancipation.

In the fullness of time Michigan, fourth in the list of free daughters of the old Northwest Territory, was decked with the honors of incipient statehood, under the same perpetual dedication to equal rights and universal liberty. It was fortunate in its name, which is American, derived from Indian words signifying a great lake. Mr. Jefferson had proposed for it the classical appellation of Chersonesus; but a kindly providence spared it the hard fortune to be thus named, and when it was organized in 1805, inspired its godfathers to give it the appropriate christening. In other particulars it was not so fortunate, and the early annals form dismal reading. In the very year of organization, Detroit was wholly burned to the ground and its people rendered homeless. And while the little settlement was still struggling with adversity came on the War of 1812, and the

Revolutionary soldier, who had been made governor and entrusted with the defense of the lake region, proved wholly inadequate to the military responsibilities of his position, and Detroit, under most humiliating circumstances, was delivered into the hands of the enemy. Then came the massacre of Kentucky's brave sons at the River Raisin, and the banishment of worthy citizens who refused to turn traitors; but competent leadership soon breasted and turned back the tide of success, and in little more than a year Perry had won possession of Lake Erie, Harrison had chased the British army across the river and broken it up in a decisive battle, and Colonel Lewis Cass had been sent to Detroit as military commandant, soon to be followed by a commission as civil governor.

If the first appointment of governor for the territory had proved unfortunate, in the second the people found ample compensation. Governor Cass had been a pioneer in Ohio; he knew the west and its needs, and during the war he had become well known to the people of his new government. He was of vigorous intellectual and physical constitution; he was a man of culture and courtesy; he was of pure life, so that with no affectation of dignity he commanded respect for abilities and deportment, and became a social force of marked and permanent benefit to his people. In his administration of public affairs it was soon perceived that he was a statesman in no narrow sense; that he thoroughly understood the interests committed to his charge, and that he might be relied upon to advance and cherish them with an energy proportioned to a nature so robust and vigorous.

To the pioneers of Michigan it would be repeating a thrice-told tale to recount how Governor Cass, by just and fair treatment of the Indians, preserved their friendship and purchased in fair convention vast tracts of their lands; how he contributed to the opening of the territory to settlement by means of good roads and the bringing of the public lands into market, and how, with a statesman's perception of the real point of danger in a democratic Republic, he urged upon the legislature from session to session that competent provision should be made for educating in the public schools all the children of the territory. Nor was his interest in public education bounded by the narrow limits of elementary instruction, but comprehending the best and the highest, so that even in one of his treaties with the Indians we find him making a beginning in university endowment.

When Governor Cass was called to the government but few settlers of American birth had as yet located in the territory; but these few were

"The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

The population swelled rapidly, until in 1830 it numbered upwards of thirty-two thousand. But in the following year the territory lost its chief magistrate, who was summoned to a seat in the cabinet of President Jackson. The loss was not made good by the appointment of Mr. George B. Porter of Pennsylvania to the vacancy, for the new appointee was slow in coming to his government, and was much absent from his post afterwards. Under the law, in his absence, the duties were performed by Mr. Stevens T. Mason, the territorial secretary, who, when the responsibilities of government devolved upon him, was still a boy, without legal capacity to buy a horse or give a note of hand. But the acting governor was ambitious and able, and he shortly became leader in a movement for state government. In 1835 the population was found to exceed sixty thousand, and under a claim that this, by the Ordinance of 1787, entitled the people to organize as a state, a constitution was formed and adopted by popular vote and a full complement of state officers elected and installed, with Mr. Mason as governor.

Had there been no opposing interests, it is probable that these proceedings, though plainly irregular, would have been sanctioned by congress and the state received into the Union. But a boundary controversy with Ohio, involving territory of which the chief value centered in the rising town of Toledo, complicated the situation; the military were called out to defend the respective claims, and for a time the Toledo war raged. But the war was in prudent hands, and, though drums were heard, not a funeral note brought sorrow to any household. Ohio had the advantage of position, for she was already in the Union with voting power, and President Jackson, who could appreciate this, disallowed the claims of Michigan to state government, and sent John S. Horner on as secretary, to be acting governor and restore peace. The secretary, on coming on, found no government awaiting him, and people only ridiculed his pretensions. There was thus a state government repudiated at Washington and a territorial government rejected at home, when congress intervened with the compromise proposition that Michigan, in exchange for the territory in dispute, should accept the upper peninsula. The offer was emphatically rejected; but an irregular convention of the people having subsequently voted to accept, the authorities at Washington pretended to be satisfied with this and declared the state admitted to the Union with its present boundaries. It was a piece of sharp practice and

people protested; but, even while protesting, they acquiesced, satisfied in their hearts that for all that was taken from them princely compensation was made. And thus the Toledo war came to an end. One belligerent had won all that it contended for and the other a great deal more, and Franklin's aphorism that there never yet was a good war was proved to admit of exception.

The state was received into the family of the American Union on January 26, 1837. The occasion invites some notice of the people as they then were; of their antecedents and characteristics, that we may the better judge of the motives underlying and permeating the social and political community.

The motives which in past ages have led to colonization have not commonly been such as strict morality could approve, and in history we have many stories of great wrong, and very few in which the motive apparent was higher than National ambition or greed. The colonization of New England was exceptional, but it has been overpraised, as if it were a planting of states on the great principle of freedom in religious worship. This it was not and could not have been, for the world was not then ready for such a planting. What our New England forefathers did was to brave the hardships and privations of the wilderness that they might establish civil and religious liberty for themselves, and this was noble, even though they invited and desired no participation by others.

Religious motive in the ordinary sense had nothing to do with the colonization of Michigan. The early explorers were missionaries, but the French settlers came for trade and barter, as did also those of early nationalities. The later immigrants were for the most part men of very limited means, who in their plain way would answer an inquiry for their motive in coming west with the common response that they had come west to better their condition and in order that their children might "grow up with the country."

The motive as thus stated seems commonplace and, to a degree, selfish. We hear it with a certain degree of respect, but we are not thrilled by it, or excited to high admiration, as we are when we read how some self-sacrificing, patriotic or religious motive has inspired a great movement or led to notable deeds. But a motive may seem commonplace, or even selfish, and yet be grounded in the noblest sentiments of human nature. In the building of great states of vigorous and wealth-creating people selfishness comes first, though philanthropy may come later, and the selfishness is blamable only when excessive. The greatest of the apostles in his pointed condemnation of the man

who provides not for his own, "and specially for those of his own house," has shown us in what category he places this duty, and reason, as plainly as the preacher, declares that the duty to place those whom nature has committed to our care above the want that causes suffering and breeds repining is not social merely, but religious also. In performing it we may lift those dependent upon us into that condition of comfort and content from which shall spring the sentiment that life is a beneficent gift from the Creator, to be acknowledged with continuous gratitude and well-doing.

It can justly be said of the pioneers of the state that they performed faithfully and well this duty of care for their own, and in doing so they demonstrated the harmony of their aims and their labors with the purposes of the Creator. The foundations of a great state were laid in industry, frugality and the domestic virtues.

If we look into the social conditions of the period we behold an exceedingly primitive society, in which wants were few and the measure of strict economy ample for their gratification. The older towns of the state were still largely French in population. Among these were all grades of intelligence and all conditions of worldly prosperity; and while some took up business in a large way and with ample means, others were content with the small gains and meagre fare of trappers and fishermen. But the majority of the people had found their tedious way into the territory from other states in the heavy, tented wagons which then plowed the ruts of every forest road, but are now as much unknown in Michigan as the buffalo or the beaver. They had come with an inspiration as absorbing as that which moved the old crusaders, and far more intelligent and elevating—an inspiration to seize the golden moment when peacefully, with their small means, they might possess themselves of homes where prudence and economy, after some discipline of pioneer hardship and deprivation, would be sure of just rewards, and where ample means for the nurture and education of a hardy and vigorous offspring should be within the reach of every industrious citizen. Never before in the history of the world, and in no other country but America, was such tempting promise held out for the acceptance of honest industry.

It was a hard life the pioneers led in the woods, but every acre which they brought under cultivation added to the value of their possessions, and they could forego without repining many of the most ordinary comforts of life when the future promised such abundant compensation. And hard as it was for husbands and brothers, it was for wives and sisters still harder. Many of them had been reared in

competence and accustomed to luxuries; but they had left these behind them without repining, and had brought to the west no notions which would preclude their giving effective assistance in any labor, indoors or out, to which the feminine strength was equal. And it must be said that there were few tasks to which it was found unequal, for the willingness to be helpful begat the strength necessary for the purpose; and the happiest days of many an honored woman's life were when she was piling and burning the brush in her husband's clearing, and as the sun went down refreshing him and herself with supper from the brimming milk-pail which she brought from the pasture. If she was a lady in her eastern home, she was not the less so with rougher hands and coarser garments and heavier burdens, but with equally buoyant spirits, in the woods, where only her husband's ax woke the reverberating echoes. She wore no diamonds and no laces; she may have known little and cared less for fashion; but she did her full share in giving to the new state the muscle and the brain, the industry and the strength of character, that in a few short years were to bring to it both wealth and greatness. The song of the spinning-wheel in the log cabin was as cheerful then as is now the melody of musical instruments in many thousand happy homes, which owe their abundant comforts to the patience, the self-denial, the industry, the energy and the endurance of those who first opened the forest to the sunlight. The men felled the trees, and the women, "keepers at home," made the home worth the keeping. In that day of small things it was woman's mission, which woman faithfully performed, to

> "——bring to her husband's house delight and abundance.
> Filling it full of love and the ruddy faces of children."

But if the pioneers could dispense with many comforts they could spare none of their accustomed institutions. They must, therefore, have the common schools, which in their view were a necessity to both the social and the civil state. But the provision for these was on a scale of economy corresponding to that which governed domestic expenditures, and often the child had to travel a tedious distance to school, where the instruction awaiting him was still more tedious. Then, too, those were the semi-barbarous times when every "master of the district school" was "brisk wielder of the birch and rule." But poor as they were, these pioneer schools were harbingers of better things—the rude forerunners of a system not surpassed in the world and seldom equaled. All education must be largely a pro-

cess of self-training, and the child of inquiring mind, with only the most imperfect help at first, may make all things about him, animate and inanimate, his teachers, finding "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks," to instruct him. In these primitive schools many a boy acquired such elementary instruction as enabled him in time to become a man of mark in the state; and they should be mentioned with respect, for places of honor and trust, from lowest to highest, have been filled with their graduates, who in many cases wielded wisely and well an extensive and valuable influence.

The early settlers in Michigan were for the most part young men, who first entered upon the stage of independent action in their new home. This was in some respects a great advantage to the state, for the vigor of youth inspired all industrial and political life, and made itself effectively useful where a conservatism which comes in later years might not have ventured. But in the confident and restless energy of youth may lurk dangers also; and as these young men contemplated the material advantages and resources of the state, hope told a flattering tale of the rapidity with which it might be made great and wealthy by prompt and efficient development, and pictured results so alluring and so apparently attainable that sober reason for the time was mastered.

General causes greatly magnified the dangers. When the state government was formed, an eager spirit of speculation pervaded the country. Wild lands seemed to offer the best means for its gratification. The Erie canal had been constructed, railroad building had begun, the west was brought within easy reach of the sea-board, and the emigration to it must be large and continuous. Land in the west must immediately begin to advance in value, and the advance must continue until prices should approximate those in the eastern states. Such was the confident and not unreasonable expectation. Wild lands, therefore, became the chief object of speculation, though by no means the sole object.

Some faint idea of the prevailing rage may be had from the statement that in 1834 fifty per cent. more public land was sold than in any prior year; that three times as much was sold the next year, and the quantity sold in 1836 equaled all the sales from 1821 to 1833 inclusive. The hurricane of speculation swept across the country, but the cyclone struck here. The state was easily accessible, and immigration poured over it in such a torrent that it seemed like the concocted migration of a great people. In the three years following 1834, though the tide was greatly checked in 1837, the population



DAVID DAVIS.

of the state was doubled, and lands in enormous quantities were held for speculation, much of it under purchase money mortgages far exceeding actual value.

The story of what followed, if given in detail, would show how, to realize the flattering hopes of speedy wealth, the state was induced, under the leadership of its sanguine governor, to enter upon an extensive system of internal improvements by canal and railroad, when it had not money to dig a mile of ditch or build a mile of road; how for this purpose it mortgaged its future by a loan far beyond its ability to pay even the interest; how bonds were issued for this loan and by a breach of trust put upon the market when only a moiety of the loan had been received; and how to meet its current expenses and interest resort was had to state scrip of doubtful constitutionality. The great crash soon came, when the bubble of speculation broke. The market value of land went down faster than it had even gone up; wild lands became unsalable at any price; debts contracted in buying them bankrupted the purchasers, and the over-trading which had been a part of the general inflation was succeeded by such sharp reactions as made disaster general. In two years from the time when speculation was at its highest, and expectation most buoyant, the business of the state was prostrate; credit, public and private, destroyed. bankruptcy general, and large numbers of persons looking about anxiously for the means of subsistence. Only among the officers of the law, who were busy in bringing suits and serving writs, was prosperity apparent, and they had found their harvest time.

The bubble had burst, but another that had been inflated at the same time to dangerous proportions was now further expanded as a means of relief. And here we open another chapter of state history which can only be mentioned, but not entered upon: the chapter which concerns that species of financiering appropriately termed wild-cat banking—banking without legitimate banking means or convertible security, and therefore only calculated to play the part of a beast of prey. Enormous amounts of worthless paper were issued; the wild banking and the wild speculating going on hand in hand until the latter collapsed, threatening to pull down the worthless banking system with it, when the legislature interfered and authorized suspension of bank payments. Even then the process of creating banks was not stopped, and the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of banks coming into existence in a state of suspension—born bankrupt and lifeless except for plunder. Before the year was over in which the state was admitted to the Union, it had gone

through all the stages of unreasoning speculation; it had been compelled to refuse recognition of state obligations disposed of without consideration received, though the refusal subjected it to a plausible but unjust charge of repudiation; it had begun railroads and canals it had no means to construct and did not yet need, and it had legalized a great brood of banks which had flooded the country with dishonored currency now sinking rapidly to utter worthlessness. Such was the mortifying results of the attempt to find an easier road to wealth and greatness than by the common highway which industry and frugality open. The suffering from the collapse of this fictitious prosperity was general, but here, as in all similar cases, losses from bad currency fell in largest measure upon persons of limited means, who had fewest opportunities to keep advised of what was coming, or to provide against it when it was perceived.

At the beginning of 1839 the lowest depths had been reached and the golden visions which had dazzled the eyes of the people had faded away. State and people alike were oppressed by debt, and the public works were unfinished and unprofitable. Nothing but a long course of sober and persistent industry, with strict economy, could bring effectual relief. But reason was now restored, and it was an inspiriting spectacle to see with what unhesitating confidence the people put the past behind them, and beginning at the very bottom, applied themselves to planting, in steady labor, in frugal living and in honest dealing, the foundation of public and individual prosperity.

The errors of Governor Mason as executive are very patent, but in some particulars he is to be highly commended. He was a man of public spirit and good purposes, and had the best interests of the state at heart. His judicial appointments, among which were those of George Morell, Epaphroditus Ransom and Elon Farnsworth, were excellent, and he did an incalculable service to the state when he made John D. Pierce superintendent of public instruction, and gave him the assistance he needed in putting in force his views upon common school and university education. And here he had the help of Isaac E. Crary, the first representative of the state in congress, well qualified by culture and ability to be a safe adviser. Nor must we forget that it was during the administration of Governor Mason that a geological survey of the state was provided for and put in charge of that enthusiastic student of nature, Douglas Houghton —a survey which has been carried on to this day with most valuable results. The good he did, therefore, fully justifies the warm

place the boy governor of the state still holds in the hearts of the people.

The financial crash carried down with it the Democratic party, which had been in power when madness ruled the public councils. In the election of 1839 William Woodbridge, a native of Connecticut, was chosen governor. He had been in the territory twenty-five years, and had held the offices of territorial secretary, delegate in congress and judge of the territorial supreme court, which last office President Jackson had taken from him to confer upon one of his own supporters. He did not serve out his term as governor, being transferred to the Federal senate to succeed John Norvel, who, with Lucius Lyon, had been the first members. Mr. Lyon had previously given place to Aug. S. Porter. Lieutenant-Governor J. Wright Gordon then became governor.

The Democratic party was restored to power by the election of 1841, with John S. Barry as governor. Mr. Barry was a native of Vermont, who in agricultural and mercantile pursuits had acquired a reputation for a prudence not too narrow to be thrifty, for methodical business habits and for integrity. He had been sufficiently in public life to be known to the people of the state, and his characteristics seemed to indicate him as a suitable man for executive at a time when the people were still burdened with public and private debts, and when, in the management of public affairs, strict economy and accurate business habits were of the first importance. He was not chosen for popular manners, for he neither had them nor apparently cared to acquire them, but he was, nevertheless, reëlected in 1843 and again recalled to the office in 1849, after having been four years in retirement.

The administration of Governor Barry was eminently useful to the state. It gave to the state an illustration of rigid economy and careful method in the management of public affairs, which determined the character of financial management for the state thereafter. It was of value also for its influence upon private habits and expenditures, and the state and the people from that time went on steadily and strongly in the direction of improvement and accumulation. The times demanded an executive to whom the facile and flattering tongue of the demagogue was denied, but who could make austere and uncompromising public virtues acceptable to the people, and Governor Barry fully met its requirements.

In the election of 1845 Alpheus Felch, a native of Maine, still living, and worthily associated with state history from the first, was made

Governor Barry's successor. Under his administration the state relieved itself by sale of the incubus of its railroads. The sale was demanded by a public sentiment practically unanimous, and it has never been regretted. The state was at once put in condition which made payment of its indebtedness easy, and its financial credit became unquestioned and unquestionable. And now for a second time the state lost a good executive by the transfer of the governor to the Federal senate. William L. Greenly, the lieutenant-governor, succeeded him, giving way, in 1848, to Judge Ransom, a native of Massachusetts, who had retired from the bench three years previously.

The old pioneers of the state were gratified by the nomination of Governor Cass to the Presidency in 1848, naturally preferring him, as they did, to any other candidate of his party. The governor, after serving in the cabinet of President Jackson, had been sent as minister to France, and on his return was elected to a seat in the Federal senate. He resigned his seat pending the Presidential election, but dissensions in his party proved fatal to his prospects, and a man without known political principles was elected over him. Governor Cass was a statesman of the old school, upright, patriotic and decorous; but he was overwhelmed by a rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment, which he could neither resist nor fully understand, and new men, who were ready to grasp with aggressive ardor the living issues of the time, soon supplanted him in public notice. In this he but shared the fortunes of his great contemporaries, Webster, Clay and Benton, who, for a time, struggled vainly to master the logic of events, hoping against hope that by new compromises they might preserve the National peace and repress a conflict which the laws of mind and morals made irrepressible.

During the last administration of Governor Barry, the time seemed to have come for that peaceful and undisturbing revision of the fundamental law which is always provided for in the American constitutions, and which enables new ideas to assert their supremacy without the revolutionary violence that might be a necessary concomitant in some other countries. The period was one of uneasiness and unrest the world over; the thrones of Europe were shaking, and the people, with arms in their hands and behind barricades, were demanding the abolition of oppressive special privilege and for themselves a larger share in the government. America escaped the calamities of insurrection and civil war, and the radical wave which swept across both continents spent its force upon constitutional

changes, which brought the agencies of government more directly within the reach of the popular voice and made, in some important particulars, a better adjustment of individual rights. A notable change in Michigan was the requirement that judicial officers and heads of executive departments should be chosen by popular election. In an entire revision of the state constitution, made in 1850, we find restrictions upon over-legislation in the provision for biennial sessions of the legislature, and in the limitations imposed upon the exactness of private, social and local laws. Exemptions of property from forced sale for debts were largely increased, and married women were relieved from the hard rules of the common law which gave their property to their husbands. Very low salaries were prescribed for all state officers—that of the governor being one thousand dollars only. The possible consequences of corporate aggrandizement were aimed at in a provision requiring all corporations to be formed under general laws which were to be always subject to alteration or repeal. Banking laws must be approved by popular vote, and the state was prohibited from engaging in internal improvements or taking part with or loaning its credit to any person, association or corporation. These last are significant provisions, born of the great revulsion, but as wise in policy as they are noticeable in origin.

The succession of the executive office fell, in 1851, to Robert McClelland, for a term shortened to one year in the change of constitutions. Governor McClelland was a native of Pennsylvania, but had emigrated to Michigan before it became a state, and had served for three terms in the popular branch of congress where he had made for himself a National reputation. He was reëlected governor in 1852, but resigned to become secretary of the interior, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Parsons. Charles E. Stuart, who had also served with credit in the lower house of congress, was now advanced to the senate to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Felch, who had accepted a Federal appointment.

The great anti-slavery uprising which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had the same disintegrating effect upon political parties in Michigan as elsewhere; and the Free-soil party now almost wholly absorbed the Whigs and had sufficient reinforcement from the Democratic party to enable it to take control of the state. Kinsley S. Bingham, who had served two terms in congress and made a good record, led the Democratic contingent into the Free-soil ranks.

He was a native of New York, a farmer by occupation, had been in Michigan since 1833; and was now elected governor as the candidate of the new party. He was a man of good but not showy abilities; made a good record as governor and was reëlected in 1856. At the end of the second term, he was chosen senator in congress to succeed Charles E. Stuart. Governor Cass continued in that body until 1857, when he became secretary of state under President Buchanan and was succeeded in the senate by Zachariah Chandler. Of this gentleman it may safely be said that from the time of his election to the senate he was the most notable man of his party in the state; that he soon became prominent in National politics, and that his influence with his party associates grew from year to year to the day of his death.

Mr. Chandler was a merchant of Detroit, and, like his predecessor, a native of New Hampshire. He had strong native sense, easily adapted himself to all classes of men and all grades of society, was quick in decision, fearless in action, uncompromising in principle and inflexible in purpose. These are the characteristics which make one a natural leader of men, and Mr. Chandler by mere force of will commonly carried the doubting and hesitating among his associates along with him. He was less learned, courtly and polished than his predecessor; he knew much less of literature and the history of foreign countries and our relations with them; but he resembled Governor Cass in his integrity and thrift, while in his nature he was far more combative and persistent. When the time came for the great life and death struggle of the Nation, no defiance rang out clearer and stronger, no courage was less doubtful of results, no vote was more unhesitatingly or more emphatically given for radical measures than were those of Zachariah Chandler. For twelve years he spoke the voice of the state in the senate, and on the main questions of the day his utterances were never of a doubtful import. Governor Bingham was his fitting colleague when the Civil war began, but he died in 1861, and was succeeded by Jacob M. Howard, another man of strong and positive qualities, respected alike for his learning, for his great natural parts, and for his integrity and fearlessness, who immediately took good rank in the senate, where he commanded general respect.

Governor Bingham was succeeded as executive by Moses Wisner, and he, after two years, by Austin Blair. Both these gentlemen were natives of New York, and both were inflexible in devotion to an undivided country. When the war broke out, Governor Wisner

entered the army at the head of a regiment, and great expectations followed him to his new field, but he fell a victim to disease before there had been opportunity to give proof of military ability. His successor is still living, and performing with undiminished strength such duties as are assigned him, and therefore with record still incomplete; but it must be said of his administration that it was made notable by the refusal to join in compromising the dignity of the country and the constitutional rights of the people in order to win back seceding states, and by the vigor and fidelity with which the state, while the war lasted, performed all National duties.

When the war broke out, Michigan was found to be loyal to the core. All parties, as by instinct, perceived that a great struggle was before us, which was to put to final test the institutions of the fathers, and to determine for all time whether we were henceforth to be one of many under a living Constitution, or to be many and not one, under a disrupted and despised compact. The alternative admitted of no hesitation, and reason not less than sentiment responded to the summons of the Union, and responded again and again as the need increased in urgency. Nor in this did Governor Cass, though fresh from associations which had tainted some others, waver or hesitate. He had lost his youthful fire and vigor when the war began, and no doubt felt much of that despondency which is a common accompaniment of great age, in times of public danger and perplexity; but when he thought the time had come that he could no longer serve his country in the cabinet, he withdrew, to come back to the scenes of his early labor and successes, and there, with his old neighbors and constituents assembled about him, urged firm adherence to the cause of their common country, and gave his last public utterance for an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

The deeds of Michigan's honored sons are resplendent in the history of the great Civil war. How honorable was the part which Israel B. Richardson, Alpheus S. Williams and others like them, now gone from among us, took in the great constitutional debate where cannon answered cannon in the argument! And that mighty man of war, George A. Custer, a lion in the battle and a child by the fireside! How the mountain passes of Virginia thundered beneath the tramp of his horsemen as he hurled them upon the enemy, striking never a light nor dallying blow, and winning never a barren victory. But Custer, too, is laid to rest.

"With all his country's wishes blest,"
—But not until the battle storm had passed away,
"With its spent thunders at the break of day."

Leaving

"A greater earth and fairer sky behind.
Blown crystal clear by freedom's northern wind."

Of the four years' trial of the Constitution in the Civil war only this need here be said: The bands of union which some feared and many hoped were but withes of straw proved to be bands of iron, so entwined with the affections of the people as to bid defiance to assaults from any quarter. The idea that with many people has been almost a maxim, that it is almost impossible to support republican institutions in large countries, was shown to be utterly baseless. Other nations recognize the cogency of the proof. In Great Britain the monarchy has become little more than a name; France at last seems securely Republican, and, excepting Russia and Turkey, every nation in Europe has been quickened to high life by American example, and either secured representative institutions or perfected such as it had before.

Proceeding with the regular course of events, the organization of an independent supreme court a little before the war should be mentioned. Of the justices of this court, Isaac P. Christiancy and James V. Campbell remained long enough on the bench to make for themselves great names in legal circles, as did also Benjamin F. Graves, who in 1868 became their fitting associate.

The successor of Governor Blair was Henry H. Crapo, a native of Massachusetts, who was recommended to the people by his eminent business ability, which had been exhibited in many different vocations and with unvarying success. He was once reëlected and is remembered as an able, careful and prudent executive. During his term the fever of voting municipal aid to railroads was afflicting the country, and he strove, but without success, to stay its progress in this state. This method of making use of municipal credit and resources was, however, brought to a stop by a decision of the supreme court before the evils had become very serious.

The successor of Governor Crapo was Henry P. Baldwin, a native of Rhode Island, who for many years had been extensively engaged in business in Detroit as merchant, manufacturer and banker, and had won an enviable reputation for ability, integrity and liberality. He held the office for two terms, retiring at the beginning of 1873. Succeeding him for two terms was John J. Bagley, a native of New York.

In him the state had for executive one of those strong and vigorous characters who, by their native sense, business tact and ability, and promptitude in the performance of duty, do honor to the commonwealth with which they unite their fortunes. Many such have made their homes in Michigan, but none more worthy of honorable mention than John J. Bagley. He began life without means, and with but slight educational advantages, but he was full of energy and was prosperous in business from the first; his stores of useful information kept pace with his other acquisitions, so that when he was called to the office of governor his fitness for the place was universally recognized, and his administration was able, popular and wise. He was a man of large heart and of strong domestic and social ties; he was proud of his state and city, and he felt every inch the governor when he had occasion to be their representative abroad, and to speak, as he delighted to do, in their praise.

The gentlemen who have held the office of governor since the time of Governor Bagley are fortunately all still living, and may be daily met in social and business circles, where their ability and worth make them prominent and respected. Charles M. Croswell held the office from 1877 to 1881; David H. Jerome from 1881 to 1883; Josiah W. Begole from 1883 to 1885, and the latter then gave place to Russell A. Alger. Each of these gentlemen, as a private citizen, was known and respected for the energy, prudence and success with which he managed his own business interests, and the people expected from each an administration of public affairs which would be prudent, conscientious and watchful, and in no instance were the expectations disappointed. Governors Croswell and Begole were natives of New York, and Governor Alger of Ohio. To Governor Jerome belongs the proud distinction of being the first governor of Michigan who was born within its limits, the true representative of those who were reared among its stumps and taught in its district schools. Good rearing and good teaching that must have been that gave a product so sturdy, vigorous and self-reliant, so well calculated by energy and persistence to hew an open road to public respect and fortune.

The succession in the Federal senate was kept up by the election of Thomas W. Ferry to succeed Jacob M. Howard in 1871, and Isaac P. Christiancy to succeed Zachariah Chandler in 1875. Judge Christiancy did not serve out his term, but resigned to accept the appointment of minister to Peru, and Henry P. Baldwin succeeded him for a time under executive appointment, until the election by the legislature of Omar D. Conger, who is still in office. Senator Ferry was once reëlected,

and was succeeded by Thomas W. Palmer in 1883. All these gentlemen are still living and still making history.

Of the men who served the state faithfully in the lower house of congress, and whose records have been sealed by death, a few have already been mentioned. It would be a pleasing task to name all the others in succession; but the list is long, and at best we could only pass through it and place a laurel here and there upon a worthy brow. And among the worthy was William A. Howard, a man of strong and positive qualities, who represented the first district from 1855 to 1861. He took high rank in congress and had a place on most important committees. One of them was the special committee created for the investigation of the inroads into Kansas by armed bands from the border states. The country was then excited beyond all former precedent by what seemed to be the approaching culmination of the struggle over slavery, and already from state to state leaped the live thunder of the coming tempest. The committee in an elaborate report put plainly before the people a mass of startling facts, constituting one of the most important historical documents of the period. Mr. Howard was also one of the committee of thirty-three appointed to consider and report upon the subject of further National compromises, but his principles forbade him to take even the shortest step backward, and he performed effective service in defeating the purpose for which the committee was created. Men doubted at the time whether this was best, but few doubt now.

Another worthy name is that of Fernando C. Beaman, who entered congress in 1861, and had the rare fortune, unequaled in the state, except in the cases of J. A. Hubbell and Omar D. Conger, of serving for five consecutive terms. He was a modest man and became less prominent in congress than many others who were neither so able nor so useful. Fidelity to duty was to him the mainspring of public action, and when he was offered the appointment of senator on the resignation of Senator Christiancy, he declined because his health was then failing and he could not in conscience accept an office to whose responsibilities he felt himself physically inadequate. Charles Upson, also, who served for three terms, beginning in 1863, was a man of ability and sterling worth, and the career of a frank, manly, upright, honorable and useful citizen was closed when he passed away, having served the state in many important offices.

It is pleasing, also, as we pass along, to note some Federal appointments made in evident recognition of the truth that the office should seek the man and not the man the office. Such was the appointment

of President Angell of the university to conduct an important and delicate negotiation with China—a deserved compliment to the profession of which he is so distinguished a member, and which in China is particularly respected and esteemed. It was a graceful return which the Flowery Kingdom made to the state when it bestowed upon the university its excellent display of Chinese productions, which at New Orleans had excited so greatly the interest of all visitors. And eminently worthy also was the selection of George V. N. Lothrop, the distinguished leader of the bar of the state, for the important post of minister to Russia. When the National Executive so emphatically makes fitness the test in his selections, the people are not likely to overlook or even in thought to underrate the fundamental maxim that public office is a public trust.

But while thus mentioning a few of the many worthy men who have filled with credit important offices, we are reminded continually that many of the most notable and useful of the citizens of the state have seldom or never held public office. They have been active and served the public well in their several callings, and set worthy examples; but for various reasons, not personally discreditable, have lived and died private citizens. They may not be the less entitled to public honor for that reason. The test of worth is not in holding public office, but in showing, by an intelligent performance of duty everywhere, a fitness to hold it. A state's choicest possessions are its men of broad and vigorous minds, pure character and noble aspirations, whether they serve the public in high station or low; as cultivators of the soil, in the professions or in handicraft employments. Such men inspire and elevate all who come within the sphere of their influence; they give the state respect and standing abroad; they strengthen it in the esteem and regard of the whole body of its people, and they create among its youth emulation in excellence which is better for them and for the state than any reaching after mere personal distinction of wealth or office. Nor does the public-spirited citizen fail to find that in private life he is charged with public duties which in their performance may be made of the highest utility, and while he performs them faithfully, he knows he stands not merely at the post of duty but at the post of honor. The trappings of office are mere tinsel, but commanding worth, as Emerson has so justly said, "must sit crowned in all companies."

Thus in brief space have we attempted to summarize the leading events in state history. As thus presented, the history seems tame and commonplace as compared with what, during the same period,

has been taking place in other countries. No battle has been fought on our soil, no violent revolution has occurred in government, the steady pulse of industry has not been disturbed by the near approach of any alarming danger. There have been local calamities and disorders, but not once in all the period of state existence has anything occurred so strange and remarkable as to rivet to it the anxious eyes of the world. But yet—and largely because of this very fact—how mighty have been the changes! The state which, fifty years ago, was knocking at the door of the Union for the favor of admission, now numbers a population equal to that of all the American colonies at the time they first set British power at defiance in refusing to yield obedience to the Stamp act. In fifty years the state has added to its population as much as the continent did in the first one hundred and fifty years of its colonization, and its growth in material wealth has been still more wonderful. This single fact is far more striking and significant, and far more worthy the attention of statesmen and historians, than could possibly be the greatest of battles and the most brilliant of victories upon which nothing was depending but the gratification of individual or National ambition. Nor will the character of the population acquired suffer in comparison with that of any other country on the globe. The population is mixed as to nationality, with the Puritan blood predominating, but it is sufficiently homogeneous for all important purposes of the social state and of government. British America is largely and usefully represented; the Germans are planted on all sides, making intelligence and industry productive; all parts of the British islands have furnished contingents, as has Holland also, and other European countries; but disturbing elements are few, and order, industry and thrift are everywhere. The educational system which the state so early established and so wisely nourished receives cordial support from adopted citizens, and it grows and prospers steadily and strongly, having, like the gentle showers of heaven, blessings for all. Rarely, in either public or social concerns, does nationality of birth determine the action of the individual. To the sober, industrious citizen of foreign birth, whether born in British islands or in Scandinavia, or beyond the Rhine, or in that small country of great renown, "where the broad ocean leans against the land," the home of nativity may always remain the home of sentiment, but the country of adoption will not, for that reason, be the less cherished; and common interest, common pursuits, common enjoyments and common aims and purposes must rapidly obliterate distinctions, leaving all proud that of right they

are entitled in this beautiful and thrifty state to share the priceless benefits of its institutions.

And its people may well take pride in the state, whether they contemplate it simply in its grand results or examine it in comparison with other states. In the main its record is a clean one, bearing upon it few marks that one should care to erase. After passing over the brief spendthrift days of its youth, we have only the unexciting story of how energy, enterprise, prudence and thrift may quietly, and without the notice of the world, build up a mighty state, with all the elements of strength and every promise of enduring prosperity. And were we to go back of the record to show who those were who were most active, efficient and able in state building, it would appear that, for the most part they were men who began empty-handed but strong-hearted, and by mental and physical energy and force of character made for themselves a name while helping the state to greatness.

Michigan was the twenty-sixth state to take its place in the American Union, but it has been advancing steadily and with strong and even pace to the front, and to-day only eight are leading it in wealth and population. And while Michigan has been overtaking and passing so many of the older states, not one, new or old, has ever taken and securely held a position in advance of Michigan. Of the original thirteen only New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have now more people, and in a little time the proud old Bay state must content herself with a lower place. What more can be said in praise of the state than that it has more than kept pace with the astonishing growth of the country, and more than kept good the wonderful promise of its earliest years. Justly and with the emphasis of proud satisfaction may its citizens exclaim as they welcome the stranger to their borders: *Si æquris amœnam peninulam circumspice*—Its beauties, its riches, its attractions are everywhere! But not in its growth, in its beauty, in its wealth, in its numbers does the state chiefly pride itself, as its religious and charitable institutions and its complete system of public education and what the people have done and are doing through these and by these must sufficiently attest. First and foremost the aim of the state has always been to prepare its youth to act well their part in the great drama of life, and in the incidental trials and rivalries. If that aim is accomplished the state may well be content, for material success will abundantly follow.

However rich and diversified are the bounties of nature,

"Man is the nobler growth our realms supply;"

and the strength of the state must always be in the manhood of its people, who, if worthily trained, will make their own success in their chosen walks of life the glory of the commonwealth.

OUR CONGRESSMEN: THEN AND NOW.

CONGRESSMEN, correspondents, compositors and claimants move on Washington from all parts of the United States, "when the wild geese southward fly." In the olden time it was for many who came a fatiguing journey, especially for those who had to cross the Alleghany mountains. Henry Clay, with a few other western congressmen who raised horses on their home farms, used to journey here in the saddle, accompanied by their families, in light covered wagons, and dispose of the horses and vehicles after their arrival. A few of the wealthy New England Federalists and of the aristocratic southerners went to Washington in state, in their coaches-and-four, which they retained through the winter for their personal use. But a majority of the senators, representatives and delegates came here as passengers in the famous old lines of stages, drawn by five good horses, two on the pole and three on the lead. Those were the days of comfortable wayside inns, where the teams of horses were changed, and where hungry travelers found well-cooked meals of venison, fried chicken, beefsteak, hot waffles, tea and coffee, for which never more than fifty cents—sometimes only twenty-five—was demanded. It was somewhat exhilarating, after having been shut up in a stage-coach for several days, to come in sight of the dumpy dome which then crowned the capitol, and which looked for all the world like an inverted wash-bowl.

The coaches belonging to the rival lines of stage-coaches used to come dashing into the Federal city, as many then called it, those which carried the mails having guards sitting beside the drivers, armed with blunderbusses, there having been several daring robberies of the mails on the Baltimore and Washington turnpike. It was an old saying that the owners of the lines of stages furnished horses, but that the drivers had to furnish whips, and the skillful reinsmen would pick a fly from a leader's neck with an adroit motion of the wrist. The coaches stopping before the hotels, each one of which was designated by a large swinging sign, out would come the landlords, bare-headed, to "welcome the coming" guests, and the tired passengers, often covered with

dust, would be shown to a long sink, where they would perform their ablutions in tin wash basins, and then use crash towels hung on rollers, finishing their toilettes with a comb and hair-brush chained to the side of a looking-glass.

In those days, when the charge for board and lodging at the best Washington hotels was two dollars per day or ten dollars a week, decanters of brandy and of whiskey were set upon each dinner table, to be used by the guests without extra charge. The public sitting-room had at one side a bar, where an adroit manipulator of drinks concocted potent beverages. Need I say that disturbances, often ending in bloodshed, were common in these bar-rooms at the beginning of this century? The waiters at the Washington taverns were all slaves. Free men of color were gradually introduced, and then came the Irish, one of whom was shot dead in the dining-room of Willard's hotel one morning just before the war, by a California congressman, because he had not displayed sufficient alacrity in bringing a warm plate of buckwheat cakes.

The quaint, sleepy old borough of Georgetown, established at the head of navigation on the Potomac river, fifty years before the Federal metropolis was located, was long the sea-port and the court end of Washington. English dry goods, West India groceries, Madeira wines, Brazilian coffee and New England "notions" were landed at its wharves, the vessels that brought them taking return cargoes of the excellent flour brought down the Potomac in boats from the Shenandoah valley. On the heights behind the town were many commodious villas, each in its garden, in which there resided old Roman Catholic families descended from the followers of Lord Baltimore, thrifty Quakers from Pennsylvania, a small New England colony, with a few senators and representatives, whose private fortunes enabled them to live in style and to keep carriages. Other congressmen boarded at Crawford's famous Union hotel, and they were taken to the capitol and back in a large stage-coach with seats on the top, known as the "Royal George."

Before the Washington hotels were able to accommodate comfortably those who visited the metropolis, many of the congressmen boarded at private houses, where they formed what was known as "messes." These were generally composed of those of congenial political opinions, and it was understood that no additional boarders were to be taken without the approval of the "mess." Many pleasant acquaintances were thus formed among congressmen away from their homes, especially when the table and the sitting-room were graced by the presence of one or two ladies. In those days, however, not over one member of congress in twenty brought his wife to Washington. Now

over forty senators and upwards of one hundred and fifty representatives are accompanied by their wives at Washington, and the daughters and other ladies attached to the families of congressmen number over one hundred. The home-like effect of these women is very salutary, and to it may be ascribed a decided change for the better in the morals of the congressmen.

There is now an abundance of hotel accommodation of the different grades at Washington, although some of the best public-houses have grown, by accretion, from comparatively small buildings, and lack many of the modern conveniences. The guests coming from all parts of the country differ widely in deportment and in dress, and the professional politicians, who congregate at the National metropolis in crowds, are generally not strictly up to the Chesterfield type of good breeding. They like to rendezvous in the room of a representative from their state or district, where they order drinks and cigars at his expense, and discuss the probabilities of success in place-hunting, hour after hour, occasionally sending forth one of their number, as the dove was sent from the ark, to reconnoitre and ascertain, if possible, what rival applicants are doing to ensure success.

Washington has always been well supplied with amusements. In the olden time the elder Booth, Warren, Jefferson, Fanny Kemble and other genuine stars gave the play-goers better performances than they now enjoy, and in those days there were none of the variety shows now so abundant. There were birthnight balls and assemblies, with dances at the hotels to the music of a darky fiddler, whose saltatory orders directed the cotillion and regulated the intricate figures of the veil. These parties, which always broke up at midnight, have been replaced by "Germans" commencing at that hour, in which the leader dashes about like Sheridan leading a charge of cavalry. Then, as now, there were horse races in the spring and fall, in which congressmen from Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland have always taken an especial interest. Cock-fighting is now contrary to law and only secretly indulged in, but some of the old "handlers" of belligerent "birds" recall the regular attendance of President Jackson at the cock-pit, and tell how he brought some of his "Hermitage" fighters here to be ignominiously defeated.

Quite a number of Revolutionary heroes, men of giant minds and pure hearts, were members of the earlier congresses, and endured the bitter attacks of the journalists of those days. They were the representative men of the infant Republic, and many of them, with their immediate successors, possessed that loftier statesmanship



CARL SCHURZ.

which, rising above the atmosphere of fierce political passions, impelled them to prefer the welfare of their country to the clamorous demands of party. With these leaders were many others who took such parts in the drama of congressional legislation as are assigned in theatricals to that useful body of men known as supernumeraries. Prompted only by humble aspirations, they doubtless succeed to their heart's content, leaving on the journals no other evidence of congressional service than a parrot-like repetition of "yea" or "nay." Yet these pawns on the congressional chess-board never sold their rights to appoint cadets at West Point or Annapolis for money; never accepted Credit Mobilier railroad or telephone stock; never brought to Washington a lot of impecunious henchmen for whom they demanded places; never passed days in supplying their rural constituents with garden seeds; never sold the quotas of public documents which came to them for distribution, and never clamored for places for "their sisters, their cousins and their aunts" in the bureau of engraving and printing.

The senate used to meet at noon and remain in session about three hours, adjourning over every Thursday until the following Monday, while the house, which was rarely in session four hours a day, seldom sat on Saturdays. Business was transacted—especially in the senate—very much as a board of bank directors deliberates around its table. There were no *verbatim* reports, and as the stenographers who prepared for their respective newspapers skeleton reports of the proceedings devoted but little space to routine business, congressmen could freely advocate, oppose or amend resolutions before them without having every word they uttered put in print to be scattered over the country as a part of their "record," to be brought up against them on some future occasion.

When a senator or a representative intended to speak at length, or when gentlemen at either end of the capitol informally agreed to discuss an important question on a designated day, a formal announcement was made in the *National Intelligencer*. The few stenographic notes taken were afterwards transcribed for the speakers, who wrote out at length their remarks—or what they would have said. Many of these post delivery speeches were models of oratorical strength and grace, after the original skeleton had been clothed with well-worded sentences. John Randolph was a privileged character, and many of his clean-cut sentences were flavored with venom, while the retorts by Tristam Burgess of Rhode Island were compared by Ben Hardin of Kentucky to "cuts with a butcher's knife sharpened

on a brick-bat." But it was seldom, in those days, that the Dryasdusts were roused from their snoozes. When there was verbal sparring, it was generally followed by hostile meetings in a secluded dell at Bladensburg. Nearly every congressman has his rifle or dueling pistols, and there were half a dozen shooting-galleries on Pennsylvania avenue where embryo belligerents practiced every day. The dueling "code" was a frequent topic of conversation among gentlemen, but it was not unusual for two congressmen, "quick in quarrel," to draw bowie-knives or pistols, with hostile intent, even on the floor of the house, while the body was in session, but somehow no one was ever hurt. On one occasion, a drunken representative at the theatre, not fancying the performance, began shooting at the actors, who precipitately left the stage and lowered the curtain.

Party spirit and the tone of partisan presses have certainly improved since the vile articles were printed about Washington, Jefferson and Jackson. But while there is less vituperation and vulgar personal abuse by journalists of those in authority to whom they are opposed, the pernicious habit of "interviewing" is a dangerous method of communication between our public men and the people. It is no secret in the reporters' galleries at the capitol that repudiated interviews have been prepared by the subjects and furnished by them to the interviewers, who dare not expose the cowards who thus deny the truth of their own assertions.

Daniel Webster is entitled to the foremost place among the intellectual athletes who have figured in the congressional arena. A man of commanding presence, with a stalwart frame, a large head, swarthy features, bold eyes glowering beneath shaggy eyebrows, and a firm, massive under jaw, he used to stand in the senate like a sturdy Puritan sentinel on duty before the gateway of the Constitution. He was not a lovable man, though he had strong passions—he was genial in his social instincts, fond of novel pursuits and well versed in English literature. On that sad night, when he had learned of the nomination of Scott by the Whig convention and felt that his life-long hopes had been blasted, a jubilant crowd visited his house and insisted on having a speech from him. The grand, heart-broken old man at last complied with the request, and rising superior to the occasion, scornfully looked down upon the little men gathered in front of his door, and made a few commonplace remarks, ending by saying: "I will sleep sound this night, and if I wake, I will know the hour by the constellations—for this is a glorious night." A few weeks later, and he turned for con-

solation from false friends, with a sore, saddened heart, to the revealed word of God.

Then there was Henry Clay—the gallant "Harry of the West"—who was for years the idol of the Whig party, and who originated many of its measures, yet whose indirect association with the United States bank deprived him of the confidence of many Whig leaders. No man doubted his personal honesty, and it was generally known that he was so poor that his friends paid his debts, but there was a certain something wanting to give him the hold on popular esteem necessary to elect a man President. No one could so move an audience with impassioned eloquence, vehement invective and taunting sarcasm—the fire of his bright eyes, the sunny smile which lighted up his countenance, adding to the magnetic influence of his well modulated voice. He was "the Great Commoner" of the United States, and his oratorical remains, like those of the mastodon, will long excite the wonder and the interest of posterity.

Differing from Webster and from Clay, and yet in most respects their equal, was John C. Calhoun, who preferred reigning in South Carolina to serving the United States. While Calhoun, in mental and moral characteristics, has been compared to Burke, whose private purity was never questioned, and while Clay carried out the personal parallel with the younger Pitt, with a stronger constitution, stronger passions and more liberal indulgence of them, there was a greater similarity between Daniel Webster and Charles James Fox. Both of these great parliamentary orators possessed the same scorn for money, the same recklessness in pecuniary matters and the same disregard for debt. It was with wonder that Webster said, in pronouncing his eulogium on Calhoun, "He had no recreation—he never seemed to feel the necessity for amusement." He might have added that the great South Carolinian had neither weaknesses or vices, unless pride, the sin by which angels fell, can be considered as the earth-mark of a character otherwise more faultless than often falls to the lot of humanity.

After this trio of great congressmen, came *verbatim* reporting, which has had a leveling influence in the senate and in the house of representatives, especially on the lawyers, who are in the majority at either end of the capitol. Each one imagines himself retained upon every question that comes up, and as what he may say is reported with automatic fidelity and enshrined in print without delay, no amount of argument will induce him to change a hair of his opinion, which he would regard as bad faith towards his clients. When these legal congressmen first speak, their sentences are phrased like those of a brief, and their

rhetoric is that of a mortgage deed. In due time this mannerism disappears, and grasping a question, their appeals to reason, patriotism and sentiment are often forcible and effective. They are generally copious but not tedious, and some of them have the good sense to sit down before losing their own intensity or the attention of the body that they have addressed.

But the Congressional Record, which should mirror exactly what is said and done, is not what it purports to be. It does not contain a phonographic report of the proceedings of the senate and the house, but instead of that, senators and representatives substitute what they wish that they had said. Sometimes remarks that were so completely answered as to make their authors ridiculous have been omitted altogether, thus placing the responding speakers in the attitude of replying to what was not said, and presenting the victor in debate as a Don Quixote, fighting wind-mills.

Another great evil is the publication in the Congressional Record of speeches not delivered. Many of these are purchased of the newspaper men at Washington, some of whom increase their incomes considerably by speech-writing. The purchasers of this patriotic literature often file the speeches for publication without reading them, which sometimes causes trouble. An amusing example of this abuse occurred in the second session of the Thirty-seventh congress, when there appeared in print within little more than a hundred pages of each other, two speeches, the greater part of which are precisely identical. Neither speech was spoken, and in each case leave was given to print. Either the thoughts of the speakers by a singular mental constitution were precisely alike and found expression in the same words, or an impecunious Bohemian sold duplicate copies of a speech to the two gentlemen.

Comparatively few clergymen have been elected to congress. The foremost of these was Edward Everett, whose classical speeches, choice in words and as neat in phrase, came from him with a charming ease and felicity of expression, and sounded like the gentle ripple of a brook. His remarks, however, lacked the great element of sincerity, and his every word and gesture had been carefully rehearsed.

When the secession plot ripened, its growth encouraged alike by the slave owners at the south and by the abolitionists at the north, dark masses of clouds hung over the political firmament like a funeral pall. Many eminent statesmen, soldiers and sailors, governed by the purest motives, were induced to follow the flags of their respective states into rebellion, and then to unite beneath the stars and bars.

With the exodus of those southern congressmen who went to Montgomery to establish a new government, which was to be brought in triumph to Washington, came a new era at the capitol. Slavery, like the sword of Damocles, no longer hung suspended over the deliberations of congress.

William H. Seward of New York sought the leadership of the Republican party, but he was not equal to the self-imposed task. His speeches in congress, before the commencement of hostilities, were couched in language so metaphysical and so rhetorical that it was difficult to know what he really meant, as he wandered on through the region of the improbable or the impossible.

Reverdy Johnson of Maryland and Garrett Davis of Kentucky were the last apologists for slavery in the senate. Their respective states were kept in the Union by force, and they evidently felt that they stood on slippery places, as they indulged in long, subtle arguments, in low tones, reminding their hearers of the dangerous wisdom of the serpent and the gentleness of the dove.

Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was, on the whole, the foremost statesman in congress during the war and the reconstruction legislation that followed it. Before the roll of the northern drums had been heard in the southern states, he had denounced slavery and received brutal testimony that his denunciations had been heeded. When the silver-toned trumpets of peace were heard, he endeavored to secure equal rights before the law for the liberated race, and while others dallied with passing events, he looked ahead! It might well have been said of Mr. Sumner as Dr. Johnson once said of Edmund Burke: "Sir! if you should meet him under a bridge during a shower, and had never seen him before, you would know that he was a great man." Upwards of six feet in height, with a stalwart frame and long gray hair, he was a man of imposing presence, with courteous manners and a gentle disposition. He had to carry, in the last years of his life, a heavy burden of domestic trouble, but he moved bravely onward until he was suddenly removed by death.

There are always half a dozen or more senators and representatives who have the Presidential bee buzzing in their bonnets, and although they occasionally give some hard hits in debate at the capitol, they often meet at hospitable boards a few hours later in fraternal harmony. That benevolent, yet belligerent old gentleman, Mr. Pickwick, was astonished when he saw his lawyer shake hands with the counsel retained by Mrs. Bardell to 'oppose him. So our political champions, after cavorting and prancing about in hostile

array at the capitol in the afternoon, will harmoniously put their legs under the same mahogany in the evening. Indeed, the dining-rooms at Washington are like that wonderful old island of Delos, which the warring inhabitants of the Greek archipelago used to visit, to lay aside their weapons and enjoy a season of peace and harmony. It is pleasant to be able to add that exhibitions of drunkenness at a Washington dinner are very rare—an improvement on the olden time, when dinner parties were too often drunken orgies, with an incidental duel as a sequel.

The occasional distribution of railroad and other stocks during the past thirty years, among senators and representatives, "where they would do the most good," has done much to pollute the fountain-heads of legislation. The stability of our institutions is mainly guaranteed by the implicit faith of the citizens in the honesty and the trustworthiness of congress. When these traits are destroyed by the corrosive action of corporation bribes, there will be an end to constitutional government; and when the bribery became known, a few years since, public indignation sternly rebuked those who had thus sought to enrich themselves. Several of them made haste to restore their ill gotten gains, but the startling revelations made soon passed unnoticed into forgetfulness.

It was while this "gift enterprise" was going on at the capitol that Mr. Sam Ward flourished as "*Rex Vestiarum*," or king of the lobby, as he styled himself. Well educated, he had mingled in the best society of Europe and of this country, retaining a fund of anecdote and pleasing manners, which made him—as Edmund Yates said —"the most delightful fellow to be cooped up in a country-house on a rainy day." He came to Washington to act as an attorney in securing legislation, and he sought congressional strength by catering to the appetites of senators and representatives. Thoroughly versed in the mysteries of the kitchen, he would give breakfasts and dinners at which the daintiest and best products of the earth, the air and the sea were exquisitely served. Presidents, senators, representatives and journalists were always glad to accept an invitation from Sam Ward, who took care that every person at table should be successively called out on some subject about which he could talk entertainingly.

Congressmen pay closer attention to the wants of their constituents and to the public business than their predecessors half a century ago did. Expenditures are scrutinized, proposed reforms and changes of existing laws are studied, and there is reason for hope that

congressmen will not have to provide places for their henchmen, or to distribute garden seeds among their rural constituents. It is, however, to be regretted that so many senators and representatives, instead of devoting their summer vacations to recreation and recuperation, go from the committee rooms of the capitol to lawyers' offices and counting-rooms, to toil there until again summoned to congressional labor. The result is that in late years many congressmen, although apparently gifted with a vigorous vitality of body and of mind that have given their friends reason to hope for a long twilight to their useful lives, have died suddenly. Whether this has been owing to constant work in the session and in the recess, or whether the late dinners of Washington are unhealthy, no man knoweth. Indeed, the friends of those who have thus leaped the dark gulf to the unknown shore, while they regret their departure, are consoled by the knowledge that their faculties were undimmed, and that, like Swift and other great men, their mental powers did not slowly decline as they tottered down life's hill-side.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM FROM THE EARLIEST COLONIAL PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

IN the very earliest settlement of what is now the state of Michigan, St. Joseph and Michilimackinac were the first military stations, the latter being the principal post. Detroit was the first post designed by the French to become a permanent town. Trade, mechanics, farming and some few other industries soon started up. Of course some sort of courts had to be established, and the colonial authorities appointed judges or commissaries. The intendant of the post seems to have been at the head of the ordinary judicial system, and his delegates were probably the principal local judges wherever they were sent. French law prevailed. There is no record yet come to light showing the early existence of any court at Detroit. The first sign of any civil magistrate residing is that of Robert Navarre, royal notary and sub-delegate of the intendant who came about 1730. The scanty records indicate that there were some other gentlemen who exercised judicial functions. Pierre St. Cosme is spoken of in the Pontiac diary as former judge, succeeded by Mr. Le Grand. Both were gentlemen of high social standing.

After the English rule was permanently established by the treaty of 1763, justices of the peace were early appointed as examining magistrates. Such courts as existed were provisional and given a very limited jurisdiction, and there was great complaint on account of the lack of judicial facilities. The local commander was invested with supreme local power. The merchants formed arbitration boards for the settlement of difficulties among themselves, and criminals were sent to the seat of government in Canada for trial. Judges seem to have been appointed for this region, but none ever came. Capital punishment was inflicted in three cases under sentences of Philip de Jean, a justice of the peace. He was subsequently indicted by the Canadian authorities for the murder of these men, but he was captured in the Kaskaskia and Vincennes expedition under Governor Hamilton and held in close custody by the Virginia authorities, and seems never to have returned to Detroit.

The celebrated Quebec Act of 1774 provided that the civil law of Paris and the criminal law of England should prevail in this region. In 1788, at the close of the American Revolution, this region was formally included in the district of Hesse, and Detroit was made the seat of justice. William Dummer Powell was the first judge who presided over this court, and afterward was chief-justice of Upper Canada. From this time on the court sat regularly. Besides the first court, there were courts of common pleas and quarter sessions. The common pleas judges were all reputable laymen, and the court was held in high esteem. Louis Beaufait was the first chief judge, and James May, Patrick McNiff, Charles Girardin and Nathaniel Williams were associates. All were old citizens familiar with French and English, and allied by marriage or blood with the French inhabitants. Things continued in this shape until Jay's treaty went into operation, in 1796, when the British courts were removed to the other side of the river.

Then for the first time the country came under the control of American institutions. Michigan formed a part of the Northwest Territory set apart under the famous Ordinance of 1787. Under it the governor and three judges, appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate, were made a legislative board and were given judicial powers. Winthrop Sargent, acting governor, set apart Wayne county, which comprised northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and all of Michigan and eastern Wisconsin which contained settlements. The judicial system of the Northwest Territory became operative, and included the supreme court, common pleas, probate and orphans' court and quar-

ter sessions. Annual sessions of the supreme court were held at Detroit by one of the territorial judges. The common pleas court and quarter sessions continued substantially as before, and with the same judges and justices, who also performed probate duties. Under all the territorial systems all the local officers were appointed by the governor until the latter days of the territory.

Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush were the earliest members of the bar who came to Detroit. Both came from Ohio. Mr. Sibley filled various important positions, being twice chosen delegate to congress, and was also judge of the supreme court during the latter years of the territory. He was one of the wisest and ablest men that ever lived in Michigan. Colonel Brush was territorial attorney-general. In the early part of 1805 the territory of Michigan was formed, and for the first time we find a course of civil administration that left its mark on the subsequent career of the state. The features of the French system became gradually extinguished, and the whole judicial system became fashioned in accordance with the common law in England.

The supreme court was the only one created directly by the territorial organic law. Justices tried small civil cases, and district courts had general jurisdiction and also looked after probate proceedings. Four districts were created, and a court held in each, at first presided over by a judge of the territory and afterwards by lay judges, a chief and two associates. In 1810 the district courts were abolished and their jurisdiction divided between the supreme court and justices of the peace. Detroit was incorporated before the creation of Michigan territory. It was made a city in 1806. The reign of the governor and judges was distinguished by persistent and disgraceful quarrels among themselves. Judge Witherell was the only one who retained public respect. This state of things continued under Governor Hull's administration, but was somewhat improved under that of General Cass.

The court displayed learning and ability in its action and decided some important cases, among others one relative to the status of slaves held, before Jay's treaty, within the territory. Under General Cass the political system was steadily modified towards an American mode of procedure. County courts, with original jurisdiction, were established, having one chief and two associate justices, who were usually (although not required to be) laymen, and who were invariably business men. These courts were generally esteemed. In 1817 a court of quarter sessions was created, composed of the

county judges and justices of the peace, and required to look after county business, such as assessing and raising taxes, and organizing townships, the latter to be sanctioned by the governor before becoming operative. In 1818 the people, by a popular vote, decided against having a territorial legislature. County commissioners appointed by the governor afterwards superseded the quarter sessions.

In 1823 a radical change took place. Congress decreed that there should be a territorial legislature in the form of a territorial council. Eighteen persons were to be elected, from which the President was to choose nine, who were to be confirmed by the senate. This body was clothed with general legislative powers. In 1827 the people were allowed to elect their own council without the intervention of the President. In 1823 the building of a court-house was begun in Detroit, under an appropriation of lands made by congress. This was built by Thomas Palmer, father of our present senator, who took the lands for his pay. The building was used by the territory as a court-house and council chamber, and by the state, without any apparent authority, as a capitol, to the exclusion of the courts. After the capital was removed to Lansing it was used for school purposes, the first union school in the state being held there. The present Detroit high school is located on its site.

The judges of the territorial supreme court as finally established by congress, running from 1824 to the time of the admission of the state, consisted of James Witherell, Solomon Sibley, John Hunt, Henry Chipman, William Woodbridge, George Morell of New York and Ross Wilkins of Pennsylvania. When the state was admitted into the Union, Judges Sibley, Morell and Wilkins composed the court.

In 1828 circuit courts were created with appellate jurisdiction over the county courts, with concurrent original jurisdiction up to one thousand dollars and exclusive beyond it. Both had criminal jurisdiction. A judge of the supreme court held the circuit court of each county. In 1833 a new system of circuit courts was created, having a circuit judge, who was required to be a lawyer, and two associates, who might be laymen. Any two might act except on trials of felony, when the circuit judge must be present. The county courts were abolished. The old circuit courts, presided over by the supreme court judges, were retained and called superior circuit courts, with appellate jurisdiction over the new ones. Chancery powers were also given to the supreme and circuit courts. The statute conferring this power was drawn up under the direction of Elon Farnsworth, the subsequent chancellor. In 1835 the office of register

of probate, which had exercised some probate jurisdiction, besides recording deeds, was abolished and the powers divided between judges of probate and county registers.

No further changes were made in the judicial system of the territory.

The first legislature under the new state constitution met in November, 1835. At an adjourned session in February, 1836, laws were passed to organize the supreme and circuit courts and a court of chancery to come into existence after July 4, 1836, when the jurisdiction of the territorial courts was to cease.

When the constitution of 1835 was adopted, the territory of Michigan had received so large an increase of population from other parts of the United States that the whole public system had become orderly and adapted to all the conditions of local self-government. Counties, townships, road and school districts and all the judicial machinery corresponded substantially with what might be found in New York or New England. In the main, things had been patterned after New York, from which the largest immigration had come. But the territorial officers were always inclined to perpetuate their own early institutions, and as they were of various origins, the result naturally followed that there were some incongruities. New York and Massachusetts were followed more than all the other states; and there are still easily detected systematic portions of legislation traced to those separate sources. Particular statutes were borrowed from all sources.

It became necessary at various times during the territorial period to gather together the scattered laws, which had become confused by the careless methods of the first period of governor and judges, and still more so by the independent way in which Judge Woodward and his ally, Judge Griffin, disregarded all laws which they did not fancy. Between the organization of the territory and the adoption of the state constitution there were five different collections published, and of these none prior to 1827 was complete. In 1806 a collection was made, including thirty-four laws passed in 1805, which was accurate as far as it went, but which gave no light concerning the old laws in force. The condition of things was not very favorable for enabling the people to understand the laws. There were very few in the territory who understood English. There were no newspapers, and no other means of spreading intelligence. This volume was printed in Washington and was not published until many more statutes had been adopted, some of which materially altered the former ones. Between

this time and 1816 the changes became numerous and the conflicts and inconsistencies very great. Of this new legislation much was never published at all, and remained unknown. Most of the acts were not brought to public knowledge for long periods, and many were repealed before anyone ever heard of them. Eighty were never put in print, so far as known, until 1884, when they were published in a supplementary volume to the recent reprint of territorial statutes. Nothing but the healing power of time and the operation of limitation laws has prevented the ignorance of some of these enactments from making mischief.

In 1816 a synoptical arrangement of the substance of the laws supposed to be in force in that year was printed. Very few provisions were printed in full, and several statutes were not found.

In 1820 the condition of affairs was brought to the attention of congress. That body appropriated twelve hundred and fifty dollars, and required all laws in force to be published together, under the supervision of the territorial authorities. At that time William Woodbridge was secretary—afterwards judge, governor and state senator. The result was a well edited compilation—then supposed to be complete—of existing laws, known as the compilation of 1821. The legislative council, which held its first session in 1824, caused the session laws to be published regularly, but it was discovered that acts still existed which were not in print or not known, and litigation frequently arose which brought out surprises. To put an end to this mischief, it was determined to supersede all the existing volumes by a new and complete revision.

On the twenty-first of April, 1825, a resolution was adopted appointing William Woodbridge, Abraham Edwards, John Stockton, Wolcott Lawrence and William A. Fletcher a commission to revise the laws. Asa M. Robinson was afterwards put in place of Mr. Woodbridge, who resigned. The resolution very carefully indicated what rules should govern the work, which were in substance these: All acts concerning the same subject were to be digested into one act. The commission was authorized to follow the principles of existing acts or to make such alterations and additions as should be deemed expedient. Unnecessary acts might be left out, and the deficiencies supplied. The result was to be certified to the legislature for consideration.

The commission prepared what is now known as the revision of 1827, in which, while conforming in most things to the old system, nearly all important measures were put in the shape of new separate

enactments, drawn with skill, and leaving out very few things of consequence. It was enacted substantially as reported, and in order to prevent any further evils from ignorance, it was provided that all acts not therein specified should be repealed. The territory thus had for the first time a complete code of all its existing laws. In 1833 a smaller compilation was published, including some later statutes and some reprints of older ones. Most of the legislation after 1827 was special, but some general laws were passed, the most important of which was a ten-years' limitation law, applicable only to existing cases, and containing no saving clauses. The previous laws had failed to cover the whole ground, and antiquated land claims, with no particular equities, had been used in some cases for extortion.

The first legislature went actively to work to get the new state government into working order.

The courts of record which were provided for were the supreme, circuit and probate courts, with substantially the same powers as the old courts except in equity. A separate court of chancery was established, from which an appeal lay to the supreme court. Pending cases were transferred to the new courts. The judges and chancellor were appointed by the governor and senate for periods of seven years.

The first supreme court consisted of William A. Fletcher, chief-justice, and George Morell and Epaphroditus Ransom, associate justices. Each was assigned to a circuit. Wayne, St. Clair, Lapeer, Michilimackinac and Chippewa, with the country attached to each, formed the first circuit, presided over by Judge Morell; Monroe, Lenawee, Washtenaw, Oakland, Saginaw, Jackson and Hillsdale formed the second circuit, allotted to Chief-Justice Fletcher. Judge Ransom held the courts in the third circuit, consisting of Branch, St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien, Kalamazoo, Allegan, Calhoun and Kent, with attached territory. One term of the supreme court was held annually in Wayne, Washtenaw and Kalamazoo. Terms of the circuit court were held once or more, annually, in each county. Two associate judges were elected in each county every four years to sit in the circuit court, but in case of their absence a judge of the supreme court could sit alone. These associates were not generally lawyers.

Judge Sibley, for personal reasons, did not desire an appointment to the state bench. He was a man of great ability and wisdom, and had universal confidence. He lived to an advanced age.

The chief-justice was an old resident of the territory, who had held

judicial offices and had done most of the work of compilation of 1827. Judge Morell had been nominated by President Jackson, with Judge Wilkins to succeed Judges Chipman and Woodbridge in 1832. He was a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts, but received most of his legal training in New York, where he was a fellow student with Governor Marcy and Chancellor Walworth, and where he obtained a good reputation at the bar and in various offices in public life. He was one of the most thoroughly trained common lawyers in the state, and transacted business with readiness and accuracy. His circuit was the most laborious of all, and his work was promptly and well done. Upon the resignation of Judge Fletcher, in 1842, he was made chief-justice for the remainder of his term. Judge Ransom came to Michigan not far from the close of the territorial period, having been a successful practitioner in New England. At the close of his first term in 1843 he was made chief-justice to succeed Judge Morell, and continued to fill that office until he became governor, January 1, 1848. He was much respected for ability and uprightness and exercised his judicial functions acceptably to the people and the bar. He was a man of good common sense as well as legal sufficiency, and had great personal popularity.

Judge Wilkins was appointed district judge of the United States for the district of Michigan several months in advance of the admission of the state, and did not become a member of the state judiciary. He remained in office until 1870, when he retired on full pay, having reached and passed his threescore years and ten, and having served thirty-eight years on the bench in Michigan. He was a member of the constitutional convention which in 1836 rejected the proposition of congress to give up the disputed territory to Ohio in exchange for so much of the upper peninsula as was not within the state boundaries. He was also one of the persons who called shortly thereafter the irregular body known as the frost-bitten convention, that undertook to accept the congressional scheme on their own responsibility, and got the state into the Union through the back door. He took an interest in most public matters, and was a very useful regent of the university. In private life he was genial and humorous.

The first chancellor, Elon Farnsworth, was admirably fitted for his office. He was a thorough scholar as well as lawyer, with cool judgment and intimate knowledge of men, and an enlightened sense of justice. Under his careful administration, the equity system became well adapted to the necessities of the community and divested of unreasonable conditions and vexatious delay. Very few of his decisions were

reversed, and still less ought to have been. He belonged to the same class of wise and sensible jurists as Chancellor Kent, whom in character and attainments he closely resembled. He gave up his office before his term expired, and was succeeded by Randolph Manning, who himself resigned in 1846, upon the action of the legislature looking to the abolition of the court, and Chancellor Farnsworth reluctantly accepted a re-appointment in the hope at the bar that his popularity might induce the restoration of that tribunal. The tide, however, had set in another direction and could not be turned. Chancellor Manning was an able and upright judge, who had filled other offices usefully and made an excellent chancellor. Unfortunately, during his term, there was great occasion for severity in dealing with a good many frauds and corporate insolvencies, growing out of the general business disasters, and he became more or less obnoxious to some influential persons who opposed him strenuously. With all his firmness and positiveness, he was a warm-hearted and generous man, who was held in the strongest esteem by those who knew him best.

The system of practice was slowly simplified and rendered less cumbrous. Judge Morell and Chief-Justice Fletcher were both thoroughly trained under the old systems, and were quite averse to serious innovations. Fortunately, it happened about this period, that the English courts adopted a series of rules for the simplification of pleadings and practice, and after a sharp struggle the new methods were introduced here. The process has gone intelligently on until our present system is quite free from defects of any sort.

One of the first things to which the attention of the legislature was called was the necessity for a revision of the laws, and Judge William A. Fletcher was appointed for that purpose. His report was submitted and adopted in November, 1837. It was unfortunate. There were many important changes and omissions which were not noticed at the time by the legislature. In some cases the positive instructions given the reviser were disregarded. He had, for instance, been distinctly directed by the legislature to provide for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. He did nothing of the kind. In many other things he followed his own inclinations and ideas, and thus introduced many important changes. The arrangement and printing of this code was assigned to two commissioners appointed by the governor—E. Burke Harrington and Elijah J. Roberts. Owing to the ill health of the latter, the former really performed the work. It was issued just before the legislature of 1839 assembled, and much of the time of that body was spent in rectifying the mistakes and supplying the omissions of

this unfortunate revision. The session laws of 1839 bear witness to this work.

In 1838 it was found necessary to enlarge the judicial force and Charles W. Whipple was added to the supreme bench, and a fourth circuit was created, over which he presided. Alpheus Felch succeeded Judge Fletcher in his circuit, and Daniel Goodwin took the place of Judge Morell. Judge Felch and Judge Goodwin are still among us in the full vigor of their mental powers. Judge Felch, who had previously been auditor-general, was, during his judicial term, elected governor, and then United States senator, and still later commissioned to investigate land titles in California, and in all his life has been distinguished for diligence, capacity and fidelity. Judge Goodwin, who has also filled several important Federal and state offices by appointment or election, resigned his position on the supreme court bench after a comparatively short service. He was afterwards president of the second constitutional convention, judge of the district court of the upper peninsula till it became a circuit, and thereafter circuit judge through various terms, retiring at the last judicial election after a long and honorable service seldom equaled. The old supreme and circuit court system continued until the constitution of 1850, Judges Warner Wing, Abner Pratt, Sanford M. Green, George Miles, Edward Mundy and George Martin at various times forming parts of it. Judge Mundy, the first lieutenant-governor, was appointed as a fifth judge in 1848. In 1849, by a constitutional amendment submitted and in due time adopted, the office was made elective, and George Martin was the only member of that court who was elected and not appointed.

In 1846 Sanford M. Green was appointed to make a new revision of the laws, which he did in a very careful and symmetrical manner. The legislature in adopting it, however, interfered very seriously with its harmony of arrangement. Among other important changes introduced were the abolition of the court of chancery and the creation of elective county courts with first and second judges, having original civil and criminal jurisdiction. The chancery business was transferred to the circuit courts. The effect of this sudden change at the time was very bad, as the common law business was given the preference and the important and numerous equity cases encountered prolonged and serious delays. The chancery practice had also been a very distinct one up to this time, and a few lawyers devoted themselves to it, while the larger number of members of the bar had no special acquaintance with this branch. Every clerk of the court was also made by these changes a register in chancery, and this added to the con-



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fusion. It took a long time to get the mixed practices into working order. The county courts, as a body, also turned out badly. In spite of the good work of some excellent judges, there were no lamentations when these courts ceased to exist.

Capital punishment was abolished by the revision of 1847, and then, as now, there was much division of opinion upon it.

In 1849 a constitutional amendment was adopted providing that all judges should thenceforward be elected by the people.

The constitutional convention of 1850, which adopted our present constitution, contained a very large number of members zealous for novelty. It also had many of the most experienced and statesmanlike citizens of the state. A natural result was that some very radical changes were made, but little, if anything, which could be called revolutionary affected judicial matters. The most unpleasant features were a too great attention to details in grants and limitations of power, which have on some occasions endangered the public welfare for lack of discretionary authority in the legislature. Attempts to fix salaries and some other things which depend very much for their adequacy on changing circumstances, have led to some evil. But a thing which struck many persons unpleasantly was the number of provisions which seem to indicate that it was supposed the people could not trust their agents and representatives. There are few constitutions which have created so much litigation concerning the validity of legislation. Much of this difficulty has been modified or removed by the lapse of time and the instinctive adaptation of popular ways to their surroundings. It has, as a whole, been a useful instrument. The evident unwillingness of the people to give it up entirely for a new one, shows that it is thought better to amend than supersede it. There are two important provisions which bear upon the statutes. One forbade the passing of laws with double objects or misleading titles, confining every act to the single purpose suggested by its title. This was an excellent rule, and prevented some frauds and much needless legislation. The other prohibited revisions of the statutes, and authorized compiled reprints of existing laws when needed. Such a compilation was authorized and carried out by Judge Cooley in 1857, whose excellent arrangement, based on the revision of 1846 as far as possible, was adopted in the second compilation of 1871 by Judge Dewey. A private enterprise since of Judge Howell's, on the same plan but annotated further, is in general use and well executed.

The repeal of the constitutional requirement of presentations of

crime by grand juries has led since to a practical abandonment of that system, although not absolutely abolished. The present generation can hardly appreciate either side of the argument. The assaults made upon the system as inquisitorial are in direct variance with the fact that it has been generally insisted on as a safeguard against official oppression. The average American freeholder is not the stuff inquisitors are made of. It is certainly a questionable policy which makes the prosecution of criminals depend on the will of a single justice of the peace and a prosecuting attorney. In many cases it probably is not of much importance. But experience has shown that there are some classes of crimes and some classes of criminals against which the public itself requires the aid of a substantial and fearless tribunal of accusation. There are powerful single and banded criminals against whom injured parties are afraid to complain before a magistrate, and who are known in every large community to count on their immunity from prosecution. Crimes against the election laws, which are the most dangerous of all in their public tendency, are of very frequent occurrence, and are very seldom complained of. The inefficiency of such grand juries as are now and then summoned is chiefly due to their inexperience. If the law required them to be summoned often enough to make their duties familiar, they would be a very great help to putting down crime, and inspire a wholesome caution in presumptuous wrong-doers.

The provision which allows cases to be heard by judges without juries, where parties do not choose to ask them, has never been complained of. There are many cases where a jury would be of no service. The right to demand one ought never to be denied, and there are cases where the intervention of a body of ordinary men, dealing only with facts, is essential to justice.

There is one constitutional provision which has never been carried out, and which deserves serious consideration. That is the provision which declares that "the legislature may establish courts of conciliation with such powers and duties as shall be prescribed by law." It seems to have been supposed that so long as parties can arbitrate, they need no other friendly tribunal. But when courts of conciliation exist it may be, and frequently is, made obligatory to resort to them in the first instance—even if parties should not be absolutely bound thereafter to abstain from further litigating, and a fair decision once made will have an effect in bringing parties to reason.

Those who have watched the course and causes of litigation, know that a great share of it arises from misunderstanding. This

is particularly so in matters arising out of agreements and larger or smaller business relations. We do not appreciate the fact that while no rule of law can have more than one true meaning, it is not only possible but common for men to enter upon business relations with each other without having in their minds any complete identity of understanding. While courts and the state cannot under ordinary circumstances release anyone from the obligation of informing himself what the law is, yet in law, as in all other sciences, definitions are apt to be understood in the light of previous impressions upon the meaning of words and phrases, and the same maxim does not present the same idea to all minds. The most important advantage of the jury system is that juries understand and apply rules as they are commonly understood by the mass of society, and so harmonize legal obligations with the general sense of mankind. The beauty of the common law is that it is not abstract, but is found in practical applications of right and duty.

The necessity for such a remedy has been found most commonly where numbers of people have similar interests and employments. It has existed in France for a long time, and has been applied to several classes of cases. The members of these tribunals are there called *prud' hommes* (men of experimental knowledge). As long ago as the time of Philip the Fair, in the thirteenth century, a council of twenty-four *prud' hommes* was formed to decide controversies between manufacturers and traders dealing in their wares. The first French republic created similar boards to dispose of ordinary differences between masters and workmen or apprentices. In 1806 provision was made in like manner for the important manufacturing city of Lyons, with power to extend it to other industrial towns. Several of these bodies were organized in Paris from 1844 to 1848 for metal workers, weavers, chemical works and builders. The maritime towns have for a great while without legislation had such tribunals among the fishermen. The modern French councils are said to be composed of representatives of employers and employed, chosen by their orders. One-third go out of office annually. Their duties are confined to questions relating to the business. The old fishery boards are supposed to have suggested the others, and are said to have been first known in the southern ports. It is quite likely they were regulated by the ancient sea laws. These arrangements, with perhaps some variations, seemed to be regarded as desirable.

Analogous bodies are found in other countries. They are thought to be better and more satisfactory than temporary and voluntary

institutions, and experience in the difficulties and grounds of difference among particular classes is of great value in enabling them to decide fairly. The effect of the permanent reference committees in our boards of trade in preventing commercial litigations in the courts of this state has been very marked.

Courts of conciliation properly organized to settle the differences of employers and employed, could hardly fail to remove any rational cause of complaint of unfairness in their mutual relations, and would have the double value of doing justice and of putting captious persons in the wrong. Sympathy would be given where it is deserved, and the common sense of the community would justify withholding it where it is not deserved. When public sentiment knows where justice lies, it will not be profitable to provoke it.

With this exception, the constitution has been fairly carried out. The methods of procedure and jurisdiction were not materially disturbed from what they had been. The state was divided into eight circuits, with judges elective for six years and sitting without associates. They were then brought together in one body, and when sitting thus together constituted the supreme court. This continued until 1857, when the present independent supreme court was established. There are now twenty-eight circuit courts, besides various municipal tribunals, in Detroit and some other of our larger cities. The number of judges now sitting in common law courts is four times as great as in 1851. Business has multiplied, and there is a perceptible increase in the prolixity of important trials.

Since 1851 there has been an important change in the law of testimony. All personal disqualifications affecting witnesses on account of interest or character have been swept away, some rules preserving confidences in families and professional advisers being wisely retained. One class of laws has given occasion for much contention—that relating to the condemnation of property for various easements and corporation uses. This grows out of too frequent changes and too little uniformity. The power is a necessary one, but should be strictly guarded. It is a question, also, whether litigation is not unduly encouraged, under our present system, by imposing no restrictions on appellate proceedings.

When the constitution of 1850 went into effect, and the circuit judges and district judge of the upper peninsula were first elected, all of the existing judges of the supreme court were chosen as circuit judges, and Judge Goodwin, a former member of that court, was elected for the upper peninsula. Judge Sanford M. Green, the

reviser of 1846 and judge of the supreme court under the old constitution, still presides at the circuit and still retains undiminished respect and confidence. Samuel T. Douglass and David Johnson are the remaining survivors of the first bench of circuit judges, which was made up of very able and excellent jurists. Five of them resigned during their term to return to practice. Many changes have been made since on the circuit bench, and most of them for the same reason. The state has been very well served by its circuit courts.

The supreme court, as now organized of judges having only appellate duties, was provided for by the legislature of 1857, and sat first in January, 1858. George Martin, of the old bench, was chief-justice, and Randolph Manning (former chancellor), Isaac P. Christiancy and James V. Campbell, associates. Judge Manning died in 1864 and was succeeded by Thomas M. Cooley, who resigned in 1885, and was succeeded by Allen B. Morse, now in office. Judge Martin died in 1867, and was succeeded by Benjamin F. Graves (who had been chosen to the circuit bench in 1857), who retired at his own desire at the end of his term, and was succeeded by John W. Champlin of the present bench. Judge Christiancy was elected United States senator in 1875. Isaac Marston succeeded him and continued in office till March, 1883, when he resigned and Thomas R. Sherwood, the present incumbent, was elected in his place.

During the existence of the state, which finished its half century of judicial experience on the fourth day of July, 1886, there has been nothing striking or startling in its court records. No judge has been removed from office or convicted of misconduct. No capital sentence has been pronounced or carried out. No person has been tried for a political offense. No court has been prevented by violence from enforcing its orders. Few conspiracies to do mischief on a large scale have created local and none general disturbance. The four years of war in which our citizens played a heroic part left no legacy of disorder, and returned soldiers have been the best guards of law and order, and have filled and are filling the most responsible offices of peace, and have shared most liberally in the administration of justice. It is perhaps one of the most comfortable assurances of public prosperity that our long judicial history is uneventful.

THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO SEPARATE THE WEST FROM THE AMERICAN UNION.

THE War of the Revolution was scarcely over and peace declared, before there began an effort which, in various forms, was carried on for twenty years, to separate the western portion of the Union from the states on the Atlantic sea-board. The first attempt to divide the Union was by a line running nearly north and south, and along the Alleghany mountains. The cause which gave life to the movement was the vast extent of the territory of the states, the little knowledge of and communication at that time had between the distant parts, and the adverse interests which were created by the difference of climate, and antecedents, and previous nationality of those now bound together in the American Union.

There is considerable ignorance now, even on the part of well-informed persons, as to the condition of the several parts of the country, with all our facilities of travel and communication. It is not strange that this should be much greater when few could ever go far from their own fire-sides, when newspapers were rare, and high rates of postage made frequent communication impossible. As resulting from this, the provincial stamp set upon the several sections, by reason of climate and soil and occupation, would be more fixed, and antagonisms more emphatic than now, when all judgments and tastes are modified by a ready and constant attrition of the most distant parts upon each other.

It could not well be otherwise, than that regions so distant and dissimilar, and in so many matters opposed in interest, should find it difficult to pass from the condition of separate and independent provinces to that of a Federal union without many jarrings of discord. This would be especially likely in the earlier days of the government, before the relative rights and duties of the central and state administrations had been adjusted, and when the burdens of debt incurred by a long war had to be borne, and distributed, and paid. In no part of the country was this strain greater than in the recently and sparsely settled regions west of the Alleghanies, where, along with a self-assertion and indisposition to submit easily to control, always characteristic of a frontier life, there was but little ability as yet to bear heavy exactions of impost and taxation, and perhaps no very great sense of the degree of previous protection extended by the central government, as calling from them justly for any large self-sacrifices now. They were poor, and had with great hardships made homes and settlements. The

Atlantic states were wealthier, and had done little for them. They were not patient under any heavy burdens to be put on them now.

In order to come fairly to a consideration of these early chafings against the new and strange bonds of union, it will be necessary to remind ourselves of the political situation of the Mississippi valley at that time.

On the third of November, 1762, the French king ceded to Spain all the country known under the name of Louisiana,* which itself, in 1712, Louis XIV had defined in his letters patent to Crozat, to be all the country between Mexico and Carolina, the river Mississippi† from the sea to the Illinois, the Missouri river, the Wabash, and all the land, lakes and rivers flowing into any part of the River Mississippi.

This donation was accepted, but the transaction was kept secret, and the king of France continued to act as sovereign. In the treaty of Paris, in 1763, between Spain and France on the one side and Great Britain on the other, it was agreed that the limits of the French and British possessions should be a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi river from its source to the river Iberville; along the middle of that stream, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain‡ to the sea; and that all on the left side of the Mississippi river, except the town and island of New Orleans, should belong to the king of England. New Orleans and the country to the west were to belong to the king of Spain.

In the same year Great Britain divided Florida into two provinces. West Florida was bounded by the Appalachicola river on the east and by the thirty-first degree of latitude on the north. In March, 1764, on the representation that important settlements to the north had been left out, the northern boundary was made along a line due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Appalachicola. In 1777 Great Britain purchased of the Choctaws the Natchez district, extending along the Mississippi river from latitude thirty-one, one hundred and ten miles northward to the mouth of the Yazoo.§

In November, 1782, in the preliminary articles, and on the third of September, 1783, in the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the southern boundary of the United States was determined to be a line drawn from the Mississippi river due east in the northernmost‖ part of the thirty-first degree of latitude to the Chattahooche river, thence to its junction with the Flint river;

*'Vergennes, Mem. Sur la Louis.,' pp. 32-3. †Martin, 'Louisiana,' p. 114.
‡'Gayarré,' third ser., p. 93. §'Claiborne, Miss.,' p. 98.
‖'Treaties U. S.,' p. 316.

thence to the head of the St. Mary's river; thence to the ocean; in all this coinciding with the boundary of East and West Florida, as established in 1763 by Great Britain.

On the same day the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain declared an entire cession in full right of East and West Florida to Great Britain to Spain, without defining the northern boundary.

From this, as was natural, and, as Pontalba asserts, as England intended, arose a dispute between the United States and Spain. The United States claimed, under its treaty with Great Britain, that its southern boundary line was the thirty-first degree. Spain, on the other hand, claimed, as part of West Florida, all of the territory south of the line running east from the mouth of the Yazoo river, which was one hundred and ten miles further north. To strengthen her title, in June, 1784, Spain made a treaty at Pensacola with the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws inhabiting this district, by which they conceded the Spanish title, and engaged to support it. Subsequently, also, Alexander McGillivray, head chief of the Creeks and agent of the other tribes of the Muscogee confederacy, acknowledged himself subject to Spain.

Spain had possession of the disputed territory, under the conquest of Galvez, and refused to surrender it to the United States. She erected forts at Nogales, now Vicksburg, and subsequently at New Madrid, and she strengthened her garrisons at Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez. Both powers had equitable titles, the dispute arising from the discrepancy in the terms of the treaty made by Great Britain with the two nations. Of course, all this occasioned great bitterness between the powers, and also individuals of each nation.

The district west of the Alleghanies, now comprising the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, was rapidly filling with adventurous persons, many of whom had been in the Revolutionary armies. The severity of Indian depredations was no longer so severely felt, and towns were springing up. The richness of the soil was bringing forth abundant harvests of wheat and corn and tobacco, which could only with difficulty seek a market east of the mountains, and must consume themselves in the cost of transit. The natural channel of trade was down the Ohio, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers, and the most advantageous market would be New Orleans. On account of the bitterness, however, between the nations, previous to 1787 all those who ventured on the Mississippi river had their property seized by the first Spanish vessel that was met; and little or no communication was kept up between the respective countries.

The free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, had been reluctantly yielded to Spain.* In 1780-81, when the preliminaries of peace were being discussed in Paris and Madrid, the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line was causing anxiety, and the British forces under Cornwallis and Tarleton were overrunning the south.† There was consequently a fear on the part of the delegates in congress from South Carolina and Georgia that, if a peace was then forced by the European powers, the principle of *uti possidetis* would cause those states to fall into the hands of Great Britain, which occupied them then. To prevent this, and secure the important adhesion of Spain, the American ministers were instructed that, if Spain inflexibly demanded it as a condition of alliance, the concession of our claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi river, south of the thirty-first degree, should be allowed.

Years had passed and peace was declared, but the United States were still under the Confederacy, and suffering from all the weakness which came from that temporary arrangement. Its seat was in New York, at a great distance from the Mississippi valley: and it was but slightly aware of, or concerned about, the consequence of that remote region. In 1785, Mr. Jay, who was conducting a negotiation with Gardoqui, the Spanish representative on this subject, having been called upon by congress to give his views on the matter, recommended that it would be expedient to conclude a treaty with Spain, limited to twenty or thirty years, and for the United States to stipulate that, during the term of the treaty they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary.‡ This view was sanctioned by the seven more northern, and opposed by the five more southern states.§ Seven states in congress authorized Jay to conclude a treaty with Gardoqui and restrict the right of the United States to the Mississippi river, while the article of the confederation expressly declared that the United States should enter into no treaty unless nine states in congress assented to it. But Spain would not even agree to this stipulation, because it implied an ultimate right in the United States to navigate the river.‖

Naturally this apparent indifference or hostility, on the part of congress, to what was of vital importance to the western country, the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and the possibility thus of getting a market for their produce, had an irritating effect upon

*'Writings of Madison,' IV., p. 558. †White, 'Georgia,' p. 106.
‡Butler, 'History Kentucky,' p. 156. §'Lives Chief-Justices,' I., 364.
‖'Secret Jour. Cong.,' IV., p. 290.

the excitable population of the section. This cause of anger was intensified by the delay of congress in complying with the request of Kentucky to be received as a state in the Union. The cause of this delay, and afterwards the rejection of the overture, was the fear of disturbing the sectional balance. The eastern states, by a majority of seven to six, were not willing to give their assent to the admission of the district of Kentucky into the Union as an independent state, unless Vermont,* or the district of Maine, was brought forward at the same time. Back of this disinclination was a further cause. In the settlement of the terms of peace with Great Britain, congress had abandoned the check of a two-thirds vote on commercial questions, and substituted that of a majority. In the haste to relieve the embarrassments of trade and restore prosperous business relations, the more commercial states of the north, not waiting for Great Britain to comply with the conditions set for it, such as the surrender of slaves and the giving up of the posts on the northwestern frontier, immediately removed all restrictions from trade, and left Great Britain, with her large capital, free to compete for the business of the states. This operated to the disadvantage of Virginia and the other southern states,† in handing over their tobacco to the monopoly of England. This cause would also act as a bar on the admission of any new southern state that would be likely to change the majority and disturb the existing commercial arrangements.

Spain, however, was on the alert to use for her advantage the anger of the people of Kentucky, aroused by the seeming hostility of the government of the United States to the dearest interests of the west.

Among those who had come to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1784, to settle, was General James Wilkinson. He was born in Maryland, marched with Arnold in 1775 through Maine to Quebec, was at the surrender of Saratoga, and had fallen into disrepute with Washington and resigned in 1778, because he had told to Lord Stirling, while under the influence of wine, the expressions used by Conway to Gates to the disparagement of the generalship of Washington. He was a wordy, officious, consequential person, who liked to make a profit, and he became engaged in the dry goods trade. In June, 1787, he descended the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, with a cargo of tobacco and flour, determined to try his enterprise and

* Bancroft, 'History Constitution,' I., 373.

† 'Bland Papers,' II., 83. 'Tyler Letters,' I., 102.

address at the seats of the Spanish government in Louisiana. He was successful, and Governor Miro granted General Wilkinson permission to bring tobacco to New Orleans on favorable terms. Wilkinson also impressed the importance of his influence to such an extent upon the Spanish authorities that a monopoly and special remissions of duty were made to him, so that for some time all the trade from the Ohio was carried on in his name, and a line from him sufficed to ensure to the owner of a boat every privilege and protection that he could desire.

The Spanish government at this time, 1786–87, had projected a plan for colonizing Louisiana from the United States; and Gardoqui, the Spanish minister in New York, had sent several vessels to the Mississippi with colonists. In the depression that existed during the latter years of the confederacy, when the United States had not the ability to pay its old officers and soldiers,* General Steuben, Colonel George Morgan and other Revolutionary officers of rank, opened a treaty with Gardoqui for the grant of an extensive district of country west of the Mississippi, upon the plan of establishing a military colony under particular privileges and exemptions. In pursuance of this, in the winter of 1788–89, Colonel Morgan of New Jersey, under the sanction of Gardoqui, came down the Ohio with a considerable body of colonists. Gardoqui had made to him a concession of from twelve to fifteen millions of acres on the west side of the Mississippi river, from the mouth of the St. Francis river to Point Cinq Hommes. He proposed to establish a city which, in ten years, would reach a hundred thousand inhabitants, as near the mouth of the Ohio as the nature of the land would permit, and he called the place New Madrid, in compliment to the Spaniards. To Morgan, Gardoqui gave the concession of a free post. Thus privileged and happily situated, commanding the trade of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, the place would intercept all the products of the country going south.

Such a plan, however, did not suit the purposes of Wilkinson. He had his own scheme of colonization, which he broached to Governor Miro, by which he proposed the settlement of several thousand families in West Florida, or on the Arkansas and White rivers, to whom lands were to be granted in proportion to their numbers and condition, and for whom Wilkinson was to be allowed from one to three hundred dollars a family. For this purpose he presented a list of names of persons in Kentucky as emigrants, in order to

*'Wilkinson Memoirs,' II., 3.

give consistency to his proposition. Having this scheme in view, although it was never realized, Wilkinson discouraged the plans of other colonists on the plea that trade would be diverted from New Orleans. The New Madrid concession was therefore withdrawn; the colonists scattered and a fort was erected there.

Wilkinson, on his visit to New Orleans, determined also to demand for his services, for promoting the schemes of colonization into Spanish territory, the privilege of furnishing a considerable annual supply of tobacco to the Mexican market, which he thought would secure immense fortunes to himself and his friends.*

As might be presumed, Wilkinson did not receive these favors from the Spanish governor without making pledges in return. He declared that there was a general abhorrence throughout the western parts against congress, because of its indifference to their interests in the matter of the navigation of the Mississippi river, and that on this account they were on the point of separating from the Union. He appealed to Spanish fears† on the idea that the British, who still held the northwestern forts, could easily unite with the increasing strength of the western settlements and invade and take possession of Louisiana, and even of Mexico. Nor did Wilkinson leave New Orleans without a pledge to devote himself to the task of delivering up Kentucky into the hands of the Spanish king.

Wilkinson did not make this declaration without knowing of the intense discontent which existed in that district. The growing population were deeply excited because they had in vain petitioned congress to secure for them the free use of the Mississippi river, without which it was useless for them to till the ground, since they had no market for their produce; and they were determined to take the matter into their own hands. They were divided up into different parties.‡ One was for declaring themselves independent of the United States and forming a new republic in close alliance with Spain. Another was in favor of becoming a part of Louisiana and submitting to the laws of Spain. Another party desired to declare war with Spain and seize New Orleans. Another wanted to prevail on congress to extort from Spain the free navigation of the river; and still another party wished to have France recover Louisiana and extend her protection to Kentucky.

As congress, on the third of July, 1788, finally decided to postpone the application of Kentucky to be received into the Union, in one

*Clark, 'Proofs against Wilkinson,' p. 13. †Gayarré, 'Spanish Domination,' p. 182. ‡Gayarré, 'Spanish Domination,' p. 222.

week from that day Mr. John Brown, who represented Kentucky before congress, wrote a letter to the president of the Kentucky convention that Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, in a conversation, had stated that,* "if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent state and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage."

About this time, May 15, 1788, Wilkinson wrote to Miro that congress,† because of the present Federal compact, can neither dispose of men or money. The new government, should it establish itself, will have to encounter difficulties which will keep it weak for three or four years, before the expiration of which, "I have good grounds," he said, "to hope that we shall have completed our negotiations, and shall have become too strong to be subjected by any force which may be sent against us." And also, "when this people shall find out that they can procure articles not manufactured among us more conveniently through this river, the dependent state in which we are will cease, and with it all motives for connection with the other side of the Appalachian mountains."

Wilkinson was, in the meantime, shipping his cargoes to New Orleans, and prosecuting his profitable business ventures.‡ His agent, Major Dunn, gave it out as certain that the next year Kentucky would act as an independent state, and Miro writes to the home government, as from Wilkinson, that "the direction of the current of the rivers, which run in front of their dwellings, points clearly to the power to which they ought to ally themselves."§

In the Kentucky convention of November, 1788, the urgency of Wilkinson bore on the two points:‖ First, the importance of independence, and of the formation of a state constitution, without waiting for the previous consent of the parent state of Virginia; and second, the securing of the free navigation of the Mississippi, even though this could only be secured by a Spanish connection. In reciting the results of that convention to Miro, Wilkinson writes: "To consolidate the interests¶ and confirm the confidence of our friends, to try our strength, to provoke the resentment of congress with a view to stimulate that body into some invidious act which might excite the passions of the people—these are the motives which influ-

* 'Butler,' p. 171.
† Gayarré, 'Spanish Domination,' p. 210.
‡ Bancroft, 'Consti.,' I., p. 398.
§ Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 212.
‖ Butler, 'Kentucky,' p. 172.
¶ Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 227.

enced me. . . . In order to prevent the suspicions and feelings of distrust already existing here, and inflame the animosity between the eastern and western states, Spain must resort to every artifice in her power. . . . Every manifestation of the power of Spain, and of the debility of the United States, every evidence of the resolution of the former to retain exclusively to herself the right of navigation on the Mississippi, will facilitate our views. Every circumstance, also, that will tend to impede our admission as an independent state, will increase the discontent of the people and favor the execution of our plan."

Wilkinson also sought to increase in the Spanish governor the sense of obligation for his services by dilating on the address* with which he had caused the British doctor, Connally, an emissary from Lord Dorchester, the governor of Canada, who had come to offer English assistance in any expedition in the west to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, to return affrighted to his own country after having accomplished nothing.

The result of it all was that the Spanish governor, who was not without his doubts all along that Wilkinson had motives of his own, commercial or otherwise, in his pro-Spanish declarations, sent him five thousand dollars for the outlay that Wilkinson declared that he had been at, and half as much more with which to corrupt Marshall and Muter, who were opposed to the Spanish connection.†

The causes operating in Kentucky in favor of Spain also manifested themselves in the western settlements of North Carolina. In order to make a fund for the payment of her debts, congress had asked the states to cede to her all their vacant lands to the west, that they might be sold to pay Revolutionary claims.‡ North Carolina did this, and ceded the two counties of Cumberland and Washington, which constitute the present state of Tennessee. In compliance with this act the people assembled, under the leadership of General Sevier, the hero of the battle of King's Mountain, and proceeded to organize the state of Frankland. In a few months after, North Carolina rescinded its previous action and recalled its cession of land.§ This enraged the people west of the mountains, who were poor, and had borne privations and were harassed by taxes, and the great distance

*'Blennerhassett Papers,' p. 87. Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 235. †Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 256.

‡While these lands were a cause of contention, they furnished also a common interest which kept the country together. 'Johns Hopkins' Historical Studies,' third ser., I., Introduction.

§Spark's 'Franklin,' X., p. 290.

of the courts in which they might seek redress. There ensued, therefore, some acts of violence in the contention between the two jurisdictions. The settlers on the Cumberland river, which ran through the district and sought the gulf, were deeply interested in the navigation of the Mississippi, and, therefore, were operated on by the same motives as those which were stirring up Kentucky.*

On the twelfth of September, 1788, in his resentment, General Sevier wrote to Gardoqui to inform him that the inhabitants of Frankland were unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and put themselves under her protection. They named the county of Cumberland, in West Tennessee, Miro, in compliment of the Spanish governor. These overtures were flattering to Spanish pride, but had to be received with caution, because Spain was at peace with the United States. A concession was, however, made, that the people of the Washington and Miro districts should have the privilege of carrying their produce down the Mississippi to the market of New Orleans on a duty of fifteen per cent., which Miro reserved the right of reducing according to his pleasure in behalf of any men of influence who might be named by the Spanish agent. Miro communicated with Wilkinson with regard to these negotiations, and a system of cipher messages between them was devised to ensure secrecy.

In the year 1789 a powerful company was formed in South Carolina, and purchased from the state of Georgia an immense tract of land, including fifty-two thousand square miles, and extending on the Mississippi river from the Yazoo to the neighborhood of Natchez. As this was in the debatable ground between the United States and Spain, no time was lost by the company in endeavoring to come to a good understanding with the Spanish authorities in New Orleans. Their alliance was sought, and the company declared its desire to form itself into an advantageous rampart for Spain. Miro communicated the business to Wilkinson, who immediately addressed himself to the South Carolina gentlemen, protesting his own disinterestedness and influence with the Spanish governor, and their need to have the services in New Orleans for the negotiations of a gentleman of distinction, with full power, and offering himself for the position. He loaned to Captain Cape, the agent of the South Carolina company, according to his statement to the Spanish governor, three thousand dollars, to secure his influence. His efforts, for a time, did not seem to be without result. Miró praised Wilkinson for the part that

*Ramsey, 'Tennessee,' p. 298; Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 257.

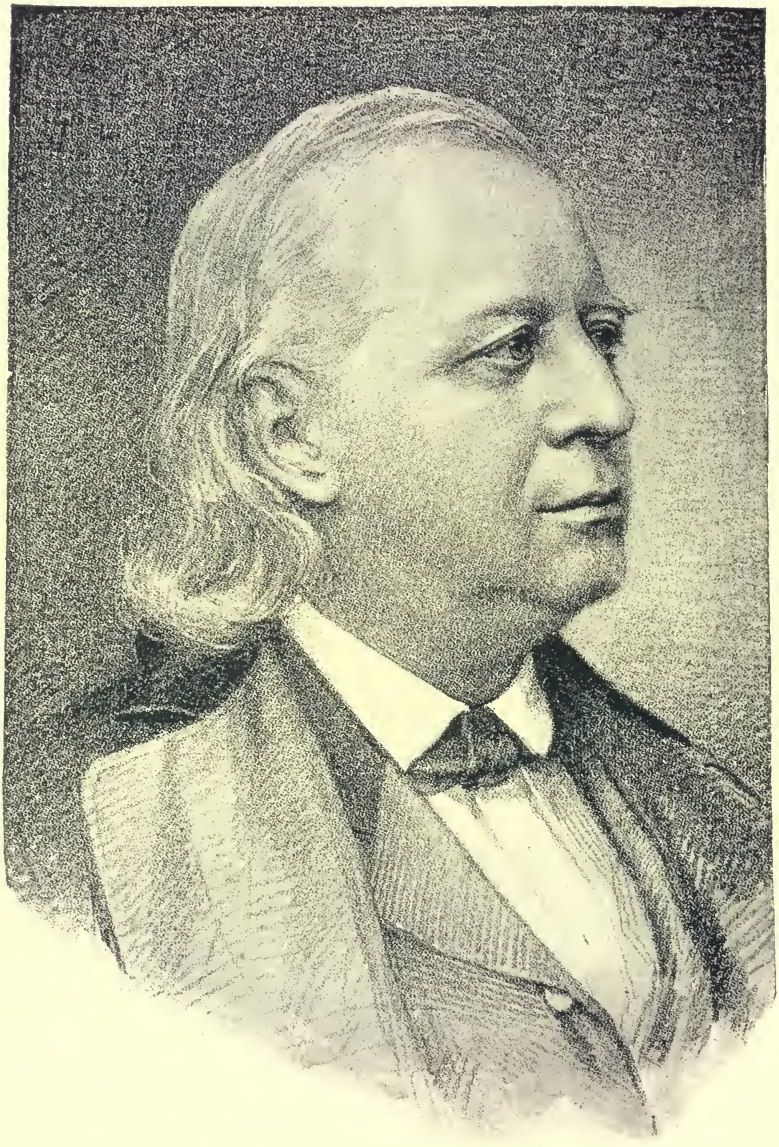
he had acted toward the company. On the twenty-fourth of May, James O'Fallon, the general agent for the South Carolina company, wrote to Miro from Lexington, Kentucky, the residence of Wilkinson, that he had "prevailed upon the company to consent to be the slaves of Spain, that they had formed the resolution of separating themselves from the Union, and that all that they desired from the Spanish crown was a secret coöperation, which would soon ripen into a sincere friendship."*

Thus, throughout the whole west, the restlessness of the frontier settlers, along with the feebleness of the confederacy, worked, with the machinations of Spain, to bring about a disposition for the severance of the western country from the United States, with the hope of placing it under the protection of that power which held the key of the situation, in the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river. And in this business General Wilkinson was the principal agent of the Spanish governor and a stipendary upon the Spanish treasury. Thus, later, when his offices seemed to bear less results, the governor writes to the home secretary that in his opinion the general should be retained in the service with an annual pension of two thousand dollars; and he also recommends that a pension be granted to Colonel Sebastian of Kentucky, because "he will be able to enlighten me on the conduct of Wilkinson, and on what we have to expect from the plans of the said brigadier-general."† One spy was hired to watch the other spy.

But such a plan of securing Spanish dominancy in the west could not permanently be successful. In the first place, it was founded upon deceit and stealth. Then the texture of character of the hardy American would inevitably in the end prevail as a ruling interest and controlling power as against the weaker and subtler nature of the Spaniard. Furthermore, the scheming had profited by the weakness of the confederacy. This, however, in 1789, gave place to the greater efficiency of the Union under the present Constitution; and the firm and wise administration of Washington soon began to tell in the respect for authority and the greater cohesion of the parts. Besides this, the reduction of the tariff on the part of Spain on shipments down the Mississippi, diminished the inducements for separation, and the greater numbers and boldness of the western settlements made it clear to the Spanish authorities that they must change their tone of menace.

In the year 1791 the Spanish intrigues in the west and south began

*Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 289. †Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 286.



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to slacken from want of success, and the United States set on foot persuasives, through its minister in Madrid, to have Spain give up New Orleans and confine itself to the western bank of the Mississippi river.

While these efforts were making, the west came to feel some of the effects of an agitation which was dividing political parties in the east, and had its origin on the continent of Europe. A supposed inclination* towards Great Britain, our old antagonist, was a mark of the Federal party, which dominated in the administration of President Washington. A sympathy with France, our former ally, was the characteristic of the Republican party, which was in opposition, and whose leader, a little later, was Jefferson. The one side emphasized the necessity of strengthening the Federal Union; the other party asserted the original rights of the states, and enlarged upon the dangers of centralization. The bitterness between the parties was for many years most violent.

In 1793 the sympathy in this country with France, which was in the throes of revolution, took the form of the organization of democratic societies, at first in Philadelphia, which violently proclaimed the most extreme anarchial notions of universal rights, such as had broken to pieces the social order in France. There would, therefore, be little wonder that in Kentucky, where Great Britain was charged with being the instigator of the barbarous Indian depredations, and where many of the old soldiers lived who had fought along-side of the French during the Revolutionary struggle, similar societies should be organized.† Genet, the French minister in this country, appealed to the alliance of 1778 as the ground on which we should side with his country in its differences with England, made a triumphal progress through the states, dealt out commissions to privateers, enlisted officers and men,‡ organized Jacobin clubs, and sent out four§ agents to Kentucky, who set on foot societies in Georgetown, Lexington and Paris. They issued addresses, in which they traded on the grievances of the western people, enlarged on the advantages which would flow from their separating themselves from the rest of the United States, and the glorious results which would accrue from going down and freeing Louisiana from the thralldom of Spain and setting up a republic there. They called upon the French in Louisiana to rise against their present rulers.

A force of two thousand men was enlisted for this expedition, at the

*Barbé-Marbois, 'His. Louisiana,' p. 241.
†'Blennerhasset Papers,' p. 101.
‡'Lives Chief-Justices,' I., p. 390.
§'American State Papers,' I., 455

head of which George Rogers Clark* accepted the office of "Major-General of the Army of France and Commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Legions of the Mississippi river."

The firmness of Washington compelled the recall of Genet, the French minister, and this caused the collapse of the intended movement against the Spanish posts.†

At this time there were symptoms of a war between Great Britain and Spain. The former power had not yet given up possession of the forts on our northwestern frontiers. It held them with the hope that they might be of advantage in strengthening its hold on the western parts of America. There is good reason for believing that its purpose was, if war had been declared with Spain, to march its troops through the western territories and seize upon Louisiana. The Spanish minister alleged this to our government and induced it to strengthen its frontier posts and issue strict orders against the passage of any British troops through our territory. Our government was the more induced to do this as it was endeavoring to persuade the Spanish ministry to consent to a cession of the district east of the Mississippi.

So soon, however, as the danger of invasion was past, the Spanish governor at New Orleans—Carondolet—again imposed restrictions upon the commerce on the Mississippi, endeavoring thus to show to the western people that their only hope lay in a separation from the United States. Along with this, renewed efforts were made to subsidize leading citizens of the west in favor of the Spanish interests. The United States were being pressed from without by troubles with Great Britain, France and Spain. The Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania was putting‡ to a strain the relations of federal and state authority, and required the militia of several states to quell it. Hamilton's financial plans had not yet begun to ease the public credit. All the northwestern tribes of Indians were harassing the Ohio and Kentucky settlements. England on the northwest and Spain on the southwest were pressing on both flanks of the western territories to cause them to break loose from the Union into permanent separation.

While the United States were pushing Spain for a settlement of the boundary line, and for amicable commercial arrangements by diplomacy, Spain was endeavoring to break the force of the pressure by securing the influence of the leading men of Kentucky on its side by bribery. In the summer of 1795,§ Carondolet sent Gayoso up the

*'Butler,' p. 224.
†'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 167.
‡Monette, 'History Valley Miss.,' II., p. 202.
§'Clark,' p. 221.

Mississippi river, with a force, under the pretense that it was to be used for the building of a fort at the Chickasaw bluff; but Gayoso went on to New Madrid and informed Don Thomas Portell that he had important dispatches which must go forward immediately to Kentucky. Portell gave them to Thomas Power, who had been charged with a similar secret embassy before. Power made his way to Kentucky and delivered Carondolet's letter to Wilkinson, who had two years before reëntered the military service of the United States. Wilkinson and Power had nocturnal meetings in Cincinnati, and Wilkinson gave him letters to Carondolet, in which he recommended the following points to the Spanish governor:* *First*, that cargoes should be sent up from New Orleans to the Ohio river, by which the confidence of the people should be gained, and the channel pointed out and made familiar through which they could best receive foreign commodities. *Second*, the mouth of the Ohio should be strongly fortified, and works erected of such strength as to arrest for one campaign the progress of any army that should come down from the north. *Third*, a bank with a million of dollars of capital should be established in Kentucky, and the leading characters in the country be made directors. *Fourth*, General George Rogers Clark, and his adherents, who had been in the pay of the French Republic† recently, should be brought into the service of Spain, which should increase its agents in Kentucky and establish a magazine at New Madrid.

Under Wilkinson's direction, Power was joined at Redbanks by Colonel Sebastian, and it was intended that they should be joined by Messrs. Innes, Murray and Nicholas. These last did not come, and Power and Sebastian went to New Madrid, and thence proceeded to New Orleans to meet the governor. The next year Power again communicated dispatches from Carondolet to Wilkinson, and carried him nine thousand dollars concealed in barrels of sugar.‡

In the meantime the negotiations between the United States and Spain reached the point that, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1795, a treaty was signed in Madrid,§ which stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be the thirty-first degree, and that within six months after the ratification of the treaty the troops of each power should retire to its own side of the boundary; that, within that time, also, commissions on each side should be appointed to run and mark the line; that the middle of the Mississippi river should be the western boundary of the United States to the thirty-

*Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 360. Clark, 'Notes,' p. 34. †'Blenn. Papers,'p. 101.
‡Clark, 'Notes,' p. 37. §Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 356. 'Treaties U. S.,' p. 776.

first parallel; that the whole width of the river from its source to the sea should be free to the people of the United States and that the people of the United States should, for a period of three years, be permitted to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit and export, with only local charges, and that after this the time, by further negotiation, might be extended, or some other point on the island of New Orleans designated for the purpose.

Although this treaty was thus concluded, it was very evident that there was very little idea that the measure was anything more than a temporary piece of diplomatic *finesse*, which would not be carried into effect and would soon be abrogated. Spain was on the point of declaring war against Great Britain, and desired to secure the United States as a neutral power, between Canada and Louisiana, to prevent invasion on the part of Great Britain. Not for one moment did the efforts in the direction of subsidizing individuals cease.

In June 1796, Governor Gayoso* wrote that the treaty of the year before never would be carried into effect. Great Britain had, in 1794, made a treaty with the United States, the object of which was to attach them to her interests, and to counterbalance this Spain had made her treaty of limits. As Great Britain had totally failed in her object,† the governor thought that Spain should not regard her stipulations. Besides, it was expected that several states would separate from the Union, and this would absolve Spain from its engagements. He concluded, therefore, that nothing but the free navigation of the Mississippi would be the result of the treaty.

On the death of General Wayne, in December, 1796, Wilkinson succeeded to the command of the American army. He had intimated to Baron de Carondolet that he was getting ready a force to accompany the commissioner, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, to take possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, and to run the territorial line between the possessions of the two powers under the treaty. The baron was determined not to surrender the territory. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Mr. Power, in May, 1797, to go to General Wilkinson, in order to state to him that, on account of the doubts as to the manner of delivering the posts, and the apprehension that a British force was marching from Canada to attack upper Louisiana, he was resolved to retain the forts until he could receive the decision of the Spanish minister. He, therefore, requested that the march of the American troops be suspended until such decision could be reached.

*Martin, 'Louis,' p. 269 †'Stoddard's Sketches,' p. 99.

The Spaniards had some grounds for the fear which they expressed. The Spanish governor still retained possession of the post at Natchez. So long as this was done, it kept open all the irritating questions as to boundaries between the Americans in the districts of Tennessee and Mississippi and the Indian tribes in that section. The Americans complained because their government seemed so slow in asserting its rights against Spain and protecting them from the Indians. At this juncture, in April, 1797, Mr. Blount, the United States senator from Tennessee, who had a wide influence in his state, entered into a secret correspondence* with the English envoy in this country, Mr. Liston, the object of which was to induce England to send forces from Canada by Lake Michigan, down the Mississippi river, where boats and abundance of provisions would be sent to them from Kentucky and Tennessee; and they would rapidly descend the river, overcome the feeble Spanish garrison at New Orleans, and occupy the whole of Louisiana and Florida. This correspondence, however, in transmission to England, fell into the hands of a person who thought it his duty to send it to the President. In consequence of this, the plan fell through, and Mr. Blount was expelled from the senate. The scheme, however, affrighted the Spaniards when they heard of it.

Baron Carondolet, when he therefore sought to delay the giving up of the posts on the Mississippi river, and sent Mr. Powers on his mission, gave him instructions so confidential that he was only to retain them in his memory.† He directed him, while traveling through the western country, to sound the disposition of the people as he went. He gave him also a system of signs in writing his dispatches, which would indicate whether he found a hostile condition, and as to the number of pieces of artillery and any other warlike preparations which he might find. He was also to persuade the people, as he was able, that the delivery of the posts to the United States was opposed to the interest of the western people, who, as they would have one day to separate from the Atlantic states, would find themselves without communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they might expect powerful help in artillery, arms, ammunition and money as soon as ever the western states should determine on a separation; and that, for this reason, the west, in allowing congress to take these posts from Spain, was forging fetters for itself.

The baron then stated to Power some propositions which he desired

*'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 176. 'American State Papers,' II., p. 76. 'Ellicott's Journal,' p. 64.
†Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 360. 'Wilkinson Mem.,' II., note 46.

him to place before Messrs. Sebastian, Innes, Murray and Nicholas and any other persons pointed out by them.

First. They were to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic states. To prepare for this, the most eloquent and popular writers should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages that a longer connection with and dependence on the Atlantic states must draw upon them; and the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession ought to be forcibly pointed out. The baron pledged himself to appropriate one hundred thousand dollars for the use of those who should engage in this work, and to indemnify those who should lose any positions thereby.*

Second. Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, Fort Massac on the Ohio, near the mouth of the Cumberland, was to be taken possession of by the new government, which would be furnished arms by the king of Spain, who would further engage to supply one hundred thousand dollars for raising and maintaining such troops.

Third. He was to endeavor to discover General Wilkinson's disposition, and he thought it scarcely possible that he would prefer to command the army of the Atlantic states to that of being the Washington of the western states, that at the slightest movement he will be named as the general of the new Republic; that the army is weak and devoted to Wilkinson, and nothing is required but an instant of firmness to make the people of the west perfectly happy. To suffer the instant to escape would be for them to place themselves forever under the oppression of the Atlantic states.

The baron declared that Spain, limiting itself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, would cede to the western states all the east bank of the Mississippi from thirty-one degrees to the Ohio, which would form a very extensive and powerful republic, and that Spain would not interfere with its constitution and laws. Mr. Power was also directed to conciliate Mr. Ellicott, the American commissioner, and endeavor to induce him to come to New Orleans.†

Mr. Power went secretly through Tennessee overland, to avoid the forts, to Kentucky, and had an interview with Sebastian and the others, and then went on to Detroit, where General Wilkinson was. Wilkinson was no longer so sanguine as to the hopefulness of a sepa-

* Clark, 'Notes,' p. 82. † 'Clark,' p. 84.

vation of the western states, for the reason that so many of the purposes for which there had been such a desire had now by treaty been realized. He complained of having been betrayed before; but he told Power that if he was made governor of Natchez, he would there have opportunities to comply with the baron's political desires. He held secret meetings with Power; while, because of the suspicions that he was conscious were resting on him for his Spanish dealings,* he publicly sent Power away under guard and, apparently, in disgrace.† Power, on his return to New Orleans, gave a discouraging account of the disposition of the great body of the western people in the matter of separation.

In November, 1798, Mr. Ellicott, the commissioner, states that by a very extraordinary accident a letter from the governor-general, on its way to a confidential officer in the Spanish service, fell into his hands. The letter contained the most unequivocal proof of the late existence of a plan to injure the United States, in which a number of citizens were engaged, and a correspondence between Spanish officials and one whom he indicates as General Wilkinson. He says that dispatches and twenty thousand dollars in silver were sent up from New Orleans; and although the boat was searched, these articles were overlooked. These facts he communicated in cipher to the state department.‡

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1799, the Spaniards having lost all hope of causing a dismemberment of the Union, evacuated the forts at Natchez, and the United States troops on the next day entered into occupation. Thus ended the long cherished dreams of Spain to build up a strong nation at the gateway of the Mississippi. So long ago as 1783, the Count de Aranda, the Spanish minister, declared to his king his belief that both France and Spain had acted in opposition to their own interests in espousing the cause of the colonies. "This Federal Republic," he said, "is now a pigmy. The day will come when she will be a giant. She will forget the services she has received from the powers which have helped her, and will think only of her own aggrandizement." By the strange irony of fortune, all that Spain received for the alliance of 1778 was the Floridas, by which she hoped to retain the commercial control of the Gulf of Mexico, which for years had been slipping away; but in this she was disappointed. All that she had was eight years' possession of Florida and Louisiana, and the revisionary right of the latter from France. By recognizing

*'Clark,' p. 89; 'Wilkinson Mem.,' II., Note 48. †Clark, 'Notes,' p. 97.
‡'Blennerhasset Papers,' p. 429. 'Ellicott's Journal,' p. 183.

the political existence of a great, independent nation in the new world, Spain condemned herself to lose, sooner or later, the magnificent transatlantic domain, the sovereignty of which had been transmitted by the princes of Austria to the Bourbons.*

The treaty with Spain, in 1795, gave to the citizens of the United States the right to deposit produce in New Orleans, for export trade, for the period of three years, which time might be extended, or some other point on the island designated for the purpose. The attitude of Spain to this country in 1799 was not pacific. Her privateers preyed upon our commerce, and in July the Intendent Morales issued an order prohibiting the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit by the western people, without designating any other point.† Naturally, when this order became known, it excited the most intense indignation. The west had become too strong and resolute to endure this closing up of her great artery of trade.

An immediate campaign was set on foot against Louisiana. President Adams called for the raising of twelve new regiments. Three regiments were ordered to assume a position near the mouth of the Ohio, and to keep their boats in readiness to go down the river. General Washington accepted the chief command‡ of the armies raised in the east and west. He, however, died that fall, and the retirement of Mr. Adams from the Presidency, and the entire change in Federal politics, caused a suspension of hostilities and a disbanding of the regiments in the summer of 1800.§

In the meantime, Napoleon,‖ whose power was at its zenith in Europe, had set on foot inquiries which gave him the most minute information about Louisiana, and he had determined as a part of the vast system which he had planned with which to aggrandize France, to acquire this then Spanish province. A remarkable memoir,¶ prepared for him by Mr. Pontalba, who had long resided in the colony, and had held official position under Spain, states with extraordinary comprehensiveness and eloquence, the present and prospective importance of the country about the mouth of the Mississippi. He says that Louisiana is the key of America, and, therefore, of the highest importance, and has been for a long time past the object of the ambition of the United States. He argued that an appropriation of three millions of francs, to be placed in the western country, would procure

*R. C. Winthrop, 'France and United States,' p. 38.
†'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 233. Gayarré, 'S. Dom.,' p. 399.
‡'Sparks' Washington,' XI., p. 395.
§Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 409.
‖'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 184.
¶Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 410.

the immigration of thirty thousand persons to the better lands near the mouth of the Mississippi, and that the immigrants from Kentucky and the neighboring districts would sell their lands and come down into Louisiana, where they could have land for nothing, and better facilities for trade. He also showed that France would in this hold the key of Mexico, and be able to control its commerce. He thought such a power, affording the best market for all this grown in the Mississippi valley, would present a powerful motive to induce the inhabitants of the western districts to separate from the United States, in order to form an alliance with France, with the obligation that they should defend Louisiana in case of an attack from the United States. He spoke of the powerful influence which General Wilkinson—although he did not call him by name, as not desiring to expose him—had extended on behalf of Spanish interests for a series of years, and expressed no doubt but that such interest could still be secured.

Pontalba presented his memoir on the fifteenth of September, 1800, and on the first of October a treaty was concluded at St. Ildefonso,* an article of which was that the king of Spain engaged to retrocede to the French republic, within six months after the execution of the treaty with the Duke of Parma, the province of Louisiana, with the same limits that it had then in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and for such enlarged territory as had been acquired from the treaties which had subsequently been made between Spain and other states. The stipulation with the Duke of Parma was that Napoleon was to put the duke, who was a member of the Spanish house of Bourbons, in possession of Tuscany, and erect it into a kingdom. For this boon Spain was to cede Louisiana to France. The vast territory, therefore, included under the name of Louisiana, was bartered off for a petty Italian principality. As France was at war with Great Britain, and this power was master of the sea and could easily attack and conquer Louisiana, if known to be a French dependency, all knowledge of the treaty between France and Spain was carefully concealed and Spanish officials remained in power.

The cession of Louisiana to France was a blow to the United States,† as it placed at the gateway of the Mississippi a strong and aggressive power, instead of a weak one, such as Spain was. It was also a menace to Great Britain, because, if France extended her influence up the Mississippi river toward

*'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 184. †'Bauduy des Lozieres, Sec. Voy.,' p. 195.

the British possessions in Canada, it virtually destroyed the results of the Seven Years' War and the treaty of 1763. Intimations of the ratification of the treaty of cession gradually came to the ears of our ministers abroad, and they set on foot remonstrances against it. Before publicity was had, however, peace was concluded, on the first of October, 1801, between Great Britain and France, and concealment being no longer necessary, the latter power immediately prepared to send twenty-five thousand troops to Louisiana.

Delay in dispatching the force, however, resulted from a difference between Spain and France as to the meaning of the treaty, whether the cession included Florida or not. In the meantime the Mississippi, which had been opened for deposits at New Orleans in 1801, was, on the sixteenth of October in the next year, closed again, in accordance with the policy of the Spaniards to discourage the settlement of Americans in Louisiana. This produced great excitement throughout the country, as it also came near causing a famine in New Orleans by stopping the supplies of flour and other western produce. Strong remonstrances were made to the general government against the injury caused to the west by these repeated interruptions of her commerce. Barbé-Marbois, in his history, gives a specimen of some of the language used by the western people.* "The Mississippi," they say, "is ours by nature. Its mouth is the only issue which nature has given to our waters, and we wish to use it for our vessels. No power shall deprive us of this right. If our most perfect liberty in this matter is disputed, nothing shall prevent us from taking possession of the capital, and when we are once masters of it, we shall know how to maintain ourselves there. If congress refuses us effectual protection, we shall adopt the measures that our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with the other states. No protection, no allegiance."

Mr. Livingston, the American minister in Paris, sent over specially by Mr. Jefferson to settle this business, discovered that the projected establishment in Louisiana was disapproved of by every statesman in France† as certain to cause a great waste in men and money, excite enmities and produce no possible advantage to the nation. Mr. Livingston pressed upon the French government the expediency of their selling the country to the United States. The United States, he said, did not desire the territory west of the Mississippi river, and by ceding the district on the eastern side, the respective

*P. 235. Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 436. †'American State Papers,' II., p. 513.

nations would have the river as a safe boundary, and the claims of American citizens also against France for spoliations could be satisfied. Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, in representing to Mr. Livingston this sensibility of the western people on this subject, and the reasonableness of the sensibility, said: "The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac and all the navigable streams of the Atlantic states formed into one stream."*

The denial of the right to deposit was taken up in congress, when it was seen that efforts at negotiation for redress were fruitless, and resolutions were passed in the house to raise eighty thousand troops to vindicate the natural right of the western country to the free navigation of the Mississippi.†

While these negotiations were going on, war was on the point of breaking out again between Great Britain and France, and the prospect of this forced the question of the ownership of the territory to its issue. For if France still held possession after war was declared, Great Britain, which had a fleet in the Gulf of Mexico, would seize Louisiana, and France would lose it and get nothing. On the eleventh of April, 1803, Talleyrand asked‡ the American minister whether he wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Mr. Livingston, in his reply, showed what to us now seems a singular lack of perception in his estimate of the relative value of the parts in question. Louisiana included then the whole country west of the Mississippi, as far as Mexico and the Pacific, and north as far as the British lines; and also, as the United States then supposed, East and West Florida. It afterwards appeared that East Florida had not been ceded to France by Spain,§ and therefore could not be sold. When Talleyrand then asked Livingston whether the United States desired to have the whole of the country, Livingston replied that they did not, that they wished only for New Orleans and the Floridas. Talleyrand replied that if France gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value to her, and he wished an offer from the United States for the whole of it.

The interest was intense on both sides of the ocean. Napoleon had set his heart on this plan for the extension of France; a force was ready to start under Bernadotte to occupy the country; war was instantly impending between France and Great Britain; the ministers of the United States and France were having daily conferences.

*Gayarré, 'S. D.,' 473.
†Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 492.
‡'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 305.
§'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 313.

Our country was still poor, and could not afford to pay large purchase money. The difference between what was first offered, twenty millions, and what France demanded, one hundred millions of francs, made the prospect of agreement remote. To make a result more feasible, and yet with a strange insensibility to the future importance of the region in question, Mr. Livingston even suggested to Mr. Madison that, if only New Orleans and the Floridas could be kept, the purchase money to be paid could be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi river, with the sovereignty, to some power in Europe whose vicinity we should not fear.*

At length, on the tenth of April, 1803, Napoleon expressed his purpose to sell, and on the thirtieth the treaty was signed by which the whole of Louisiana, including West Florida, all that had been acquired by France from Spain,† was transferred to the United States, on the condition of the payment of sixty millions of francs, exclusive of the amounts due by France to American citizens on account of spoliations, which account the United States assumed. When Napoleon was informed of the signing of the treaty, he prophetically said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."‡

The first point gained in the effort to secure the reluctant consent of Napoleon to the sale of Louisiana was the absolute pledge, which Mr. Livingston extorted, that the claims of our merchants, by reason of the spoliations by French privateers, should be paid. This compelled§ that something should be done. In the treaty with France in 1778, however, the United States had pledged themselves to France, as one of the conditions of the alliance, to guarantee forever all the possessions in America which France had or should have.‖ This was a vast and perpetual obligation, which the United States had not seen the full effect of. This would have to be abrogated. France would only consent to this, however, on the assumption by the United States of the payment of the debts which France owed to our marine for spoliations. Thus the little word "forever," in the treaty,¶ was only redeemed twenty-three years after at the price of ten millions of dollars, which the United States pledged itself to pay, and not one cent of which French claims has up to this time been paid to our citizens.

*Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 509.
†'American State Papers,' I, p. 507.
‡'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 314
§'Oneida Historical Collection,' 1881, p. 166.
‖'Treaties U. S ,' p. 243.
¶C. F. Adams, Add. N.Y. Historical Society, 1870, p. 38.

This whole business had to be concluded in Paris, with no special communications from this country, the United States ministers, Livingston and Monroe, who had been specially sent, taking the responsibility. The vote in the senate to ratify the treaty was twenty-six to six, these last all being from New England. In the debate* objections were made to the treaty, and strong fears were expressed of the stability of the government with its citizens removed two or three thousand miles from the capital, where they could scarcely feel the rays of the general government. Senator White of Tennessee declared that he would rather see the territory to the west of the Mississippi *given* to France, to Spain or to any other nation, upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits, than to have it *sold* for one hundred millions of dollars and we retain the sovereignty.

As soon as Spain heard of the sale of the United States,† it vigorously protested, because France had convenanted with her never to part with the country, and it declared that it ought to have had the first chance for purchase. For a time it was thought that Spain would not make a peaceful surrender. The French had sent Laussat to Louisiana as a commissioner to receive the district from Spain, before the cession was made to the United States. On the thirtieth of November, 1803, Spain surrendered Louisiana to France. On the twentieth of December, twenty days after, the tricolored standard of France gave place to the American flag.‡

A recognition of the immense issues which were at stake in the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river will be had in this rapid statement of the varied means used to maintain the control of it and the reluctance shown in parting with it. The west was constantly becoming a larger factor in the Nation; and, in the manifestation of its discontent at the monopolizing by the east of all the great offices, it succeeded in causing the Nation to purchase, for an amount that was then quite exhausting, the outlet to its great river and the country beyond, the wealth of which was only afterwards apprehended. Still New Orleans was, at the time of the purchase, virtually a foreign city, with only a comparatively small American colony in it. Many of the Spanish officers remained as residents, ready to sympathize with any movement hostile to the United States, and they had ultimately to be requested by the gov-

*Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 561.
†'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 345. Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 535.
‡'Martin,' p. 295. 'Barbé-Marbois,' p. 352.

ernor to remove. The purchase of the territory put a stop, however, for some time, to the efforts of the conspirators.

The source from which sprang the motive for the next attempt at the separating of the west from the Union was the disappointed ambition of one of the most astute and daring men in American political life. That which furnished opportunity and hope to Burr, or any other adventurer, was the vast stakes that would fall into the hands of the boldest schemer, in the largely unsettled but fertile regions of the west, the remains of prejudice yet existing against the older and more calculating communities in the east, and the lack of entire national and social homogeneity arising from distance and imperfect communication. All this caused the eyes of disappointed ambition to turn for more hopeful fields of exercise to the new and more excitable communities in the west.

In the general election of 1801, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were found to have received the same number of electoral votes for President and vice-president.* No one receiving a majority of votes, the decision went to the house of representatives. It was evident that the Republicans had intended their votes for Mr. Jefferson for President and Colonel Burr for vice-president. When, however, the Federalists despaired of electing their candidate, Mr. Adams, they, in considerable numbers, together with some Republicans, turned to Colonel Burr, and voted for him for President against Jefferson, and this with Burr's connivance. The contest was prolonged until within a few days of the time of the inauguration, when Mr. Jefferson was elected President and Colonel Burr vice-president. His alleged complottings with the Federalists in this contest to seize the Presidency were the occasion of the political feuds† in New York which resulted in the duel with Alexander Hamilton July 11, 1804. After Mr. Hamilton's death, Colonel Burr had to flee before the intense popular indignation, and was for a number of months in obscurity in the south. He returned to Washington in the winter of 1804–5, and took his place as the president of the senate. He was, however, himself aware that, from the odium in which he was held, his political fortunes were at an end. His term as vice-president closed March 3, 1805, but he left Washington for Philadelphia before the close of the session, after making a speech of farewell which moved his bitterest opponents to tears.

General Wilkinson was in Washington at the time, having just been

*'Davis, Burr,' I., 435. †'Hammond's Political History, N. Y.', I., p. 131.

appointed governor of Louisiana,* with residence in St. Louis. He was an old friend of Burr. They had fought before Quebec together in 1775. He showed great interest in the fortunes of his former comrade. Wilkinson commended him to the delegates from Louisiana in Washington, and told them that so soon as Burr's vice-presidency was at an end he would go to Louisiana, where he had certain projects; adding that he was a man who would succeed in anything that he would undertake, and, throwing out mysterious hints, asked them to give him all the information in their power respecting that country.

He also expressed to Matthew Lyon, the eccentric member from Kentucky, originally from Vermont, and who subsequently came out to Missouri, his sorrow that a person of Burr's brilliant abilities was about to be lost to public life, and wondered what he could do. Wilkinson urged† that a foreign mission be secured for him; but Lyon assured him that this would be impossible. Lyon, however, suggested that he might, if he took the right steps at once, be returned to congress from Tennessee. To do this, however, he must instantly set out that spring, make a residence and begin the practice of law in Nashville, and during the summer let his friends indicate that he would stand for congress; and Mr. Lyon thought his abilities would, in the fall, secure him the position, and his killing of Hamilton would be found to have done him no injury. Burr took the matter up leisurely, allowed himself to loiter over a project for the cutting of a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, started for the west, went down the river, stopped at Blennerhassett's island, not, however, meeting the owner, as he was not at home, and so went on to Louisville. From thence he set out overland for Nashville, stopping on the way at Lexington, which was the centre of a brilliant social life and of political influence in Kentucky.

Mr. Lyon assured him at the time that, on account of his delays, his chance for being elected to congress from Tennessee was destroyed, and stated afterward on Burr's trial that there seemed much mystery in his conduct, and he suspected projects which he could not penetrate. Burr's arrival and stay in Nashville were an ovation. He then came down the Cumberland river to Fort Massac, sixteen miles below its mouth on the Ohio. Here in June he met Wilkinson, who had come down from St. Louis expressly for the purpose of having this meeting with Burr, with whom he had had for several years a cipher correspondence. Wilkinson furnished him with an elegant barge, with sails and crew, and gave him a letter of introduction to Daniel Clark, a

*'Blennerhassett Papers,' p. 432. †'Wilkinson, Memoirs,' I., p. 273.

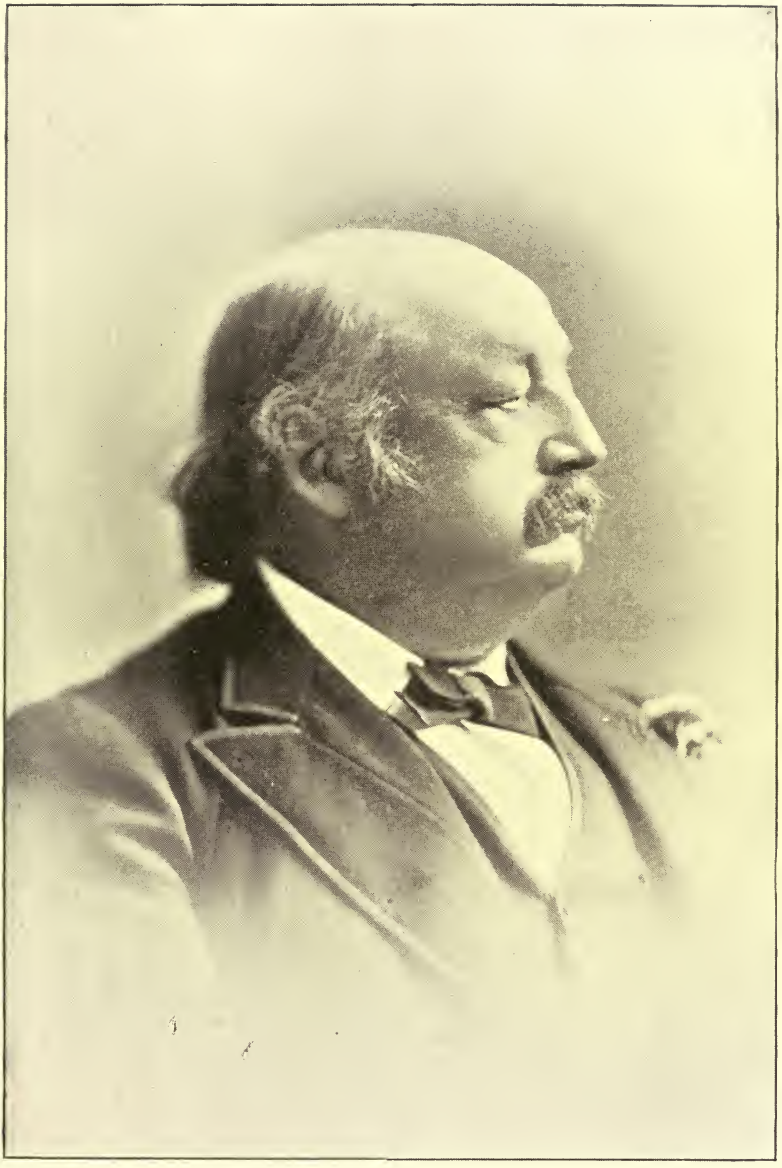
wealthy merchant of New Orleans, and Burr went down the river.* In his note Wilkinson commended Burr as a persecuted man, who had a claim on his services, about whose business there were many things of which he could not write, and for which he referred him to Burr in person. In New Orleans Burr, on account of the eminent position he had held in the previous administration, was highly honored, dined with Governor Claiborne and other distinguished persons, and was shown many other attentions.

It is to be noted, in view of subsequent events, that Mr. Clark, to whom Mr. Burr had been specially commended, within two months of Burr's visit set out on a journey to Mexico, with regard to the objects and results of which journey he wrote after his return to Wilkinson: "I have been to the land of promise, and have got safe from it, after having been represented as a person desirous of acquiring information about its strength, and where and how it may be assailed with the greatest probability of success. At a future period I shall communicate to you all I have picked up there."†

Wilkinson declared‡ that his purpose of commending Burr to Clark was that, since the expectation of election in Tennessee was at an end, he now desired to promote Burr's election to congress from Orleans, or his appointment as governor in place of Claiborne. In his memoirs he complained that while he was thus ingenuously promoting Colonel Burr's political aspirations, Burr had already, while keeping him in ignorance, made Clark his confederate in the scheme for invading Mexico, and had persuaded Clark that himself and the army were ready to unite in an expedition against that country. A letter written from New Orleans during Burr's visit asserts that the common rumor there was that a combination was forming, the object of which was to take Louisiana out of the Union.

After a stay of some weeks in New Orleans, Burr went to Natchez, and from thence to Nashville, Lexington, Louisville, and from thence, in September, 1805, to St. Louis, where he made a visit to Wilkinson, and also went with him to St. Charles. Before this, Major Seth Hunt stated that Wilkinson, on the twenty-eighth of June,§ at Kaskaskia, in returning from his meeting with Burr at Fort Massac, declared to him that "he was engaged in a scheme full of danger, requiring enterprise; but, if successful, full of fortune and glory." ‖ In the same year Wilkinson wrote to Colonel McKee, inquiring

* 'Clark,' p. 119.
† 'Wilkinson, Memoirs,' II., App. 73.
‡ 'Wilkinson,' II., p. 285.
§ 'Wilkinson,' I., pp. 292-3.
‖ 'Clark,' 121.



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whether he could not raise a corps of cavalry "to follow his fortunes to Mexico."

At this time also, in June, and after his interview with Burr at Massac, Wilkinson assured General Adair, senator from Tennessee, that Burr reckoned on him in his project, and in a letter marked "private," asks Adair to meet him, and he will tell him all, and that "they must have a peep at the unknown world beyond him."* Of the meaning of this allusion perhaps a hint may be had in the question contained in Adair's reply,† "Pray, how far is it, and what kind of a way, from St. Louis to Santa Fé, and from thence to Mexico?" While Wilkinson protests that he knows nothing as yet of any confederacy, he declares his assurance that at this time Adair was connected with Burr's "sinister project."

As the result of his conversations during Burr's stay in St. Louis, in September, 1805, Wilkinson states that he was persuaded that Burr had a scheme in hand, but that he did not know of its treasonable character, and that his confidence in Burr was shaken. In Burr's trial, subsequently, Wilkinson declared that in an interview in St. Louis, Burr stated that he had "a great project in contemplation, but whether it was authorized by the government or not Burr did not explain, nor did he inquire." The extreme unlikelihood of this statement is apparent. General Wilkinson and Colonel Burr had for years been corresponding intimately in cipher. Wilkinson was the commander-in-chief of the army, and would be in a position to know what projects were on foot by the government. He knew, moreover, that Burr was in utter antagonism to the President.

In September Burr left St. Louis for the east, and on the twenty-third was at Vincennes, where was General Harrison, the governor of the Northwestern Territory, to whom Wilkinson had written a letter strongly commending Burr. Colonel Burr wrote back from there to Wilkinson, apparently about the project they had in common: "I have had no conversation on the subject you mentioned, but we have gone round about it, and there is every evidence of good-will, in which I have entire belief. There is probably some secret embarrassment, of which you and I are ignorant."‡

Burr went on to Philadelphia and Washington, between which places he remained until August, 1806. He had been indicted, in 1805, by the grand jury in New York for murder, in the matter of Hamilton, and this had been stated by General Adair as the cause of his going west. He had influential political adherents in New

* 'Clark,' I., 120. † 'Wilkinson,' II., App. 77. ‡ 'Wilkinson,' I., App. 82.

York and New Jersey, among whom were General Dayton and the son of Matthew Ogden of New Jersey; Samuel Swarwout and Marinus Willet of New York. Among them he raised an amount of money for the purchase of a large tract of land on the Washita, a branch of the Red river, in the Louisiana country, the colonization of which was one of the alternative projects which he placed before his friends. Baron Bastrop had secured from Spain a concession of one million two hundred thousand acres of land. Mr. Lynch had bought from the baron six-tenths of this tract, the time for the completion of which purchase was drawing to its close. Colonel Burr, in July, 1806, contracted to purchase from Mr. Lynch the land, and was to pay fifty thousand dollars, and did pay down five thousand. Burr, for this purpose, raised among his friends forty thousand dollars, and more was forthcoming.

In the meantime he was writing frequently in cipher to Wilkinson, and Wilkinson replied. In April, 1806, he wrote to Wilkinson: "The execution of our project is postponed. Want of water in the Ohio rendered the movement impracticable. The association is enlarged and comprises all that Wilkinson desires. Confidence limited to a few. Although this delay is irksome, it will enable us to move with more certainty and dignity. Burr will be throughout United States this summer."*

General Eaton, who had recently returned from operations against the pirates of Tripoli, and was supposed to have grievances against the government, because of its failure to reimburse him for advances made there, and who therefore might be supposed to be ready to entertain propositions adverse to the government, testified,† in the trial of Burr, that during the winter of 1805–6, Burr informed him that he was forming a military expedition against the Spanish provinces to the southwest of the United States, and also had a project of revolutionizing the territory west of the Alleghany mountains and establishing an independent empire there, New Orleans to be the capital and himself the chief; gathering a military force on the waters of the Mississippi, and carrying conquest to Mexico. He said that he had in person made a tour through the western country during the previous season; that he had secured to his interests and attached to his person the most distinguished citizens of Tennessee, Kentucky and the territory of Orleans; that he had inexhaustible resources and funds; that the army of the United States would act with him and be reinforced by ten or twelve thousand men from the above-mentioned states and

* 'Wilkinson,' II., App. 83. † 'Burr's Trial, I.,' p. 536. 'Life of Eaton,' p. 391.

territories. He said that General Wilkinson would be the commander, and Burr offered Eaton the second place. He said that Wilkinson was doubtful about his retention of his present position and desired to secure a permanency with him, and would also use his influence with the army on the promise to it of double pay and rations, the ambition of the officers and the prospect of plunder and military achievements. In addition to the positive assurances that Burr said he had of assistance and coöperation, he said that the vast extent of territory of the United States west of the Alleghany mountains would, with its offer to adventurers of the mines of Mexico, bring to his standard volunteers from all quarters of the Union. The line of separation of the Union was to be drawn by the Alleghanies. He was persuaded that he had secured the most considerable citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee, but expressed some doubts about Ohio, as he thought they were too much of a plodding, industrial people to engage in the enterprise.

Burr had three plans in mind,* and was restlessly moving about, putting forward one or the other project, as he found persons more favorable to one or the other.

First. To organize the restlessness and discontent of the frontier states and territories, and to separate the southwest from the Union, and set up an independent government, with its capital in New Orleans.

Second. In conjunction with the first, to enlist recruits and make arrangements for an expedition against Mexico and the Spanish provinces, especially in the event of a war between Great Britain and Spain, which at that time seemed inevitable.

Third. In the event of the failure of both these projects, and as a means to commit to him and his measures irrevocably those who would revolt at such revolutionary plans as the foregoing, the purchase and colonization of the tract of land on the Washita river.

In deciding upon his course he was driven on by desperation and disappointed ambition. He gave too much credit to the declarations of a few partisan leaders who, in the desire to serve their own ends, overstated the restlessness of the western people. He made no proper estimate of the simple, law-abiding, republican habits of the great body of the inhabitants of the country. He deceived himself as to the conditional, really timid pledges of adherence on the part of a few men, which actually were wholly falsified in the event. And yet the brilliant audacity and versatility of Burr, in spite of his being

*'American State Papers,' Miscel. I., p. 468.

almost alone in his planning, and of the popular odium and social isolation in which he was held, inspired and kept life in his scheme in spite of its desperation. As Wirt said afterward: "Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurement which he can contrive, men of all ranks and descriptions. To youthful ardor he presents danger and glory; to ambition, rank and titles and honors; to avarice, the mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses he presents the object adapted to his taste."*

On the fifteenth of April, 1806, Mr. Jefferson says† that, about a month before that time, Burr called on him and, reminding him that Jefferson had, some five years before, intimated his purpose to give him a high position if he had not been elected as vice-president, told him that he was now disengaged, had supported his administration, could do him, if he chose, great harm, and was willing to receive from him a proposition. Jefferson says that he replied to him that he was sensible of his talents, but that he must be aware the public had with drawn their confidence from him; and that as to any harm Burr could inflict, he feared no injury which Burr could do him.

In May, 1806, General Wilkinson was ordered, because of the threatening character of the relations with Spain, to send all his available force from St. Louis to Fort Adams, now Vicksburg. He did so, and then ordered them up the Red river to guard the western frontier of the United States‡ along the River Sabine. The order from the war department, under which he acted, simply contemplated the placing of his forces at Fort Adams, guarding New Orleans, and then from there maintaining observations eastward in Florida and westward on the Sabine river.§ The transportation of all his troops to the remote point up the Red river was faulted at the time as placing his force out of reach in case of any attack on New Orleans by an expedition under Burr coming down the Mississippi river. Wilkinson stated before the grand jury afterward in Washington that, between the time of his meeting Burr at Massac and this time, he had received six notes from him in cipher, which he did not desire to have exposed except in the last extremity,‖ and that they were calculated to inculpate him should they be exposed. Wilkinson left St. Louis to join the troops down the Mississippi on the twenty-fifth of August,

* 'Burr's Trial,' II., p. 118.

† 'Jefferson's Works,' IX., 208.

‡ 'Wilkinson,' I., App. 87 and 90.

§ 'Jefferson's Works,' V., p. 25.

‖ 'Clark,' p. 117.

and reached Natchitoches, on the Red river, on the twenty-second of September.

Burr arrived at Blennerhassett's island,* on the Ohio river, on his way west, in September, 1806. Blennerhassett was an Irish gentleman, a barrister of literary and philosophical tastes, who had spent too much of his not large fortune in the purchase, eight years before, and adornment of an island on the Ohio, fourteen miles below Marietta. He now found himself wanting in ready means and willing to embark in the southern venture, to which Burr had in general terms invited him, unconscious of all that it involved. A young family was growing up, in order to provide for whom he was ready to embark on the vague project in the Louisiana country which Burr, with his singular power of fascination, held up before him. They had corresponded, but had not personally met until this time, Blennerhassett having been absent when Burr stopped at the island in May of the previous year.

Burr imparted to his host, with some reserve, that the sentiments of the larger part of the inhabitants of the Orleans and Mississippi territories were disaffected to the government to such an extent that, unless early measures were taken to prevent it, they would fling themselves into the arms of any foreign power which should pledge itself to protect them. He declared that, in such an event, the western states would be placed in a dilemma, out of which they could only escape by an eastern or western ascendency of interests; they would no longer consent to an alliance, but would sever themselves from the Union. He said that the separation of the western from the Atlantic states was no new project, that it was a matter of daily discussion at Washington, and that so thoroughly disgusted were the people of New Orleans with the conduct of the administration—both with reference to themselves and to Spanish and American affairs—that he expected to hear of the beginning of a revolt in their seizing on the bank and custom-house, and appropriating to themselves the revenues and forces of the territory. He declared that he had been invited, when he was in New Orleans, to become the leader of a society of young men there, who had taken possession of a number of cannon belonging to the French, for a Mexican invasion.

Blennerhasset was easily drawn into the project which Burr had in hand. In the month of September active preparations were begun for the contemplated expedition. Contracts were given

*'Blennerhassett Papers,' p. 126.

out for the construction of fifteen large bateaux, sufficient to convey five hundred men, and a large keel-boat for the transportation of provisions and arms, for the most of which Blennerhassett became responsible. While this work was going on, Burr visited Marietta, where his elegant manners, ready address and former political eminence made him very popular. He asked to drill some troops. He visited Chillicothe, the seat of government in Ohio, and so passed on to Cincinnati, and then continued his journey to Lexington, Kentucky. He gave out that his expedition had the approval of the government. His object was to extend his acquaintance and enlist recruits. To these he promised pay and land on the Washita.

He induced Blennerhassett to write for the *Ohio Gazette*, published at Marietta, a series of essays, the design of which was to show the permanent antagonism between the commercial interests of the eastern and western states; that the land laws were invidious and unjust to western settlers; that the western people had paid the government more than four hundred thousand dollars a year, and had received nothing in return for it. On such considerations he based the conclusion that a separation of the eastern and western states was necessary, and that the western people should positively assert themselves. It is interesting to notice that, at this time, before the introduction of steam navigation, the writer remarks: "It will forever remain impracticable for our shipping to perform a return voyage against the currents of our long rivers." It was frequently found best then, in going from New Orleans to Cincinnati, instead of going up the river, to go around outside to Baltimore, and then travel overland to the Ohio.

Burr, accompanied by his daughter, Theodosia, and her husband, Mr. Alston, with Blennerhassett, went in October to Lexington, which was designated as the point of rendezvous. The town was then a central point in the west, and society was the most polite and intelligent in the Mississippi valley. The oldest and best families in the south were represented there. The manner of the reception of Burr and his associates in Lexington, the respect shown, the generous hospitality extended, flattered him with the hope of the popularity of the movement, a thorough organization of which was immediately begun.* Burr received from friends in Lexington not less than forty thousand dollars for the furtherance of his projects. In order to quiet alarm, the impression was given out that the object of the

*'Blennerhassett Papers,' p. 467.

enterprise was simply the colonization of the Bastrop lands. Burr had brought with him a portion of the money raised in the east. His son-in-law, Mr. Alston, had large property in South Carolina, but had no ready money; and so Blennerhassett had to join his personal credit with the security promised him on Alston's estate, in order to procure the means required.

In the meantime the preparations making had not escaped the attention of the government at Washington.* Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, directed Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans territory, to ascertain and report the facts. He learned in Lexington that Mr. Burr reported that he had a credit of two hundred thousand dollars with Daniel Clark of New Orleans. He also warned the governor of Ohio of the treasonable designs of Burr and Blennerhassett within the borders of the state. Burr, leaving directions for the completion of the preparations, and for Blennerhassett to join him with his force at the mouth of the Cumberland, went down to the Falls of the Ohio. He had scarcely landed in Kentucky before Colonel Daviess, the district attorney, on the third of November, before the Federal court, denounced the conspiracy, and moved for a warrant for the arrest of Burr for treasonable practice. Judge Innis, who, with Judge Sebastian, John Brown and General Wilkinson, had been during the summer denounced by the *Western World*, published in Frankfort, as intriguing with Spain, after two days overruled the motion.†

Burr appeared in court and, while declaring that the judge had treated the matter as it deserved, said that, as the motion might be renewed in his absence, he had challenged the district attorney to prove his charge. He retained Mr. Clay, then a young man, as one of his counsel. When the day of trial came, the attorney found that he could not procure his witnesses, and the grand jury returned the indictment "not a true bill," and completely exonerated him. The result greatly added to Burr's popularity in the state. Mr. Clay said that, before appearing for Burr, he called on him for a pledge that he was not unlawfully engaged, which he gave.‡ Mr. Clay afterward declared that Burr had lied. He met Burr for the first time after this in 1815, in the United States court room in New York, and Mr. Clay then declined to give to Burr his hand, because of the deception which had been practiced on him.§

After the culmination of Burr's project, the Kentucky legislature instituted an inquiry into the allegation against Judge Sebastian,

* 'Blennerhassett Papers,' p. 154.
† Allen, 'History Kentucky,' p. 72.
‡ Butler, 'Kentucky,' p 315.
§ Prentice, 'Life of Clay,' p. 34.

that he had been a pensioner of Spain for two thousand dollars a year; but he, to stifle the inquiry, resigned his office, but not before a committee had unanimously reported that for years he had been regularly receiving pay from Spain.

The authorities of Ohio moved vigorously in consequence of the information furnished them by Graham. The militia were called out, and pressed upon Blennerhassett and his men so closely that, while some of the boats were stopped and Blennerhassett arrested, the latter was forcibly released by his fellow conspirators, and he and his men in boats left the island and started down the Ohio at midnight of the tenth of December.

In order to lull suspicion and to add to his resources, Burr had been compelled in Washington and New Orleans to assume a double part. To the Marquis de Yrujo, the Spanish minister, he protested that his purpose was to divide the American Union. This was a measure highly agreeable to Spain. The transfer of Louisiana to the United States was always a hateful thing. Many of the Spaniards in Louisiana hoped that the separation was not final;* they thought that they would recover the territory after some struggle over the different interpretations of the articles of the treaty concerning boundaries. Our commerce on the Mobile and Tombigbee rivers was harassed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. The boundaries of Louisiana on the line of the Sabine were in dispute. The Choctaws in the Mississippi territory were incited to war with the United States. The former Spanish governor, Casa Calvo, and the Intendante stayed on in New Orleans and were the centre of cabals. They were told by Governor Claiborne, January 10, 1806, that they must leave the territory. In consequence they were greatly offended.† Yrujo therefore entered heartily into Burr's plans to divide the Union, and visited and advised with him. He offered him the use of ten thousand stand of arms, and money to any necessary amount.‡

On the other hand, to Merry, the British minister to Washington, Burr represented that he was intending to proceed against Mexico, and as such a measure would be favorable to British interests, and would throw the United States into alliance with England as opposed to France and Spain, Burr declared that he had from Merry the pledge that the British fleet would come to the mouth of the Mississippi river to help him, and that Commodore Truxton had

* Gayarré, 'S. D.,' p. 128. † 'Madison,' II., 398.

‡ Gayarré, 'American Dominations,' p. 181.

gone to Jamaica to communicate, on the part of Burr, with the British commander. Truxton did not leave Washington, however, in fact, but communicated to the President regularly all that Burr said to him.

On the eighth of October, General Wilkinson was at Natchitoches. He had written to Burr in cipher on the thirteenth of May, asking from him a statement of his designs. On this day there came to him Mr. Swartwout of New Jersey, with a letter of introduction to him from Burr, and another letter for Colonel Cushing, the second in command, from General Dayton. He said that he was on his way to New Orleans, and had expected to find the army at Fort Adams, on the Mississippi, and offered his services as a volunteer. The next morning Wilkinson told Cushing that Swartwout had brought him intelligence of an enterprise that was on foot in the western states, inimical to the United States, in which a great number of persons, possessing wealth, popularity and talents, were engaged; that Colonel Burr was at the head of it; that he had been offered the second command, and that the army was reckoned on to support it. Wilkinson bound Cushing to secrecy about the project and his communication.

The following are the letters thus received, all in cipher, the first from Burr, and dated July 22:* "I have at length obtained funds and have actually commenced. The eastern detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on the Ohio on the first of November. Everything internal and external favors our view—naval protection of England is secured. Truxton is going to Jamaica to arrange with the admiral there, and will meet us at Mississippi. It will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only, and Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward August 1, never to return. Send forthwith an influential friend with whom Burr may confer; this is essential to concert and harmony of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson westward of the mountains, who could be useful, with a note delineating their character. Our project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr's plan is to move down rapidly from the falls [of the Ohio] on the fifteenth of November with the first five hundred or one thousand men in light boats, now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the fifth and fifteenth of December, there to

*'American State Papers,' Miscellaneous I., p. 471. 'Wilkinson,' II., p. 312.

meet you; then to determine whether to seize or pass by Baton Rouge. Send an answer; draw on me for all expense."

The next two letters delivered to Wilkinson were written by General Dayton, the close friend of Burr; the first on the sixteenth of July: "Everything appears to have conspired to prepare the train for a grand explosion; are you also ready? As you are said to have removed your headquarters down the river, you can retain your present position without suspicion, until your friends join you in December somewhere on the River Mississippi. Under the auspices of Burr and Wilkinson I shall be happy to engage, and when the time arrives you will find me near you." Eight days after this Dayton sought to bind Wilkinson fast to Burr's enterprise by intimating that he was, in any event, about to lose his position in the army. He wrote: "It is now well ascertained that you are to be displaced in next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will; prepare yourself for it; you know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even despond, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Wealth and glory. Louisiana and Mexico. Receive my nephew affectionately."

These letters came to Wilkinson on the eighth of October, but a little more than a month before the time named by Burr when he said he would be at the Falls of the Ohio with his force coming down the river. Although it would seem as though time would be of great value, and that he would hastily return to the Mississippi and place Fort Adams and New Orleans in a condition for defense, for thirteen days Wilkinson did nothing but engage himself with the small force of Spaniards on the Sabine, and, as he says, endeavor to draw further facts out of Swartwout about the expedition.* His delay in communicating with the President had the more significance since he knew that the route of the messenger overland to Washington consumed over a month at best. The President wrote on the third of January, 1807, to Wilkinson, that his letter of November 12, brought by a special messenger, only reached him on the day before, having taken over fifty days in the transit.†

General Wilkinson, in his affidavit, No. 81, as reported to congress, swore that, having been requested by Swartwout to write to Burr, whom he was soon to meet, he declined to do so. So it was, however, extorted from him afterwards in the examination in Richmond that he did write a letter to Burr from Natchitoches, that it was sent to Natchez, to which place he followed, recovered it and destroyed it.‡

* 'Wilkinson,' II., p. 321. † 'Jefferson's Works,' V., p. 26. ‡ 'Clark,' p. 130.

This is probably the point at which, after long uncertainty, he at length determined to give up Burr and hold to the government. And even then he shaped his course in such a way that, if he discovered that Burr's project caught the popular favor and was likely to succeed, he might not be found to be committed irrevocably against it.

Only on the twenty-first of October did he send a message to the President, and even then he did not send the letters or copies of them which he had received; nor did he in a long communication mention the name of Burr as connected with the expedition. While the letter from Burr can hardly fail to convince one that Wilkinson was previously informed as to the conspiracy, Wilkinson, in his letter to the President, seems intent upon concealing the complicity of Burr. He declares in his memoirs that even yet he could hardly bring himself to believe that his "long-loved friend," as he calls him, "could be engaged in a treasonable enterprise."*

On the fifth of November he received from Dr. Bollman of New Orleans, a warm friend of Burr, copies of the letters of Burr and Dayton, which, for further certainty, had been commanded to be delivered to him. On the same day he received a letter from J. D. Donaldson of Natchez, which informed him that a messenger from St. Louis had just made known to him a plan, with permission that he might inform the general of it, that, Wilkinson said, staggered credulity. It was that there was an expedition on foot to revolutionize the western country, which was matured and ready to explode; that Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Orleans and Indiana are combined to declare themselves independent on the fifteenth of November. It was added that an accredited agent of the conspiracy had approached some of the most influential persons in St. Louis and asked them to join, saying that if money was necessary it might be commanded to any extent. It was stated that the persons thus applied to altogether refused to concur in any such plan, and that it would be only superior force that would dispense with the oath of allegiance to the United States. The fact of the communication of this project in St. Louis was asserted, but it was added that there were only four persons in St. Louis privy to the disclosure made by the secret agent.†

It was, Wilkinson says, only on the receipt of this message that his mind, not even persuaded by what Swartwout had told him and the letters brought him, was convinced that there was a conspiracy, and that Burr was at the head of it. It was only on the twelfth of November, more than a month after the receipt of the letters from Burr, that

* II., p. 323.

† 'Wilkinson,' I., App. 88.

Wilkinson wrote to the President, sending a copy of the letters which he had received from Burr and Dayton. Even then he sent copies which were, as he himself afterwards confessed, garbled, with important changes made, and with all reference in them to Burr's previous communications with him taken out. He says that this was done in order that he might not be inculpated with him. He at different times swore that one and the other forms of this important letter were faithful and correct. The fact that he was suspected was at all times present to his mind. When he revealed to Colonel Cushing the substance of Burr's letter, he bade him mark the date, in order that he might, if called on, make a statement afterward. Colonel Freeman, the commander in New Orleans, testified that Wilkinson put before him the rank and wealth which he might have if he would side with Burr. Governor Mead* of Mississippi wrote to Governor Claiborne of Louisiana: "If Burr passes this territory with two thousand men, I have no doubt but that General Wilkinson will be your worst enemy. Be on your guard against the wily general. He is not much better than Cataline. Consider him as a traitor, and act as if certain thereof."† The messenger who took Wilkinson's letter of November 12 to the President affirmed that the first question which Jefferson put to him was: "Is Wilkinson sound in this business?"

The President, on his receipt of Wilkinson's first letter, as well as from information gained in other ways, issued his proclamation‡ against the conspiracy of Burr on November 27, 1806, in which he warned all persons from engaging in the treasonable expedition.

After Burr had secured his triumphal acquittal in Frankfort, about the middle of December, he went to Nashville to gather his recruits; but the proclamation of the President was now pressing hard upon him; and, while he had always overrated the number and zeal of his adherents, this evidence that those who joined him must be prepared to encounter the opposition of the government paralyzed his work. The President afterward declared§ his judgment that the first blow which the enterprise received was from the energy of Governor Tiffin at Marietta, and that the plot was crippled by the activity of Ohio.

Burr went down the Cumberland river with only two boats, although he expected a force to come overland from Tennessee and meet him on the Mississippi, near Natchez. Burr knew thoroughly the condition of the road from Nashville to Bayou Pierre, the point on the Mississippi, near Natchez, where the force was to rendezvous.

*Cable, 'Creoles of Louisiana,' p. 153. †Gayarré, 'American Dominations,' p. 169.
‡'Wilkinson,' I., App. 96. §'Jefferson's Works,' V., p. 28.

On the twenty-seventh of December Burr joined Blennerhassett,* who had nine boats at the mouth of the Cumberland, and they all proceeded down the Mississippi. Six days after they came to Chickasaw Bluffs, where was Lieutenant Jackson with a detachment of United States troops. Burr strove to induce him to join them, putting before him in strong colors what brilliant results would follow for those who survived, and while he did not state fully what his plans were, he assured him that they were honorable. Jackson, however, was firm in refusing. The situation for Burr had now become desperate. Those who had pledged to him their adherence altogether withdrew on the appearance of the President's proclamation, which showed the lawlessness of the undertaking. All the western states called out their militia, and the most rigid measures were taken all along the Mississippi to quell the expedition. Burr saw that he must destroy all the military features of his enterprise, and declare that it was only intended as a colonizing party for the Washita country. Accordingly one night he ordered all the chests of arms to be thrown into the Mississippi river.

Burr landed at Bayou Pierre, thirty miles above Natchez, in the Mississippi territory, on the seventh of January, 1807. On the seventeenth he surrendered himself to Cowles Mead, the acting governor,† only declaring his wish not to fall into the hands of Wilkinson, whom he called a perfidious villain, and said that if he was sacrificed his portfolio would prove him to be a villain. When the case of Burr was given into the hands of the grand jury, they declared that there was no evidence against him, and, pending his request to be released on his own recognizance, and hearing that instantly upon his release he was to be arrested again by the governor, he changed his clothes and escaped across the country eastward. His company, in the meantime, were in great confusion, and with no money. The leaders were arrested by the United States authorities, and the others scattered and went back home.

In the meantime Wilkinson, aroused at last from his indecision, seemed determined by a frenzied, histrionic‡ activity against Burr to conceal his previous complicity. He reached New Orleans on the twenty-fifth of November, ordering Fort Adams to be dismantled, which should have been rather strengthened, if, as he declared to the President, seven thousand men were coming down the river with Burr. He made requisition on Governor Mead for his militia, in

* 'Blennerhassett Papers,' 186.

† 'Wilkinson,' II., 337.

‡ Cable, 'Creoles of Louisiana,' p. 153; 'Eaton,' p. 403.

order to take them to New Orleans. This, however, was refused on the reasonable ground that it would strip the country of all means of resistance. He arbitrarily arrested in New Orleans those whom he suspected of complicity with Burr, some of whom could give very damaging evidence against himself; and with the force of the army resisted the process of the courts for their release under the *Habeas Corpus* act.

Burr subsequently declared that he never had any idea of dividing the Union; that his hopes of prospering in his expedition against Mexico had depended upon war being declared between Great Britain and Spain; that this expedition was defeated by the death of Pitt early in 1806, and that Wilkinson thereupon lost heart in the project. Wilkinson confessed, however, that in October he said to Swartwout he would not oppose Burr's expedition.*

Burr was rearrested on the seventeenth of February, 1807, in northern Alabama, traveling with a companion, under an assumed name, endeavoring to make his way to Pensacola, then under the king of Spain. He was charged with high misdemeanor, in setting on foot within the United States a military expedition against Spain, a friendly power; and also with treason, in assembling an armed force, with design to seize New Orleans, to revolutionize the territory attached, and separate the western from the Atlantic states. It was with great difficulty that Burr could be taken through the country as a prisoner. He appealed to the civil authorities against his military arrest. The ladies everywhere espoused his cause, and children were named after him.†

At length Burr reached Richmond, Virginia, where, under Chief-Justice Marshall, his trial began on the seventeenth of August. There was a brilliant array of counsel on each side. Political feeling ran at that time very high, and the greatest excitement prevailed in Richmond and in Washington over the progress and results of the trial. The President was a Republican, and was bitterly opposed to Burr. The chief-justice was more of a Federalist, and was scrupulously exact and, some thought, almost timid, in his rulings. The President wrote at the time to a friend: "The Federalists make Burr's cause their own and exert their whole influence to shield him from punishment. It is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposition to the legislative and executive branches, and is able to baffle their measures often."‡

Testimony was received touching Burr's conversations, showing his

*'Clark,' p. 163. †Pickett's 'History Alabama,' *ad loc.* ‡'Jefferson's Works,' V., 165.

intent before overt acts began. In addition to the evidence given by General Eaton, which has been already referred to, Colonel Morgan and his son testified that in August, 1806, Colonel Burr had, at their house in western Pennsylvania, declared that, in less than five years, the west would be totally divided from the Atlantic states, and that the Alleghany mountains would be the line of division. He said that great numbers were not necessary to execute great military deeds; all that was wanted was a leader in whom they could place confidence, and who, they believed, would carry them through. He averred that, with two hundred men, he could drive congress, with the President at its head, into the River Potomac, and that, with five hundred men, he could take possession of New York.*

Evidence was also received concerning the transactions on Blennerhassett's island, which, however, took on an unmistakably warlike character only after Burr had left. Long arguments were heard as to the competency of other evidence which was offered. At length the court ruled† that no testimony relative to the conduct and declaration of the prisoner elsewhere and subsequent to the transactions on Blennerhassett's island could be admitted, because such testimony, being in its nature corroborative and incompetent to prove the overt act in itself, was irrelevant until there was proof had of the overt act by two witnesses; that the overt act on Blennerhassett's island was proved, but the presence of the accused was not alleged; that his presence when and where the overt act was committed was necessary. In consequence of this ruling, the jury, on September the first, 1807, found that Burr was not proved guilty of treason, under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to them.

In the trial for misdemeanor, Burr was, on the fifteenth of September, discharged, because the evidence sustaining it was, under the former ruling of the court, excluded. It was also ruled‡ (1) that the declaration of three persons, not forming a part of the transaction, and not made in the presence of the accused, is not to be received; (2) that acts of accomplices, except so far as they prove the character and object of the expedition, cannot be taken in evidence; (3) that acts of accomplices in another district, even though they constitute substantial cause for a prosecution, cannot be taken in evidence unless they go directly to prove the charges made in this district; (4) that legal testimony to show that the expedition was military, and destined against Spain, is to be received.

*'Burr's Trial,' I., p. 566. †'Burr's Trial,' I., 549.
‡'Burr's Trial' (Robertson), I., 539.

Burr was accordingly remanded for trial to Ohio, where the offense was said to have been committed; but no further proceedings against him were had. Indignation was very widely expressed at the result of the trial. The President himself wrote thus to General Wilkinson* about the failure to convict Burr: "The scenes which have been enacted at Richmond are such as have never before been exhibited in any country where all regard to public character has not yet been thrown off. They are equivalent to a proclamation of impunity to every traitorous combination which may be formed to destroy the Union. However, they will produce an amendment to the Constitution which, keeping the judges independent of the Executive, will not leave them so of the Nation." Burr went abroad directly after the trial.

The case of Blennerhassett, which was really determined by the result of Burr's trial, was remanded to Ohio, but no further prosecution followed. He was distressed by the losses which he had brought on himself by his adherence to Burr. He became, however, completely disillusioned as to Burr's perfidy and sensuality in the closer intimacy which he had with him during the trial in Richmond. Although both Burr and his son-in-law, Alston, had promised to make good the advances which he had made, they neither of them did so, although Blennerhassett, in the loss of his home and in his utter need otherwise, begged them for a repayment of what he had sacrificed for Burr. In consequence he suffered from poverty to the end of his life. His son, Joseph Lewis Blennerhassett, was engaged in the practice of the law, and died in Lincoln county, Missouri, in 1862.

Wilkinson, in the trial of Burr, of course gave only so much evidence against him as his hatred of Burr drew forth and as would conceal his own complicity. He was true to his craven instincts to the last. Immediately after the conclusion of the trial in Richmond he sent his confidential agent, Walter Burling, into Mexico, as he declared, "on grounds of public duty and professional enterprise, to attempt to penetrate the veil which concealed the topographical route to the City of Mexico and the military defenses which intervened, feeling that the equivocal relations of the two countries justified the *ruse*."† Burling was really sent to apprise the viceroy of the attempt of Burr, and to demand, on Wilkinson's behalf, a compensation of two hundred thousand dollars for, as he declared, "great pecuniary sacrifices in defeating Burr's plan, and, Leonidas-like, throwing himself into the pass of Thermopylæ." Yturrigaray,

*'Jefferson's Works,' V., 198. †'Wilkinson,' I., p. 417.

the viceroy, received the communication with indignation, and told Burling that General Wilkinson, in counteracting any treasonable plan of Burr's, did no more than comply with his duty, that he would take good care to defend the kingdom of Mexico against any attack or invasion, and that he did not think himself authorized to give one farthing to General Wilkinson, in compensation for his pretended services. The demand having been contemptuously refused, Burling was ordered to leave the country.*

Thus ended the last attempt at separating the western country from the American Union. As all such attempts had their strength in the distance and isolation, and consequently the ignorance and prejudice of the sections, it may be confidently believed that in the comparative homogeneity of the affections and interests of all the people of the land now, by reason of rapid and constant communication, no such attempts will again be made, or, if made, will gain even the limited standing and proportions which those in the past have done.

Our multiplying railroad bars and telegraph wires are more than material lines of communication. Themselves created by the physical and commercial needs of a great people, they are the sensitive nerve connections of a complex social organism. Along them pulse the currents of intelligence and an identical interest, and they convey and perpetuate the throbbings of simultaneous impulses and common National aspirations. In these are furnished, under God, the sure hope and presage of the perpetuity of our American Union.

DISCOVERY OF THE OHIO RIVER BY LA SALLE, 1669–70.

WHAT is designated on the early maps of the United States as the "Territory Northwest of Ohio" embraced all the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio river. Great Britain acquired it from France by the treaty of February, 1762, but, having prior claims to it, had, before that time, granted most of the territory to her several colonies. Probably there were not more than three thousand white people in the territory when this treaty was signed, and these were principally wandering French traders, very few of them cultivators of the soil. In 1778 Virginia conquered the

*Davis, 'Burr,' II., pp. 401–4. 'Blennerhassett Papers,' pp. 210 and 578.

northwest from Great Britain, and erected the entire territory into a county by the name of Illinois. Soon after the close of the War of the Revolution, in the year 1787, the United States established in the same region its first provincial government, and gave it the above title, which in common parlance was known as the "Northwestern Territory." Its fixed population did then not exceed five thousand. There are now five states and the half of a sixth, whose inhabitants number not far from ten million, among whom the French element is scarcely perceptible. The people of these states are intelligent, and take a lively interest in the history of the discoveries of their country, among whom La Salle holds the first place.

Having spent a life of the length usually allotted to man, on the waters of the Ohio, the Upper Mississippi and the lakes, threading many of the streams on which they floated their canoes, passing over the same trails, coasting along the same shores, those intrepid explorers of two centuries since have often been, in imagination, vividly near to me.

As early as 1840 I saw evidence of the presence of white men in northeastern Ohio, of whom we had then no historical proof. This evidence is in the form of ancient cuts, made by sharp axes on our oldest forest trees, covered by their subsequent growth. In this climate the native trees are endogenous and take on one layer of growth annually. There are exceptions, but I have tested the accuracy of this habit in about forty cases where I have had other proof of the age of the tree, and find it to be a good general rule.

The Jesuit relations contain no account of establishments on the south shore of Lake Erie in the seventeenth century. For many years these wooden records remained an interesting mystery, which I think may possibly be solved by recent documents brought to light in France. We know that La Salle, in 1680, returned from the Illinois to Montreal, most of the way by land, and it is conjectured that he may have traversed the south shore of Lake Erie; but the passage of a few men, hastily, through a wilderness did not account for the many marks of axes which we find.

The stump of an oak tree was shown me soon after it had been felled in 1838, which stood in the northwestern part of Canfield, Mahoning county, Ohio. It was two feet ten inches in diameter, and, with the exception of the concealed gashes, was quite sound. When about fourteen inches in diameter, this tree had been cut nearly half through; but the scar had healed over so thoroughly that it did not appear externally. I took a section from the outside to the

heart, showing both the old and the recent axe marks, which may be seen in the museum of the Western Reserve Historical society, at Cleveland. Over the old cuts there had grown one hundred and sixty annual layers of solid wood, and the tree had died of age some years before. This would place the cutting between the years 1670 and 1675. The tree stood a few miles south of the great Indian trail leading from the waters of the Mahoning, a branch of the Ohio, to the waters of the Cuyahoga river and Lake Erie. In 1848 or 1849 Mr. S. Lapham of Willoughby, Lake county, Ohio, felled a hickory tree standing a short distance from the ridge, along which was once the main Indian trail parallel to the lake. The diameter of the stump was about two feet. Near the heart there were very distinct cuts of a sharp, broad-bitted axe. Mr. Lapham preserved a piece of this tree, that is now in our museum, donated by Professor J. L. Cassells. The annual layers of growth are very thin and difficult to count, but are about four hundred in number, outside the ancient chopping. Another tree was found in Newburgh, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, more than thirty years since, with marks of an axe near the centre, represented to have one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty layers of growth over it, apparently the work of a sharp, broad-bitted axe.

In the cabinet of the Ashtabula Historical society, at Jefferson, Ashtabula county, Ohio, there was, some years since, a piece of wood with ancient axe marks of about the same date. I have heard of two others in northeastern Ohio, which I have not seen, and which may have been the work of a dull, narrow-bitted axe in the hands of a savage, and not the work of white men; but the Indians of northern Ohio could not have long been in possession of metal tomahawks or squaw hatchets, in the year 1670. Such cuts, if made by them, could be only a few years more ancient.

The Lake county stump has about twice the number of layers we should expect, and which would carry the chopping to a period before the landing of Columbus. Botanists explain this by the exceptional cases where there is a double layer in a year. If LaSalle and his party spent two or three years exploring and trading in furs in the lake country, they might well be the authors of these ancient cuttings. There must have been several hundreds of them, or we should not have met with so many at this late period. Any person examining the pieces in the Western Reserve Historical Society museum will be convinced they are not the work of Indians.

The honor of the first exploration of Ohio has long been claimed by

the French for their countryman, Robert Cavelier de La Salle, but the details of this exploration were so meager, its date so doubtful and the extent of his travels so uncertain, that some historians were not inclined to give credence to his claims.

A romantic mystery still envelopes his movements in the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio river, which it was hoped the papers of M. Pierre Margry would dissipate, and thus place La Salle on record in full and clear terms. If this cannot be effected by the zeal and industry of M. Margry, during a life work in search of manuscripts relating to La Salle, I fear that we must relinquish the hope of a satisfactory solution.

DeCourcelles and Talon, who were respectively governor and intendant in New France, sent out several parties of discovery between 1665 and 1680. They had two principal objects in view: the discovery of copper and a route to China through the Great Southern sea.

In a memoir to the king, dated Quebec, October 10, 1670 ('New York Colonial Documents,' page 64), Talon writes: "Since my arrival I have dispatched persons of resolution, who promise to penetrate farther than has ever been done to the west and northwest of Canada, and others to the southwest and south." These parties were instructed to keep journals, reply to instructions, take possession of the country formally, and were expected to be absent without news for about two years. After all these precautions, a distressing fatality overtook most of their letters, field-notes, reports and maps. Joliet was nearly in sight of Montreal on his return in 1674 from the Mississippi river, when his canoe was capsized in the rapids, he was nearly drowned and every paper was lost. Of La Salle's memoranda, covering the years 1669 to 1673, nothing has been recovered.

In 1686 Governor De Nonville, writing from Quebec, under date of November 8, to Seignelay, minister of marine, says: "I annex to this letter a memoir of our right to the whole of that country (Ohio) of which our register ought to be full, but no memorials of them are to be found. I am told that M. Talon has the original of the entries in his possession of a great many discoveries that were made in this country, with which our registers ought to be full. Doubtless he has given them to my late lord, your father."—'Colonial Documents,' Vol. IX., page 297.

"The River Ohio, otherwise called the Beautiful river, and its tributaries, belong indisputably to France, by virtue of its discovery by the *Sieur de la Salle* and of the trading posts the French have had

there since. . . . It is only within a few years that the English have undertaken to trade there."—Instructions to M. DuQuesne, Paris, 1752 ('Colonial Documents,' N. Y., Vol. X., page 243).

"It is only since the last war that the English have set up claims to the territory on the Beautiful river, the possession whereof has never been disputed to the French, who have always resorted to that river ever since it was discovered by Sieur de la Salle."—Instructions to Vaudreuil, Versailles, April, 1755 ('Colonial Documents,' Vol. X., page 293).

As the Jesuits in Canada were personally hostile to La Salle, they never mention his name in their relations, or the discoveries made by him. They were jealous of him as a discoverer and a trader, despised him as a friend of the Sulpitians and an apostate from the Society of Jesus, an order at that time so powerful in Canada that the governor-general was obliged to compliment them in his open dispatches, while he spoke severely of them in cipher.

Louis XIV. was not required to expend more money in wars than other French monarchs, but his civil projects were ample and his pleasures very expensive. He was habitually straitened for funds, and required the strictest economy in the expenses of all his officers.

In Canada parsimony in public affairs was even more rigid than in France. The governor-general was unable to live on his salary. Intendants, ecclesiastics and local governors were in a still worse predicament. It was expected that all of them would make up this deficiency by traffic in furs. Many of the dispatches from Versailles are laden with warnings against incurring expenses, which amounted to commands. Many of those sent in reply contain passages congratulating the king on acquisitions of territory and glory, which cost him nothing. Three-quarters of a century later, as related above, in negotiations with England, the Ohio country was claimed by the French, on the sole ground of the discoveries of La Salle.

The personal interest which public officers had in the Indian trade, of necessity brought about discord between them. La Salle, having no fortune, was obliged to sustain himself in the same way, which brought him in direct antagonism with officers, priests and traders. This reference is necessary to explain the difficulties under which he labored.

According to the Abbé Galinée, Governor Courcelles requested himself and Dollier DeCasson, another Sulpitian, to join La Salle in a voyage he had long contemplated, toward a great river which he conceived, from the accounts of the Iroquois, to flow westward,

beyond which, after seven or eight months of travel, in their way of stating it, the river and country were lost in the sea.

By this river, called by them the Ohio, Olighiny sipu, or Beautiful river, and by others, Mescha-zebe, or Mississippi, M. de la Salle hoped to find the long sought passage to the Red, Vermillion, or South sea, and acquire the glory of that enterprise. He also hoped to find plenty of beavers wherewith to meet the expense of the journey.

We must not forget the nature of the French government when contemplating the history of Canada. The king was absolute not only in public but in private affairs. When he said: "I am the State," he expressed a fact, and not a fiction or a boast. The men and women of the kingdom were subject to the will of one man, even in their personal relations and occupations. In Canada nothing escaped the supervision of his officers, who were equally absolute, which explains why permission was necessary to engage in any enterprise.

The two parties left Montreal in July, 1669, La Salle having four canoes and fourteen men, the Sulpitians three canoes and eight men. They reached Ironduquoit bay, in New York, on the tenth of August, making a portage to the Genesee valley and some Indian towns near Victor station and Boughton hill, sixteen miles southeasterly from Rochester. The savages told La Salle that the Ohio had its rise three days' journey from "Sonnontouan," or the country of the Senecas. After a month's travel they would reach the *Hon-ni-as-ant-ke-rons* and the Chouanons (Shawnees); after passing them and a great fall or chute, there were the Outagamies (Pottawatomies) and the country of the *Is-konsan-gos*, with plenty of deer, buffaloes, thick woods and an immense population.

The Jesuits had a mission at "Gannegora," the Indian name of a town and a fort near Boughton hill, but were absent when La Salle and the Sulpitians arrived there. The Indians discouraged them from taking the Genesee route to the Ohio, representing that it required six days' journey of twelve leagues or thirty-six miles each. Charlevoix affirms that the Genesee is navigable for canoes sixty leagues, or one hundred and eighty miles, and from thence it is only ten leagues or thirty miles by land to the Allegheny or Ohio, River of the Iroquois. Mr. Marshall had shown that this portage was in Allegheny county, New York, from near Belvidere to Olean.

By the united efforts of the Jesuits, the Dutch and the Senecas, they were persuaded to relinquish this route and hasten back to their canoes, to avoid violence on the part of the savages. They coasted along the south shore of Lake Ontario, passing the Niagara without

examination, and reached Burlington bay on the twenty-second of September. De Nonville, in 1687, states that La Salle had houses and people at Niagara in 1668.—('Historical Documents,' Vol. I., p. 244.) If this is true, La Salle must have been well acquainted with the portage to Lake Erie, around the falls. Why he should have selected the more difficult route by way of Burlington bay, and a portage of fifteen miles to Grand river, is nowhere explained.

Not far from the head of the bay was the village of Tenouatouan, on the path to Grand river. Here the party met Joliet and a few Indians on his return from Mackinaw. He had been sent by the intendant to find the copper mines of Lake Superior, and appears to have been the first Frenchman to have navigated Lake Erie. He took that route home at the instigation of the Ottawas, and of an Iroquois prisoner he was taking home to his people.

According to Galinée, when they were fifty leagues west of Grand river, this Iroquois became alarmed on account of the Andasterrionons, Errionons, Eriqueronons, or Eries of the south shore, with whom the Senecas were at war. They were thus obliged to leave their canoes and make the journey to Tenouatouan by land.

La Salle's plan might have been to cross from Lake Ontario to Grand river, down it to the lake, thence along the north shore of Erie to the mouth of the Maumee river, on the route referred to by him in 1682; up this stream to the portage at Fort Wayne, and down the waters of the Wabash into an unknown world.

In a subsequent letter written from Illinois he speaks of this route, and also in his memorial to Frontenac in 1677, as the best one for traffic between the Great river and Canada, though it does not appear that he ever passed over it.—(Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract 25.) Joliet was, likewise, ambitious of the glory of discovering the Great river, of which the Jesuit missionaries and the Indians gave glowing descriptions. He seems to have persuaded Galinée and DeCasson that this was the better route. La Salle and the Sulpitians here became alienated, and after attending mass separated on the thirtieth of September, they to find Lake Erie and the Ottawas of Mackinaw, he to pursue his original design. He had been for some days sick of a fever, which Galinée attributed to the sight of several rattlesnakes. He declared it to be so late in the season that his *voyageurs*, not accustomed to such a rigorous climate, would perish in the woods during the winter.

From the hour of this separation we are without explicit information of his journeyings for a term of nearly three years. During this

period the exploration of the Ohio country was effected, and, in the opinion of M. Margry, the Mississippi was discovered by him in advance of Joliet and Marquette. These wanderings, of which after two hundred years we know very little, show more originality of design, more audacity in execution and a more pertinacious resolution under difficulties, than his later achievements on the Mississippi. No one has set up against him a rival claim to the discovery of the Ohio. His heirs, his admirers and his countrymen should cherish the memory of that discovery as the most wonderful of his exploits. The historical obscurity which has befallen these expeditions is a painful fact, but it is in some measure compensated by a glamour of romance, which deepens with the lapse of time. On seeing his favorite plan of an advance by the north shore of Lake Erie frustrated, he may have determined to brave all dangers and enter the lake by way of Niagara. There are many plans which he may have determined upon, of which we can only form a vague conjecture. He may have turned his canoes along the north shore and spent the winter in hunting in that country. Color is given to this surmise by the statement of Nicholas Perrot that he met La Salle on the Ottawa in 1670, but this is not probable. Taken in the order of the anonymous relation, he was on a river which ran *from east to west*, before passing to Onnontague (Onondaga), but there is no water route passable from Lake Ontario to the Ohio which would pass Onondaga. It is far more probable that the enthusiastic young explorer entered Niagara river with his Shawnee guide and made the portage to Lake Erie. He could soon find one of the portages to the waters of the Ohio, spoken of by the Senecas. One of them was from Lake Erie, near Portland and Westfield, New York, of six or seven leagues (eighteen to twenty-one miles), to Chautauqua lake. Another, of about the same length, answers also to their directions, which was afterward the usual route from Erie to French creek, at Waterford in Pennsylvania. By either of these routes he might have been on the Allegheny, with his goods and canoes, in ten or twelve days, if the weather was good. He would, however, have here been among the Andasterrionons, who were probably the Eries or Errieronons, with whom the Senecas were then at war. These Indians had been represented at "Gannegora" as sure to kill the Frenchmen if they went among them.

Gravier has a theory that instead of Onontague or "Gannontague," mentioned in the memoir of the friend of Galinée, we should read Ganestogue or "Ganahogue," the ancient name of the Cuyahoga. It is not improbable that the guide of La Salle knew of this route, along

which, ascending the Cuyahoga from Cleveland, the party would be enabled to reach the waters of the Muskingum, by a portage of seven miles at Akron, and from thence the Ohio, at Marietta. La Salle states that after he reached the Ohio, according to the anonymous account, but one very large river was passed on the north shore before reaching the falls. If he failed to recognize the Scioto as a very large river, there is only the Great Miami which meets his description.

He may also have concluded to spend the winter in Ohio, where game was abundant and beavers numerous—an event to which I have referred in connection with the axe marks. We have no reliable evidence that he was at Montreal between July, 1669, and August, 1672. The records of Villemarie, quoted by Faillon, contain the first solid proof of his presence on the St. Lawrence, after he departed with Galinée and DeCasson. During this period we may be certain he was not idle. It is far from certain how many men he had, but the anonymous relation affirms that he was deserted by twenty-three or twenty-four of them after leaving the Falls of the Ohio. Where did he get these additional recruits? In the absence of historical proof, it is reasonable to infer that, when he left the Sulpitians, he moved southwesterly in accordance with his instructions, and did not turn back to Montreal. His honor, his interest and his ambition all forced him in one direction—toward the country where he was directed to go and to stay as long as he could subsist.

What the Abbé Faillon states in the third volume of his 'French Colonies' (page 312) confirms this supposition. According to this authority, about four months after La Salle's departure, which would be in November, 1669, a part of his men returned, having refused to follow him. He himself could not have returned at this time without observation and public discredit.

Such a brief and fruitless effort to reach the Great South sea could not have escaped the notice of historians. It is not probable that his foreman, Charles Thoulamion, or his surgeon, Roussilier ('Histoire Colonie Francais,' Vol. III., p. 290), were among those wanting in courage to follow him. Some soldiers were of the party, furnished by Talon, who would be likely to remain by force of military discipline.

There are many threads of this tangled skein which can not yet be drawn out. In the first volume of the 'Margry Documents' (pages 371-78) may be seen a long recital by a friend of the Abbé Galinée, already referred to, whose name is a subject of conjecture, but presumed by Mr. Parkman to have been the second Prince of Conti, Armand de Bour-

bon, a friend of La Salle, seventeen or eighteen years of age, purporting to be the substance of conversations with La Salle, which must have taken place as late as 1677, when he was in France. One portion of this paper is styled a "Life of La Salle," a large part of which is occupied by his troubles with the Jesuits. "He (La Salle) left France at twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, in 1665, well instructed in matters in the new world, with the design of attempting new discoveries. After having been some time in Canada he acquired some knowledge of the languages, and traveled northward, where he found nothing worthy of his attention, and resolved to turn southward; and having advanced to a village of savages on the Genesee, where there was a Jesuit, he hoped to find guides, etc." "M. de la Salle continued his route from 'Tenouatoua' *upon a river which goes from east to west*, and passed to Onondaga (Onontague), then to six or seven leagues below Lake Erie; and having reached longitude 280° or 283°, and to latitude 41°, found a sault, which falls toward the west into a low, marshy country, covered with dry trees, of which some are still standing. He was compelled to take the land, and following a height, which led him very far, he found savages, who told him that very far from there the same river, which was lost in the low, marshy country, reunited in one bed. He continued his way, but as the fatigue was great, twenty-three or twenty-four men, whom he had brought thus far, left him all in one night, regained the river and saved themselves, some in New Holland and others in New England. He found himself alone at four hundred leagues (twelve hundred miles) from his home, where he failed not to return, reascending the river, and living by hunting, upon herbs and upon what the savages gave him, whom he met on the way. After *some time he made a second attempt, on the same river*, which he left below Lake Erie, making a portage of six or seven leagues (eighteen or twenty-one miles) to embark on this lake, which he traversed toward the north" into lakes Huron and Michigan, and thence to the Illinois.

Aside from the indefinite phrases of this paper, it is characterized by so many geographical errors that it would possess little value without the support of the following statement of La Salle himself:

"In the year 1667 and following years, La Salle made many voyages, at much expense, in which he was first discoverer of much country south of the great lakes, between them and the great river, Ohio. He followed it to a place where it falls from a great height into marshes, in latitude 37°, after having been enlarged by another *very large river*, which comes from the north, and all these waters,

according, to appearances, discharge into the Gulf of Mexico, and here he hopes to find a communication with the sea."

No conjecture respecting La Salle's operations on the Ohio has yet been formed that reconciles these conflicting accounts.

In nothing direct from his pen does La Salle refer to the desertion of his men after leaving the Falls of the Ohio. According to the supposed recital of Armand de Bourbon, he had made a long journey from thence by land, the direction of which is not known. He may have been at that time in Kentucky or Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois or Ohio. If he proceeded westerly he was constantly increasing the distance from Montreal, and whether he was north or south of the Ohio, it is scarcely credible that he should find his way back alone in the winter of 1669-70. In the spring of 1681 he made that sad trip from "Crèvecœur" to Niagara, with an Indian and four men, which occupied sixty-five days. It would consume fully as much time to return from the Falls of the Ohio. He could not have examined the country near the river, below the falls, or he would not have reported that it is a vast marsh, with intricate channels, along which it flowed a great distance before uniting in a single bed. He could not have traveled far west of the meridian of the falls without hearing of the Mississippi and making an effort to reach it, for it was only through this river that he then expected to reach the Red sea on the route to China.

La Salle could not have explored the falls very minutely, and have spoken of them as very high, nor of the country below as a vast marsh with numerous and intricate channels. If, in his land journey, he had gone in a northwesterly direction, he would have struck the Wabash or its main branches in about one hundred and twenty-five miles. In a southwesterly direction, the Cumberland and the Tennessee are rivers of equal magnitude, the waters of which he must have encountered in a few days' travel.

Whatever Indians he met would be closely questioned, and if they communicated anything, the Great river must have been the first object of their thoughts. An observation of either of these three rivers by La Salle, in the lower part of their course, or even second-hand information respecting them from the savages, must have led a mind so acute as his, sharpened by his purposes and his surroundings, to the conclusion that he was near the Mississippi.

Did he reach this conclusion, and find himself baffled by the clamors or the desertion of his men? Did he find means to procure other men and supplies without returning to Montreal? It appears from the 'Colonie Francaise,' Vol. III., that in the summer of 1671 he had com-

munication with Montreal, where he obtained a credit of 454 *livres tournois*. Did this enable him to pass from the waters of the Ohio to those of Lake Erie, and undertake a long cruise through the lakes to the Illinois country?

Whatever reply should be made to these queries, it is reasonably evident that when his great work of 1679 was undertaken, he did not know that the Ohio is a tributary of the Mississippi, or whether the great unknown river would conduct them to the South sea. The discoveries of Joliet in 1673 did not remove these doubts from the minds of the governor-general or the geographers of that period.

LaSalle, as late as 1682, after having been at the mouth of the Mississippi, was inclined to the opinion that the Ohio ran into a great (but imaginary) river, called Chucugoa, east of the Mississippi, discharging into the gulf or the Atlantic in Florida. The French had not followed the Ohio from the falls to its junction with the Wabash. On a map made in 1692, ten years later, the Wabash is equivalent to the lower Ohio, formed by the Miami and the upper Ohio, the Wabash of our maps being omitted.

The main facts which residents of the Ohio valley are most curious to know concerning LaSalle's operations here are yet wanting. We have made diligent search for them, and are as yet unable to say, precisely, how much time he spent on the waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie prior to 1673; what trading posts he established, if any; what streams he navigated, or with what tribes he became acquainted. The instructions to Governor-General DuQuesne in 1752, above referred to, claim that the French had occupied this country ever since it was discovered by LaSalle. Governor Burnet of the colony of New York, in 1721, states that, three years before, the French had no establishments on Lake Erie.

We may infer that LaSalle was busily occupied during the years 1670 and 1671, on the waters of the Ohio and Lake Erie, collecting furs, for he had no other means of support. The credit he obtained at Villemarie in 1671 was payable in furs. If his map should be discovered in some neglected garret in France, we should, no doubt, find there a solution of many historical difficulties that now perplex us. It was the custom at that time to make very full memoranda on maps, amounting to a condensed report of the author's travels. If this map exists, Europe does not contain a paper of more value to us.

Mr. Shea, whose labors on the history of French occupation have been wonderfully persistent and minute, is of the opinion that

we may presume that unauthorized *voyageurs*, trappers, traders and *coureurs des bois*, both French and English, were among the Indians in advance of the explorers.

The Dutch on the Hudson, and after 1664 the English, were on good terms with the Iroquois, who carried their wars to Lake Superior and the Mississippi. We have no records of the movements of those half savage traders, except in the case of Etienne Brulé, and that is of little value.

La Salle was probably on the waters of the Ohio when Governor Woods, of the colony of Virginia, sent a party to find that river in September, 1671. This party reached the Falls of the Kanawha on the seventeenth of that month, where they found rude letters cut upon standing trees. They took possession of the country in the name of Charles II. of England, and proceeded no farther.—('Botts' Journal, New York Colonial Documents,' Vol. III., p. 194.) William Penn's colony was not then organized. In 1685 or 1686 some English traders penetrated as far as Mackinaw, by way of Lake Erie. They were probably from New York, and having made their purchases of the Ottawas, returned under the protection of the Hurons or Wyandots of the west end of Lake Erie.

If the Virginians were engaged in the Indian trade at this early period, their route would be up the Potomac to the heads of the Youghiogheny, and from the forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh to Lake Erie, by the Allegheny river and French creek, or by way of the Beaver, Mahoning and the Cuyahoga rivers. These Arabs of the forest would carry axes and hatchets having a steel bit, whether Dutch, French or English, and thus may have done the hacking upon our trees which I have described. None of these people would be likely to leave other records of their presence in a country claimed by their different governments, on which one party or the other were trespassers.

I am aware that this presentation of the most interesting period in the history of Ohio is desultory and incomplete. If there had been a reasonable prospect of more facts, it would have been delayed; but it is doubtful if we may expect much more light on the subject of the discovery of the Ohio valley.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

"THE President of the United States directed a city to be laid out." These words are found in the act of the Maryland legislature bounding that part of the original District of Columbia which lay on the American side of the Potomac river. They are historical words in a general as well as a special sense. They are also prophetic words, as we shall see.

The Albany congress of 1754, which was an event of considerable importance in our constitutional history, sat in the town from which it takes its name. The congress of 1765, called to protest against the Stamp act and other British aggressions, met in New York. But Philadelphia was the continental city of the revolutionary period. Situated on the Delaware river, it was easily approached from the sea —a circumstance of more significance one hundred years ago than now. It was accessible by land from both the north and the south, and was about equi-distant from New Hampshire and from Georgia. It was also one of the populous and wealthy cities of the time. Boston, New York and Philadelphia had about the same population, each one having from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Dr. Franklin, in commenting on that provision of the plan of union of 1754, which required the grand council of the colonies to meet for the first time in Philadelphia, thus set forth the advantages which that city offered:

"Philadelphia was named as being nearer the centre of the colonies, where the commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The high-roads, through the whole extent, are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be, and frequently are, traveled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water. In summer time the passages are frequently performed in a week from Charleston to Philadelphia and New York, and from Rhode Island to New York, through the sound, in two or three days, and from New York to Philadelphia, by water and land, in two days, by stage, boats and street carriages that set out every other day. The journey from Charleston to Philadelphia may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeake bay three hundred miles. But if the whole journey be performed on horseback, the most distant members, viz., the two from New Hampshire and from South Carolina, may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty days; the majority may be there in much less time."*

*'Documents Illustrative of American History,' 1886, pp. 175–176.

These advantages made the Pennsylvania metropolis the natural meeting place of the states in our heroic age. Naturally, therefore, the Continental congress was called to meet in the continental city by common consent. The first session lasted from September 5 to October 26, 1774. The congress reconvened in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and continued to hold its sessions there until December 12, 1776. At that time the British, having driven Washington out of New York and penetrated the Jerseys, were making a bold push for Philadelphia. Generals Putnam and Mifflin, called into conference by the congress, strongly advised that it retire from the scene of so much danger. Convinced that warlike movements would prevent that quiet and uninterrupted attention to the public business which should ever prevail in the great continental council, congress adjourned to Baltimore. The danger having passed when the British drew back to New York after Trenton and Princeton, it returned in March of the next year. The near approach of the British in September, 1777, this time from the head of Chesapeake bay, again threatened danger, and an adjournment was made on the advice of Colonel Hamilton of Washington's staff. This was to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Here congress sat one day, when, apparently thinking Lancaster insecure, it retired beyond the Susquehanna to York ("Yorktown," as it is called in the journal). Sir Henry Clinton having abandoned Philadelphia early in June, 1778, congress returned to that city the second of July. Here it held its successive sessions until June, 1783, when an unfortunate occurrence sent the Continental congress from Philadelphia, never to return. The war was over, but owing to the emptiness of the treasury the army was unpaid. A body of Pennsylvania troops, rendered desperate by their grievances, grossly insulted congress, first by sending it insolent letters, and then surrounding, in a threatening manner, the state house in which it was sitting. Congress, unable to protect itself, appealed to the Pennsylvania authorities for protection, and not receiving a reassuring reply, promptly adjourned to Princeton, New Jersey, in order (so the resolution runs) that "further and more effectual measures may be taken for suppressing the present revolt and maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States." From June 30 to November 4, 1783, Princeton was the seat of government. Then came a removal to Annapolis, Maryland, where Washington, who had disbanded the army, surrendered his commission and took leave of congress. November 1, 1784, a removal was made to Trenton, New Jersey. The two last removals were both made in consequence of steps that were being taken

to settle the question of a National capital, of which more hereafter. On January 11, 1785, the congress met in New York, and there it continued to meet until it expired in the autumn of 1788.

Here we may interrupt the narrative to state some facts concerning the close of the Continental congress. And, first, it never formally adjourned. October 10, 1788, was the last day on which any business was done. The last motion related to western lands, and was lost. On October 14 two states attended; on the fifteenth, four states; on the sixteenth, two states; on the twenty-first, two states, with scattering delegates from other states. A state was not held "present" unless a majority of its delegation were in attendance. The last entry in the journal begins: "From the day above mentioned [that is, October 21] there attended occasionally," and closes with the names of thirteen different delegates from ten different states. Despairing of ever again securing a quorum, these waiting delegates dispersed and the old congress died. But secondly, the end of the Continental congress is as pathetic as its beginning is inspiring. Mr. Hildreth thus sums up what it had done, and describes the manner of its death:

"The dying embers of the Continental congress, barely kept alive for some months by the occasional attendance of one or two delegates, as the day approached for the new system to be organized, quietly went out without note or observation. History knows few bodies so remarkable. The long parliament of Charles I., the French National assembly, are alone to be compared with it. Coming together, in the first instance, a mere collection of consulting delegates, the Continental congress had boldly seized the reins of power, assumed the leadership of the insurgent states, issued bills of credit, raised armies, declared independence, negotiated foreign treaties, carried the Nation through an eight years' war; finally, had extorted from the proud and powerful mother country an acknowledgment of the sovereign authority so daringly assumed and so indomitably maintained. But this brilliant career had been as short as it was glorious. The decline had commenced even in the midst of the war. Exhausted by such extraordinary efforts—smitten with the curse of poverty, their paper money first depreciating and then repudiated, overwhelmed with debts which they could not pay, pensioners on the bounty of France, insulted by mutineers, scouted at by the public creditors, unable to fulfill the treaties they had made, bearded and encroached upon by the state authorities, issuing fruitless requisitions which they had no power to enforce, vainly begging for addi-



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tional authority which the states refused to grant, thrown more and more into the shade by the very contrast of former power—the Continental congress sunk fast into decrepitude and contempt. Feeble is the sentiment of political gratitude! Debts of that sort are commonly left for posterity to pay. While all eyes were turned—some with doubt and some with apprehension, but the greater part with hope and confidence—toward the ample authority vested in the new government now about to be organized, not one respectful word seems to have been uttered, not a single reverential regret to have been dropped over the fallen greatness of the exhausted and expiring Continental congress."*

Someone has called the congress of the Revolution and the Confederacy "peripatetic." Counting Lancester, it sat in eight different places, and in some of them more than once. Here they are in their order: Philadelphia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Philadelphia, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, New York. And this was all in fourteen years. Over and over again, after it went to New York in 1785, were attempts made to bring the congress back to Philadelphia, even the state authorities extending urgent invitations; but the insult of June, 1783, and the supineness of the authorities in dealing with it, sufficed to defeat the movement every time it was brought forward. Still, with the exception of the two intervals of 1776–77 and 1777–78, Philadelphia was the seat of the continental government to the close of the war. Moreover, by the direction of congress the Federal convention sat there in 1787. There the first minister ever accredited to the young Republic was received—M. Gerard, in 1778. The great state papers of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Federal Constitution, all emanated from that city. These facts justify our calling Philadelphia the continental city of the revolutionary era. Further, had it not been for the double affront of 1783, it would certainly have been the meeting place of congress to the end of the confederation period, and most probably the permanent capital of the Nation.

That the Republic must have a fixed seat of government, if it was to live, was a foregone conclusion. A permanently peripatetic government could never live. Further, the experience of June, 1783, as well as general reasoning, proved that this seat or capital should not be dependent upon local authority, but be fully under the jurisdiction of congress. The war over, congress took the matter up in earnest. On October 7, 1783, Mr. Gerry of Connecticut moved: "That build-

*'History,' III., 547, 548.

ings for the use of congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware, near Trenton, or of Potomac, near Georgetown, provided a suitable district can be procured on one of the rivers, as aforesaid, for a Federal town, and that the right of soil, and an exclusive or such other jurisdiction as congress may direct, shall be vested in the United States." A motion to strike out "near Trenton" and "near Georgetown" carried, and a motion to add "the Hudson" was lost. Finally, in some way that does not very clearly appear in the Journal, the Potomac was dropped. The resolution as adopted read: "That buildings for the use of congress be erected on or near the banks of the Delaware," etc. A motion to fix the site near Wilmington was negatived, but resolutions declaring that it should be "near the falls," and that "a committee of five be appointed to repair to the Falls of Delaware" and "report a proper district," were carried. The next day a motion "to reconsider the resolution of yesterday, by which the residence of congress is to be fixed near the Falls of Delaware, in order to fix on some other place that should be more central, more favorable to the Union, and shall approach nearer to that justice which is due to the southern states," was lost—the states lying east and north of the Delaware voting against and those lying south of that river voting for the motion. But such was the dissatisfaction produced by the action of October that a few weeks later it was resolved "that buildings be likewise erected for the use of congress at or near the lower Falls of Potomac or Georgetown." This resolution was introduced by the preamble: "Whereas, there is reason to expect that the providing buildings for the alternate residence of congress in two places will be productive of the most salutary effects, by receiving the mutual confidence and affection of the states, therefore, etc." This dual scheme included this further feature: "That until the buildings to be erected on the banks of the Delaware and Potomac shall be prepared for the reception of congress, their residence shall be alternately, at equal periods, of not more than one year and not less than six months, in Trenton and Annapolis." And it was in consequence of this action that the sessions were held at Annapolis and Trenton, as already related. But in that day, no more than in this, did resolutions build capitals. Another year wore away, when, December 20, 1784, the subject was again brought up and discussed. It was declared expedient for congress to "proceed to take measures for procuring suitable buildings to be erected for their accommodation," but inexpedient, "at this time, to erect public buildings at more than one place." Three days later, after much

dispute and a great deal of parliamentary maneuvering, the deliberations of the body were summed up in the following ordinance:

"Be it ordained by the United States in congress assembled, that the resolutions of the twentieth instant respecting the erecting of buildings for the use of congress, be carried into effect without delay; that for this purpose three commissioners be appointed, with full power to lay out a district of not less than two nor exceeding three miles square, on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls thereof, for a Federal town; that they be authorized to purchase the soil, or such part of it as they may judge necessary, to be paid at proper installments; to enter into contracts for erecting and completing, in an elegant manner, a Federal house for the accommodation of congress and for the executive officers thereof, a house for the use of the president of congress and suitable buildings for the residence of the secretary of foreign affairs, secretary at war, secretary of congress, secretary of the marine and officers of the treasury; that the said commissioners be empowered to draw on the treasury of the United States for a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, for the purpose aforesaid; that in choosing a situation for the buildings, due regard be had to the accommodation of the states, with lots for houses for the use of their delegates respectively; that on the twenty-fourth day of December instant, congress stand adjourned to meet at the city of New York, on the eleventh day of January following, for the dispatch of the public business, and that the sessions of congress be held at the place last mentioned, until the buildings aforesaid shall be ready for their reception."

This ordinance is worth a careful reading for the light that it throws on the wants and the ideas of 1784 as compared with the wants and ideas of 1887. It put an end to the dual scheme, and also to the alternating sessions between Trenton and Annapolis. Beyond this, and carrying the congress to New York, nothing came of the ordinance. The three commissioners were duly appointed, and they duly reported, but I cannot learn that their report was ever acted upon. Even after the removal to New York, a futile attempt was made to substitute the Potomac for the Delaware in the scheme. Congress had no money to meet demands far more pressing than this one; and sectional feeling would no doubt have soon brought things to a standstill, even if the work had been once begun. "Particularistic" and "dual" tendencies were irresistible in the period 1776–1787, save in

the presence of danger that compelled unanimity; and a Federal town was not a case of this kind.

The Articles of Confederation steered clear of the subject, and the Constitution flanked it in the well-known provision:

"The congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress become the seat of government of the United States."

This clause was the result of a good deal of discussion, at one or two features of which it will be well to glance. Serious objection was made to choosing the capital of any state government as the seat of the National government. Colonel George Mason of Virginia argued that this would tend to produce disputes concerning jurisdiction, and that the intermixture of the two legislatures would tend to give a provincial tone to the National deliberations; and he desired a prohibition of such a choice. Mr. Gouverneur Morris said this might alienate Philadelphia and New York, both of which had seat of government expectations. The country was also said to be adverse to any large city. Only one delegate, so far as I have noticed, favored naming the capital in the Constitution. On the whole, the fathers of 1787 dealt wisely with the question; any proposition more definite than the one adopted would probably have defeated the Constitution.

To this point the history that we have followed illustrates in a striking way the local and state jealousies, as well as some tendencies of political thought of the time. Nor do these forces disappear even now. Where the old congress drew its last breath the new congress drew its first one. The journal of the one ends and the journal of the other begins in New York. Choice was made of this city as a place to inaugurate the new government, only after a long and acrimonious struggle in congress, in which Trenton, Lancaster, Princeton, Baltimore and Philadelphia all were competitors. The city hall of New York, refitted at an expense of more than thirty thousand dollars, which was advanced by some wealthy citizens, and renamed "Federal Hall," became the first home of the National senate and house of representatives. Towards the end of the session, the question of a Federal town came up in the house of representatives, on a motion offered by Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania:

"That a permanent residence ought to be fixed for the general government of the United States at some convenient place, as near the centre of wealth, population and extent of territory as may be consistent with convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic ocean, and

having due regard to the particular situation of the western country."

Out of this motion sprang one of the longest, the most animated and bitter discussions of the session. The debates occupied eight days, and the report fills twenty-two pages of Benton's 'Abridgment of the Debates of Congress,' every one of which is well worth reading as a study of the times. Probably no other debate brought out so much knowledge of geography and population—knowledge that is now as interesting as it is obsolete.

Much was said about the "principles" that should control the decision. Mr. Lee hoped the house would be guided "by the great principles on which the government is founded." "Centres" of territory, wealth and population were fully discussed, both as to where they were and as to how far they should be regarded. Mr. Madison held that population and territory should be considered, but not wealth. Mr. Ames contended for "the centre of common convenience." This was the centre of the sea board and fell, he said, on the Susquehanna. Mr. Sedgwick was influenced in his opinion "by the sentiment of the celebrated Montesquieu," "who had laid it down that in a country partaking of northern and southern interests, of a poor and productive soil, the centre and influence of government ought to incline to that part where the former circumstances prevailed; because necessity stimulated to industry produced good habits and a surplus of labor; because such parts are the nurseries of soldiers and sailors, and the sources of that energy which is the best security of the government." Grave arguments were based on the supposed navigability of such streams as the Tioga, the Juniata, the Kisskiminitas and Wood creek. It was generally admitted that the capital should go to the banks of a river, and the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Potomac were each named as the proper place. Accessibility from the sea and communication with the western country were accounted by some capital features. Mr. Madison denied that the road to the west was more convenient by the Susquehanna than by the Potomac, and declared it a fact of peculiar interest "that the sources of the Ohio were not more than two or three miles distant from the sources of the Potomac." One of the most interesting features of the discussion is the views of one hundred years ago as to prospective lines of communication between the sea-board and the west. Small ideas, special arguments, sectional jealousies, little ambitions and petty facts, along with much sound information and weighty argument, were hurled back and forth day after day. As

a matter of course, the Union question was thrown into the arena, and perhaps the best gauge of the heat to which the debate arose is the declaration of the cool and cautious Madison, that if a prophet had arisen in the Virginia convention and "brought the declarations and proceedings of this day into view," that state would not have ratified the Constitution—a remark that he afterwards explained as referring to the "manner in which the business was conducted," and not to any particular choice of locality.

From the first the Susquehanna and the Potomac led all other rivers as competitors for the seat of government honors. When the conflict culminated, the first had twenty-eight votes and the second twenty-one. The bill authorized the President to appoint a commission to report on a site, purchase land on the banks of the Susquehanna within the state of Pennsylvania, and, in connection with the secretary of the treasury, to borrow one hundred thousand dollars with which to pay for land and buildings. Three or four days later the bill came back from the senate with all the provisions touching the Susquehanna struck out, and with the following inserted: "A district of ten miles square, bounded on the south by a line running parallel at one mile's distance from the city of Philadelphia, and extending northerly and westerly so as to include Germantown." The house was indignant and weary of the subject, and so the matter was dropped for the session.

For nothing is the debate now sketched more interesting than the measure it gives of the ideas and expectations of the time. As we read we wonder that men so able and so well informed could have been so short-sighted. But we must remember that the possibilities of the United States of 1790, particularly that part which lay west of the mountains, under a free and stable government, defied the forecast of the wisest statesman. So able a man as Fisher Ames uttered the opinion that it would probably be nearly a century before the population of the west would be considerable. The "centre of population," of which much was said in the debate, was twenty-five miles east of Baltimore, and here Mr. Goalhue declared it would remain fixed for ages, and that when it did move, the movement would be to the eastward. Little did the men of the First congress dream that the centre of population would move steadily westward along the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude at the uniform rate of five miles a year, until, a century from the time they were speaking, it would be much nearer the Mississippi river than the Alleghany mountains.

The next session the question came up again, and for a time it

looked as though the old plan of two capitals might still prevail, than which no scheme better adapted to perpetuating sectional feeling and weakening the Union could have been devised. But since the last session new interests had declared themselves and new conditions had arisen. Hamilton had brought forward his famous financial measures—the assumption by the Nation of the state debts contracted to carry on the war, and the funding of the National debt. The south was opposed to assumption and in favor of a southern site for the National capital; the north was in favor of assumption and of a northern site for the capital. The southern members and the Pennsylvanians appear to have come to an understanding to act together on three points—to vote down assumption, to locate the government at Philadelphia for fifteen years and then to locate it permanently on the Potomac. Assumption was voted down, twenty-nine votes for to thirty-one against it, but about the same time Philadelphia was struck out of the Seat-of-government bill and Baltimore inserted by a majority of two. At this stage the heads of the two executive departments stepped upon the scene. The secretary of the treasury, almost in despair at the loss of the Assumption bill in the house, went to the secretary of state and asked if a compromise could not be in some way carried. It was arranged that Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris should meet some Virginia gentlemen the next day at Jefferson's dinner-table. Here it was arranged that two of Mr. Jefferson's friends should change their votes on assumption, and two of Mr. Hamilton's should vote for a proposition to carry the capital to Philadelphia for ten years and then to the Potomac. This bargain was carried out in good faith. On July 9, 1790, the Seat-of-government bill, in the form agreed upon, carried in the house of representatives by a majority of two, and three weeks later assumption carried by the same majority. Thus early did "log-rolling" find its way into the National congress, introduced, too, by the two highest officers of the President's cabinet. Jefferson afterwards defended himself in his "Ana" (that peculiar diary in which he wrote down so many things which he had better never written anywhere) on the ground that, "having at the time just arrived in New York, he was most ignorantly and innocently made to hold the candle to the intrigue, being duped by Hamilton into forwarding his schemes, that were not then sufficiently understood." Whether Jefferson deserves the campassion for which he pleads we do not enquire; but we should observe that great results turned upon the action then taken, some of which we shall have occasion to touch upon. The Union question

was as prominent in this debate as in the earlier one. Jefferson says distinctly that it was the eastern and New England threat of secession, reported at his dinner-table by Hamilton, that induced his two Virginia friends to change their votes.

The Seat-of-government act, approved July 16, 1790, provided that a district of territory, not exceeding ten miles square, to be located as Washington should direct, on the River Potomac, at some space between the mouth of the eastern branch and Conococheague, be and the same is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States. The act authorized the President to appoint three commissioners, who should, under his direction, survey and define the district, purchase land for the public use, and, prior to the first Monday in December, 1800, "provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of congress and of the President, and for public offices of the government of the United States." The states of Virginia and Maryland had anticipated the action of congress, by making together a tender of the amount of territory contemplated by the Constitution. Hastening to carry out their promises, they ceded jurisdiction, the cession to take effect when the district should actually become the seat of government. Of course the titles to the land were in no way disturbed. Virginia also agreed to advance one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and Maryland forty-eight thousand dollars, to the Federal treasury, with which to prepare for the coming of the government. Congress authorized the President to accept grants of money that might be made for this purpose, but appropriated not one penny to make surveys, to buy land or to erect buildings. So there was nothing to begin with but the Virginia and Maryland loans.

The law of 1790 clothed the President with large powers. He directed where the district should be located. His predilection for the site chosen dated from the days when he was a youthful surveyor in the employment of Lord Fairfax, and particularly from the time when Braddock's army encamped on the hill where the National observatory now stands. The commissioners named the district Columbia and the city Washington. The land owners made large concession of lands for public uses. But the commissioners, although they had ten years in which to do it, with the very greatest difficulty made ready, even in a rude and primitive fashion, for the arrival of the government. They were constantly cramped for money to carry on the work. The Virginia and Maryland advances were exhausted, and Washington applied to the second state for further help. Such

appropriations as congress made from time to time were inadequate. Resort was had to that familiar financial device in those days—the lottery. We read of "Federal Lottery No. I." and "Federal Lottery No. II.," not always knowing, perhaps, the object for which they were drawn.

We shall the better appreciate the situation if we clearly grasp what was involved in the enterprise. When the capital legislation of 1790 was had, the United States was practically confined to the Atlantic slope, the larger part of which was still an unbroken forest. This strip of territory contained many towns and cities that have since become great centres of population, trade and commerce. Some of these then gave promise of future greatness. But the government was passing these all by, and going into the wilderness to build a Federal city. All the great political capitals of Europe are also capitals of population, industry and wealth. Almost always, too, the political capital and the industrial and commercial capital have grown up together. With a single exception, there is no modern example of a nation or a ruler passing by cities already built to create a capital *de novo*. Nobody "located" London or Paris, Vienna or Berlin. The exception is St. Petersburg; but Peter the Great had no city that answered the purpose of "a window through which he could look into western Europe," and so was compelled, to carry out his plan, to abandon Moscow and to lay new foundations in the swamps of the Neva. We shall soon remark upon the ideas that led the young Republic into the wilderness of the Potomac to make a capital; but here we observe that, while in Europe man and nature were primitive together, in America man imposed upon nature a civilization that he brought from an older seat of habitation. It seems less absurd for a government to direct a capital city to be laid out.

For the ten years, 1790–1800, Philadelphia was the seat of government. At the end of June of the latter year the public offices were removed to the new Federal town, and congress convened there in November following. Hildreth sees in the removal a sort of forerunner of the transfer of Federal control from the north to the south and says, "A fanciful man might also discover in the contrast between Philadelphia and the new city of Washington a symbolization of the differences between Federal politics and those of the opposition." Probably it was not unnatural that the majority of Americans of that day had a strong antipathy to cities as seats of government. Had not their minds been filled from infancy with tales of the wicked-

ness of great cities? Had they not been fed on stories of the vices of courts, the corruption of cabinets, the intrigues of great capitals? They knew little of dense populations but what seemed to them bad. They thought the country was the chosen habitation of virtue, the city of vice; the breath of the country was laden with health, the city tainted with disease. They were not willing to trust their congress and President in New York or Philadelphia. This was the sentiment that led members of the Federal convention to say that the majority of the people would not consent to the capital going to a great political or to a great commercial city. This was the sentiment that took the seat of government to a wilderness, much to the disgust of the most cultivated classes. Moreover, the fact that the majority of those who had this simple idyllic faith in woods and streams and farms were of Mr. Jefferson's political school, while the Federalists generally thought better of marts and ports and centres of population and wealth, explains Mr. Hildreth's fancy that Philadelphia and Washington in 1800 symbolized the two political parties.

Summaries of three or four familiar letters, written by well-known people of that day, will give interesting facts and pleasing glimpses of the Washington to which the Federal government went in the summer and autumn of 1800.

Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury, on his arrival in the Federal city, found one good tavern, several other houses built or building, but did not see how the members of congress could possibly secure lodgings unless they would consent to live like scholars in a college or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house and utterly secluded from society, or go to Georgetown, three miles distant, over a bad clay road. There were but few houses in any one place and most of these were miserable huts, presenting an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people were poor and lived, as far as Wolcott could judge, like fishes, by eating one another. Magnificent land schemes were afloat. All the land for several miles around was thought too valuable for cultivation and so remained unfenced. There was a confident expectation that Washington would soon exceed any city in the world. One of the commissioners spoke of a population of one hundred and fifty thousand in a few years as a matter of course. "No stranger can be here a day," he said, "and converse with the proprietors, without considering himself in the company of crazy people. Their ignorance of the rest of the world and their delusions with respect to their own prospects are without parallel." Immense

sums of money had been squandered on unfinished buildings badly located. Wolcott regretfully remarks, "There is no industry, society or business;" but he should have remembered that it was to escape industry, society and business that the seat of government had been pitched in this wilderness.

John Cotton Smith, a member of congress at the time, recorded his impressions. He found that one wing only of the capitol had been erected. He could not recognize one of the avenues or streets laid down on the "plan," with the possible exception of New Jersey avenue, having two buildings on each side of it. The Pennsylvania avenue of later times was, throughout its whole length, a deep morass, covered with alder bushes, through which, however, the street was cut the intended width from the capitol to the Presidential mansion. On the ensuing winter many members of congress, particularly southerners, took lodgings at Georgetown. But Mr. Smith was charmed with the advantages of the site, and saw in its selection by Washington "a striking exhibition of the discernment, wisdom and forecast which characterized that illustrious man."

No doubt the description given by Mrs. President Adams, in her familiar letter to her daughter, is better known than any other contemporary account: "Woods are all you see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is so only in name. Here and there a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being. . . . The President's house is upon a grand, a superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in order and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary." The house was unfurnished; fires had to be kept burning all over it to keep off the ague; there were no bells; wood could not be bought, although the city was in a forest; coal could be had but no grates. "We have indeed," said Mrs. Adams, "come into a new country." The great, unfinished audience room—the "east room" of after times—she used as a drying-room. And yet Mrs. Adams, like Cotton Smith, was delighted with the spot.

Gouverneur Morris wrote that nothing was wanting to make a perfect city "but houses, cellars, kitchens, well-informed men, amiable women and other trifles of this kind." "We can walk here as in the fields," he said. And yet he found limestone abundant; excellent bricks could be burned; there was no want

of sites for magnificent hotels, and the contemplated canals would bring a vast commerce.

Very naturally the wags from the northern cities cracked many a joke at the expense of the new Federal town. The familiar name, "city of magnificent distances," was probably the coinage of one of these, and not of Dickens, as some suppose. Naturally, too, propositions to abandon the new seat of government, at least for a time, came before congress. In 1803 and 1804 it was proposed to move out until the infant city should reach greater maturity. Even as late as 1808 a proposition in favor of removal came within a few votes of carrying in the house of representatives. Notwithstanding the power that a thing accomplished has over the Saxon mind, a majority of congress were at one time in favor of going, and were kept from going only by a failure to agree upon a place to go to. In all the removal discussion, Philadelphia was the main competitor of Washington for Federal honors; and it is tolerably certain that she would have won and worn them had not the anti-slavery sentiments of the Quakers made the city so obnoxious to the southerners. The idea that a city made in the forest for a seat of government was not likely to reach great maturity unless put to that use, may or may not have occurred to the prescient minds of 1803, 1804 and 1808.

When the Hamilton-Jefferson bargain was made in 1790, the north got money and the south political power; the Assumption bill stood for one and the Seat-of-government bill for the other. All the states south and southwest of Washington were slave states, and so were Maryland and Delaware that lay at its back. Most of the early population of the city came from slave states, and those who came from the north fell under southern influences. Washington grew up a southern city and continued a southern city until the Civil war changed its character. This extract from General Garfield's address on Joshua R. Giddings gives a glimpse of the slave influence in Washington society before the war:

"For many years there was in Washington a most brilliant and attractive social organization controlled absolutely by the slave power. Cabinet ministers and members of congress from the south lavished their wealth to add to its attractiveness. And the one indispensable condition of admission was support and defense of the peculiar institution, or at least silence in regard to it. This influence was all the more potent because it was private and silent in its operation. Those who were not admitted to this circle were

quietly treated as though unworthy from lack of culture or moral excellence. From the moment that Mr. Giddings had avowed his hostility to slavery, he was not only shut out from the society of which I have spoken, but he was treated with marked incivility and coldness by his fellow-members."

In 1841 there were not more than a dozen slaveholding members of the house of representatives who recognized Mr. Giddings when they passed him on the street or met him in the hall of the house. How mighty the slave influence upon all the great questions of government was, for a full generation, cannot and will not be here even sketched; but it is pertinent to remark that it never, in the worst days of northern subserviency to slavery, could have begun to be as great in a northern capital as it was in Washington.

Washington in 1800 was a miserable, straggling village, lost in the Potomac wilderness. Washington in 1888 is a city of more than two hundred thousand people, with material improvements second to none in the country. It is a most attractive city, and every day becoming more and more attractive. The population steadily increases. Some of those who flock there go because they are interested in contracts or in official people; some, because it is the National centre of politics; some, because the public business and supplying of the population give employment; some, because the society is very attractive. Scholars and scientific men go because they find there excellent companionship, good collections and admirable libraries. The majority go, no doubt, from a variety of reasons. The "society" that was lacking in 1800 has been abundantly supplied. But relatively the "industry" and "business" are as wanting now as they were then. Save the Georgetown flour, one can think of nothing that Washington sends to the markets of the country. Nor is there any commerce. The people consume but do not produce. Of course there are the exchanges that such a population calls for. A few large fortunes originated in the treasury operations of the War of 1812, of the Mexican war and the Civil war; others originated in government contracts; many fortunes are represented there that originated in other places, but there is not one great fortune that grew up on the spot in manufacturing, in commerce or in transportation. The employés of the government, of all kinds, are fifteen thousand in number; seventy-five thousand men, women and children live directly upon wages paid from the National treasury; and of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand or more who do not live directly upon the treasury, nearly the whole number live upon it

at only one remove—that is, by serving those who serve the government. Accordingly, Washington is a political, an official and a social city.

And yet none of the politics belong to Washington. The city is governed by a board of commissioners appointed by the President and confirmed by the senate. The people vote for nothing; the ballot box is unknown in the District of Columbia. Congress votes the taxes and regulates the appropriations. It may be strange that the capital of the greatest representative government of the world should be in form a tyranny or despotism, but such is the fact.

The mental character of the city is also peculiar. Such dependence upon the government cannot be healthy in any way. In the days of political assessments, some men in the departments contributed to the treasuries of both the great political parties. On the change of the National administration, men cry, "Long live the king!" with a unanimity heard nowhere else. Men have not the same kind of interest in politics that they have in Cleveland or Chicago. The newspapers, if published somewhere else than in the National capital, would be unknown one hundred miles away. The writer was in Washington in 1873, when the increase of salaries was enacted by congress. There was no outcry, no opposition on the part of the Washington people so far as he could hear. On the other hand he heard much approval, and some complaints because the "raises" had not been greater and more numerous. Larger salaries meant more money to those who received them, brisker trade for the shopkeepers and brighter society. However it may be with the country, Washington is sure to favor liberal appropriations by the government. The most reflective man who has occupied the White House in recent years, in private conversation once spoke of some of these features of Washington society, and remarked that it was often difficult, for these and other reasons, for a President to find out the truth concerning matters of public duty. That public interests have suffered from the peculiar character of the capital city cannot be doubted. Of course a great capital means a large official population and large influence from that quarter. But suppose that this population were simply a constituent of a larger population; suppose that there were present industry and business as well as society and politics; suppose that men representing manufactures, commerce, business, insurance, railroads, steamship companies, etc., were a part of the society that surges around the capitol and the White House, and mingles freely with legislators, judges and executive officers—who

does not see that the social environment would be much more healthful? Another phase of the subject is touched in the following article:

"The difficulty of bringing persons of the Brady-Dorsey type to justice in Washington furnishes one of the strong objections to the practice, to which the country now seems irrevocably committed, of making political capitals, or seats of government, separate from the social and commercial, or, in other words, real capitals of the Nation and the states. The result is not only to isolate the class engaged in the work of legislation and administration from the rest of the country, but, by throwing its members mainly on each other for society, to intensify their prejudices and dullness and ignorance. Their mental condition becomes very much that of the garrison of a remote fort, or of the crew of a man-of-war. They get to have an *esprit de corps* and a morality of their own, and a scale of proportion of their own. Their own controversies assume enormous dimensions in their eyes; the objections of the outside world to practices with which they are familiar seem finical or "Sunday-schoolish," and they secretly resent an attack on a man in office as a sort of impertinence, and make common cause with him, as a soldier might with a professional brother who had got "into trouble" through a youthful escapade. Public opinion is represented to them by the correspondents of distant newspapers, and they are not much troubled by it, because it seems to them to express simply the personal feelings of Smith or Jones of Newspaper Row, whom they know well and don't like. The illustrations of all this, afforded by the senatorial "deadlock" in Washington, and by the action of the assembly at Albany, on the street-cleaning question, are very striking. Neither of them, undoubtedly, would have occurred if the legislators in either case sat in a real capital, and were in contact with the currents of public thought and feeling, and when they left the capital, instead of brooding over their own performances with brother politicians in their hotels and boarding-houses, mingled with men of other callings and occupations, and got glimpses of the great legislative "crises" from the ordinary taxpayer's point of view. Massachusetts is better off in this respect than almost any other state. Its legislature sits in the moral and social and commercial centre of the state."*

We do not know that pious Washingtonians pray with their faces turned to the White House, as Daniel prayed with his face towards

* *The Nation*, May 5, 1881.

Jerusalem; but the White House is more emphatically the centre of Washington than the queen's palace is of London.

We have seen how fearful the fathers were of cities, how determined they were to seclude the National capital from the great civilizing forces of the time; and we have also seen that in carrying out their plan they caused another large city to be built, whose dominant influences are politics, society and officialism. If, instead of the government's directing a city to be laid out in the wilderness, one of the large cities of 1790 had been made the National capital, history would have been different and the National life better.



SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE following is the official record of the various steps taken in "the congress of the United Colonies, respecting 'a declaration of independence, by the representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled:'"

Tuesday, June 11, 1776.

Resolved, That the committee for preparing the declaration consist of five:—the members chosen, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman and Mr. R. R. Livingston.

Monday, July 1, 1776.

The order of the day being read,

Resolved, That this congress will resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the resolution respecting independence.

That the declaration be referred to said committee.

The congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole. After some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had come to a resolution, which they desired him to report, and to move for leave to sit again.

The resolution agreed to by the committee of the whole being read, the determination thereof was, at the request of a colony, postponed until to-morrow.

Resolved, That this congress will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the declaration respecting independence.

Tuesday, July 2, 1776.

The congress resumed the consideration of the resolution reported from the committee of the whole, which was agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have had under consideration the declaration to them referred; but, not having had time to go through the same, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this congress will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the declaration respecting independence.

Wednesday, July 3, 1776.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee, not having yet gone through it, desired leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this congress will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration of Independence.

Thursday, July 4, 1776.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report.

The declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's

God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United Statesof America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right

do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

Josiah Bartlett,	New Hampshire.	Cæsar Rodney,	Delaware.
William Whipple,		George Read,	
Matthew Thornton,		Thomas M'Kean,	
Samuel Adams,	Massachusetts Bay.	Samuel Chase,	Maryland.
John Adams,		William Paca,	
Robert Treat Paine,		Thomas Stone,	
Elbridge Gerry,		Charles Carroll of Carrollton,	
Stephen Hopkins,	Rhode Island.		
William Ellery,			
Roger Sherman,	Connecticut.	George Wythe,	Virginia.
Samuel Huntington,		Richard Henry Lee,	
William Williams,		Thomas Jefferson,	
Oliver Wolcott,		Benjamin Harrison,	
William Floyd,	New York.	Thomas Nelson, jr.,	
Philip Livingston,		Francis Lightfoot Lee,	
Francis Lewis,		Carter Braxton,	
Lewis Morris,			
Richard Stockton,	New Jersey.	William Hooper,	North Carolina.
John Witherspoon,		Joseph Hewes,	
Francis Hopkinson,		John Penn,	
John Hart,			
Abraham Clark,			
Robert Morris,	Pennsylvania.	Edward Rutledge,	South Carolina
Benjamin Rush,		Thomas Heyward, jr.,	
Benjamin Franklin,		Thomas Lynch, jr.,	
John Morton,		Arthur Middleton,	
George Clymer,			
James Smith,			
George Taylor,		Button Gwinnett,	Georgia.
James Wilson,		Lyman Hall,	
George Ross,		George Walton,	

Resolved, That copies of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

THE CONFEDERATION.

IT was resolved by congress on June 11, 1776, that a committee should be appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between the colonies, and on the day following, after it had been determined that this committee should consist of one member from each colony, the following persons were chosen: Josiah Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Sherman, Mr. R. R. Livingston, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. McKean, Mr. Stone, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Hewes, Mr. E. Rutledge and Mr. Gwinnett. Upon the report of this committee, the subject was, from time to time, debated, until November 15, 1777, when a copy of the Articles of Confederation being made, it was finally agreed to. Congress, at the same time, directed that the articles should be proposed to the legislatures of all the states, to be considered, and if approved by them, they were advised to authorize their delegates to ratify the same in the congress of the United States; which being done, the same should be conclusive. Three hundred copies of these Articles of Confederation were ordered to be printed for the use of congress, and on the seventeenth of November the form of a circular letter to accompany them was brought in by a committee appointed to prepare it, and being agreed to, thirteen copies of it were ordered to be made out, to be signed by the President and forwarded to the several states, with copies of the confederation. On the twenty-ninth of the ensuing November a committee of three was appointed to procure a translation of the articles into French and to report an address to the people of Canada. On June 26, 1788, the form of a ratification of the Articles of Confederation was adopted, and, having been engrossed on parchment, was signed on July 9, on the part and in behalf of their several states, by the representatives of New Hamp-

shire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina. The delegates of North Carolina signed on the twenty-first of July, those of Georgia on the twenty-fourth of July and those of New Jersey on the twenty-sixth of the November following. On the fifth of May, 1779, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Van Dyke signed in behalf of the state of Delaware, Mr. McKean having previously signed in February, at which time he produced a power to that effect. Maryland did not ratify until the year 1781. She had instructed her delegates, on the fifteenth of December, 1778, not to agree to the confederation until matters respecting the western lands should be settled on principles of equity and sound policy; but, on the thirtieth of January, 1781, finding that the enemies of the country took advantage of the circumstance to disseminate opinions of an ultimate dissolution of the Union, the legislature of the state passed an act to empower their delegates to subscribe and ratify the articles, which was accordingly done by Mr. Hanson and Mr. Carroll, on the first of March of that year, which completed the ratifications of the act, and congress assembled on the second of March, under the new powers. This form of government did not meet all the requirements of the situation, and, as will be shown, soon gave way to that under the Constitution.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

IN May, 1785, a committee of congress made a report recommending an alteration in the Articles of Confederation, but no action was taken on it, and it was left to the state legislatures to proceed in the matter. In January, 1786, the legislature of Virginia passed a resolution providing for the appointment of five commissioners, who, or any three of them, should meet such commissioners as might be appointed in the other states of the Union, at a time and place to be agreed upon, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony, and to report to the several states such an act relative to this great object as, when ratified by them, will enable the United States in congress effectually to provide for the same. The Virginia commissioner, after some correspondence, fixed the first Monday in September as the time, and the city of Annapolis as the place for the meeting, but only four other states were represented, viz., Delaware, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina and Rhode Island failed to attend. Under the circumstances of so partial a representation the commissioners agreed upon a report, drawn by Alexander Hamilton of New York, expressing their unanimous conviction that it might essentially tend to advance the interests of the Union if the states, by which they were respectively delegated, would concur and use their endeavors to procure the concurrence of other states in the appointment of commissioners to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday of May following, to take into consideration the situation of the United States; to devise such further provisions as should appear to them necessary to render

the Constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state, would effectually provide for the same.

Congress, on the twenty-first of February, 1787, adopted a resolution in favor of a convention, and the legislatures of those states which had not already done so (with the exception of Rhode Island) promptly appointed delegates. On the twenty-fifth of May, seven states having convened, George Washington of Virginia was unanimously elected President, and the consideration of the proposed Constitution was commenced. On the seventeenth of September, 1787, the Constitution, as engrossed and agreed upon, was signed by all the members present, except Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts and Messrs. Mason and Randolph of Virginia. The president of the convention transmitted it to congress, with a resolution stating how the proposed Federal government should be put in operation, and an explanatory letter. Congress, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1787, directed the Constitution so framed, with the resolutions and letter concerning the same, to "be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity of the resolves of the convention."

On the fourth of March, 1789, the day which had been fixed for commencing the operations of government under the new Constitution, it had been ratified by the conventions chosen in each state to consider it, as follows: Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 26, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788.

The President informed congress on the twenty-eighth of January, 1790, that South Carolina had ratified the Constitution November 21, 1789; and he informed congress on the first of June, 1790, that Rhode Island had done the same on May 29, 1789. Vermont, in convention, ratified it January 10, 1789, and was, by an act of congress, approved February 19, 1791, "received and admitted into this Union as a new and entire member of the United States." The Constitution commenced to operate on the first Wednesday in March, 1789.

Naturally the convention that framed this great instrument was

divided by many conflicting opinions, as might also be said of the people after it was presented for their consideration. It was opposed warmly by the extreme state supremacy, or states rights men; and of all those who signed the document there was probably not one who approved it in every part. When Alexander Hamilton, one of its most earnest advocates, was urging others to sign it, he made use of these words: "No man's ideas are more remote from the plan than my own; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and confusion on the one hand, and the chance of good on the other?" When it was at last submitted to the people, Hamilton, Madison and Jay wrote a series of powerful papers in its support, which, in collected form, is called 'The Federalist.' It was at last adopted and set in operation, although a number of changes were found to be necessary at an early day. The document as originally adopted is as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1.

All legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Section 2.

1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according

to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3.

1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president

pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief-justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section 4.

1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives, but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds

of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8.

The congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and to make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of

particular states and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9.

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of a writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

SECTION 10.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of



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credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress.

3. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[* The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the Twelfth amendment, which follows hereafter.

having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.]

3. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my

ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3.

He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4.

The President, vice-president and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and the inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Section 3.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of

treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3.

1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Section 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and, on application of the legislature or of the

executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut: Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York: Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey: Wm. Livingston, Wm. Paterson, David Brearley, Jona. Dayton.

Pennsylvania: B. Franklin, Robt. Morris, Thos. Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Gouv. Morris.

Delaware: Geo. Read, John Dickinson, Jacob Broom, Gunning Bedford, jr., Richard Bassett.

Maryland: James M'Henry, Danl. Carroll, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.

Virginia: John Blair, James Madison, jr.

North Carolina: Wm. Blount, Hugh Williamson, Rich'd Dobbs Spaight.

South Carolina: J. Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia: William Few, Abr. Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

At the first session of congress under the National Constitution, begun in the city of New York on March 4, 1789, many amendments to that instrument were proposed. Ten of these congress proposed to the legislatures of the several states, all of which were ratified by the requisite number by the middle of December, 1791. The eleventh was proposed on March 5, 1794, and ratified in 1798. The twelfth was proposed December 12, 1803, and ratified in 1804. These, with the other ten, then became a part of the National Constitution. Another article, proposed on May 1, 1810, was never ratified. It was for the purpose of prohibiting any citizen of the United States

accepting or retaining any title of nobility or honor, present, pension or emolument from any "person, king or foreign power, without the consent of congress, under the penalty of disfranchisement." The amendments are as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for publicuse, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district

wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

1. The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in presence of the

senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. 2. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. 3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

[These first ten amendments were ratified by the following states, and the notifications of the ratification by the governors thereof were successively communicated by the President to congress: New Jersey, November 20, 1789; Maryland, December 19, 1789; North Carolina, December 22, 1789; South Carolina, January 19, 1790; New Hampshire, January 25, 1790; Delaware, January 28, 1790; Pennsylvania, March 10, 1790; New York, March 27, 1790; Rhode Island, June 15, 1790; Vermont, November 3, 1791, and Virginia, December 15, 1791. There is no evidence on the journals of congress that the legislatures of Connecticut, Georgia and Massachusetts ever ratified them at all.]

Article XIII.

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[This amendment to the Constitution was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Thirty-eighth congress, on the first of February, 1865, and was declared, in a proclamation of the secretary of state dated the eighteenth of December, 1865, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-seven of the thirty-six states, viz.: Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina and Georgia.]

Article XIV.

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, including Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and vice-president of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in congress, or elector of President and vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or

rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[The Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Thirty-ninth congress, on the sixteenth of June, 1866. On the twenty-first of July, 1868, congress adopted and transmitted to the department of state a concurrent resolution which declared as follows: "The legislatures of the states of Connecticut, Tennessee, New Jersey, Oregon, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, Missouri, Indiana, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Iowa, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana, being three-fourths and more of the several states of the Union, have ratified the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, duly proposed by two-thirds of each house of the Thirty-ninth congress; therefore, *Resolved*, That the Fourteenth amendment is hereby declared to be a part of the Constitution of the United States, and it shall be duly promulgated as such by the secretary of state." That official accordingly issued a proclamation dated the twenty-eighth of July, 1868, declaring that the proposed amendment had been ratified by the states named, on the following dates: Connecticut, June 30, 1866; New Hampshire, July 7, 1866; Tennessee, July 19, 1866; New Jersey, September 11, 1866—and the legislature of the same state passed a resolution in April, 1868, to withdraw its consent to it; Oregon, September 19, 1866; Vermont, November 9, 1866; Georgia rejected it November 13, 1866, and ratified it July 21, 1868; North Carolina rejected it December 4, 1866, and ratified it July 4, 1868; South Carolina rejected it December 20, 1866, and ratified it July 9, 1868; New York ratified it January 10, 1867; Ohio ratified it January 11, 1867, and the legislature of the same state passed a resolution in

January, 1868, to withdraw its consent to it; Illinois ratified it January 15, 1867; West Virginia, January 16, 1867; Kansas, January 18, 1867; Maine, January 19, 1867; Nevada, January 22, 1867; Missouri, January 26, 1867; Indiana, January 29, 1867; Minnesota, February 1, 1867; Rhode Island, February 7, 1867; Wisconsin, February 13, 1867; Pennsylvania, February 13, 1867; Michigan, February 15, 1867; Massachusetts, March 20, 1867; Nebraska, June 15, 1867; Iowa, April 3, 1868; Arkansas, April 6, 1868; Florida, June 9, 1868; Louisiana, July 9, 1868; Alabama, July 13, 1868. Georgia again ratified it February 2, 1870. Texas rejected it November 1, 1866, and ratified it February 18, 1870. Virginia rejected it January 19, 1867, and ratified it October 8, 1869. The amendment was rejected by Kentucky, January 10, 1867; by Delaware, February 8, 1867; by Maryland, March 23, 1867, and was not afterwards ratified by any of them.]

Article XV.

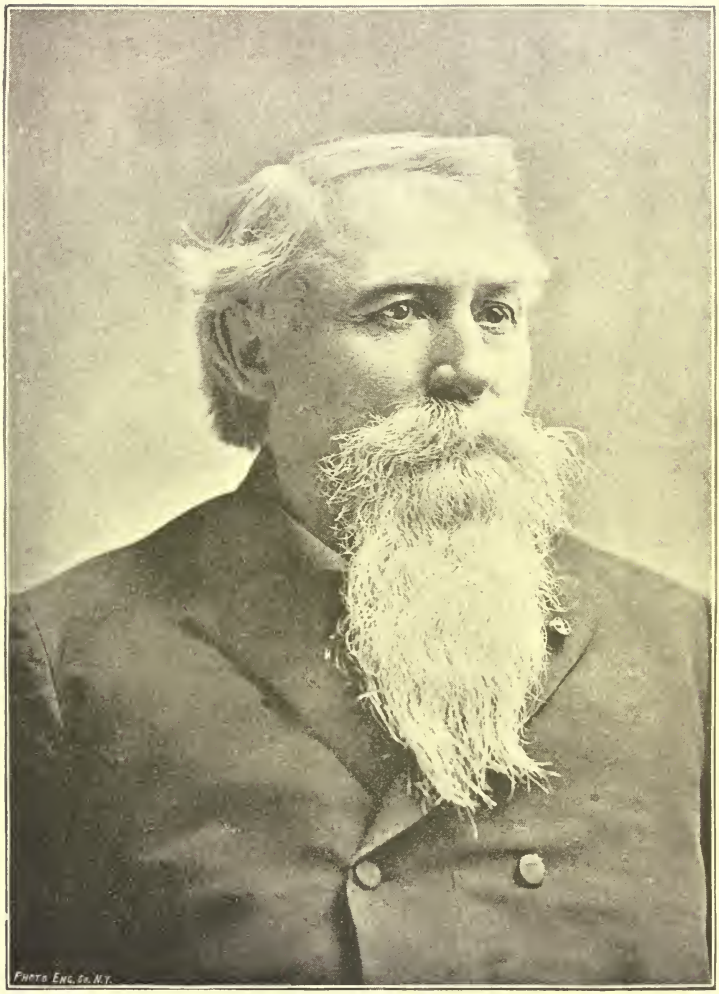
Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[This amendment was proposed by the Fortieth congress on the twenty-seventh of February, 1869, and was declared, on March 30, 1870, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-nine of the thirty-seven states. The dates of these ratifications were as follows: North Carolina, March 5, 1869; West Virginia, March 3, 1869; Massachusetts, March 9–12, 1869; Wisconsin, March 9, 1869; Maine, March 12, 1869; Louisiana, March 5, 1869; Michigan, March 8, 1869; South Carolina, March 16, 1869; Pennsylvania, March 26, 1869; Arkansas, March 30, 1869; Connecticut, May 19, 1869; Florida, June 15, 1869; Illinois, March 5, 1869; Indiana, May 13–14, 1869; New York, March 17, April 14, 1869, and the legislature of the same state passed a resolution January 5, 1870, to withdraw its consent to it; New Hampshire, July 7, 1869; Nevada, March 1, 1869; Vermont, October 21, 1869; Virginia, October 8, 1869; Missouri, January 10, 1870; Mississippi, January 15–17, 1870; Ohio, January 27, 1870; Iowa, February 3, 1870; Kansas, January 18–19, 1870; Minnesota, February 19, 1870; Rhode Island, January 18, 1870; Nebraska, February 17, 1870; Texas, February 18, 1870; Georgia, February 2, 1870.]

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

WHEN the convention of 1787 was engaged in the making of a Constitution for the new-formed Nation, the method of selecting a President was one of the main questions under consideration. Two plans were submitted—the "Virginia plan," presented by the nationalizing element of the convention, and the "Jersey plan," presented by the particularizing element. These two agreed in one respect—in that the choice of a President should be lodged in the hands of congress. A debate, marked by the diversity of view held by those engaged in it, ensued. One wished a popular election by districts; another argued that the choice should be made by congress. Gerry of Massachusetts at first wished to have electors chosen by the states in proportion to population, with the unit rule, but afterwards settled on a choice of the President by the governors of the various states. Alexander Hamilton pronounced in favor of a selection by secondary electors, chosen by primary electors, who had in turn been chosen by the people. Gouverneur Morris was in favor of an election direct by the popular vote. The Virginia plan, as amended and agreed to in a committee of the whole on June 19, retained the election by congress; and on July 17 popular election and choice by electors were voted down, and the choice by congress was again approved, this time by a unanimous vote. On July 19 the question of a choice by congress was reconsidered, and a choice by electors chosen by the legislatures of the states was adopted. On July 24 the choice by electors was reconsidered and lost, and the selection by congress once more revived. In this form it went to the committee of detail, was reported upon with favor on August 6, and again referred to them unchanged on August 31. In a report of September 4, less than two weeks before the final adjournment of the convention, this committee reported the electoral system very nearly as it was finally



JEREMIAH RUSK.

adopted on September 6. In this report the office of vice-president was for the first time introduced. Several amendments were offered and lost, and the electoral system was a part of the Constitution as offered to the state conventions, and finally ratified by them. It thus appears that almost up to the last moment it was the purpose of the convention to commit the selection of President directly to the hands of congress, but that a final decision was reached to leave the selection of both President and vice-president to electors appointed in such manner as the legislatures of the states might direct.

That part of the Constitution which bore upon this point was incorporated in Article II. as follows:

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[By the original clause, the person receiving the highest number of votes was to be declared President, and the one receiving the next highest, vice-president. Because of the difficulties arising under this method of selection as already shown, the Twelfth amendment to the Constitution was proposed in 1803, and ratified and proclaimed in 1804, as follows:]

The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the President of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person

have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

THE ELECTORAL VOTES.

1789.

The electoral votes for President and vice-president of the United States, as counted on Monday, April 6, 1789—George Washington being chosen President and John Adams vice-president:

States.	Geo. Washington.	John Adams.	Sam'l Huntingdon.	John Jay.	John Hancock.	Robt. H. Harrison.	Geo. Clinton.	John Rutledge.	John Milton.	Jas. Armstrong.	Edward Telfair.	Benj. Lincoln.
New Hampshire	5	5										
Massachusetts	10	10										
Connecticut	7	5	2									
New Jersey	6	1		5								
Pennsylvania	10	8			2							
Delaware	3			3								
Maryland	6					6						
Virginia	10	5		1	1		3					
South Carolina	7				1			6				
Georgia	5								2	1	1	1
Total	69	34	2	9	4	6	3	6	2	1	1	1

1793.

Electoral votes as counted on Wednesday, February 13, 1793—George Washington being chosen President and John Adams vice-president:

States.	Geo. Washington.	John Adams.	Geo. Clinton.	Thomas Jefferson.	Aaron Burr.
New Hampshire	6	6			
Massachusetts	16	16			
Rhode Island	4	4			
Connecticut	9	9			
Vermont	3	3			
New York	12		12		
New Jersey	7	7			
Pennsylvania	15	14	1		
Delaware	3	3			
Maryland	8	8			
Virginia	21		21		
Kentucky	4			4	
North Carolina	12		12		
South Carolina	8	7			1
Georgia	4		4		
Total	132	77	50	4	1

1797.

Electoral votes as counted on Wednesday, February 8, 1797—John Adams being chosen President and Thomas Jefferson vice-president:

States.	John Adams.	Thomas Jefferson.	Thomas Pinckney.	Aaron Burr.	Samuel Adams.	Oliver Ellsworth.	Samuel Johnston.	James Iredell.	John Jay.	Geo. Clinton.	Geo. Washington.	Chas. C. Pinckney.	John Henry.
New Hampshire	6					6							
Massachusetts	16		13			1	2						
Rhode Island	4					4							
Connecticut	9		4						5				
Vermont	4		4										
New York	12		12										
New Jersey	7		7										
Pennsylvania	1	14	2	13									
Delaware	3		3										
Maryland	7	4	4	3									2
Virginia	1	20	1	1	15					3	1		
Kentucky		4		4									
North Carolina	1	11	1	6				3			1	1	
Tennessee		3		3									
South Carolina		8	8										
Georgia		4								4			
Total	71	68	59	30	15	11	2	3	5	7	2	1	2

1801.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 11, 1801. No choice being made, the official record declares: "The whole number of electors who had voted were one hundred and thirty-eight, of which number Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr had a majority; but the number of those voting for them being equal, no choice was made by the people, and, consequently, the remaining duties devolved on the house of representatives." The result of the contest therein was the election of Jefferson as President and Burr vice-president:

States.	Thomas Jefferson.	Aaron Burr.	John Adams.	C. C. Pinckney.	John Jay.
New Hampshire			6	6	
Massachusetts			16	16	
Rhode Island			4	3	1
Connecticut			9	9	
Vermont			4	4	
New York	12	12			
New Jersey			7	7	
Pennsylvania	8	8	7	7	
Delaware			3	3	
Maryland	5	5	5	5	
Virginia	21	21			
Kentucky	4	4		4	
North Carolina	8	8	4		
Tennessee	3	3			
South Carolina	8	8			
Georgia	4	4			
Total	73	73	65	64	1

1805.

Electoral votes as counted on Wednesday, February 13, 1805—Thomas Jefferson being chosen President and George Clinton vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	Thomas Jefferson.	C. C. Pinckney.	Geo. Clinton.	Rufus King.
New Hampshire	7		7	
Massachusetts	19		19	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut		9		9
Vermont	6		6	
New York	19		19	
New Jersey	8		8	
Pennsylvania	20		20	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland	9	2	9	2
Virginia	24		24	
North Carolina	14		14	
South Carolina	10		10	
Georgia	6		6	
Tennessee	5		5	
Kentucky	8		8	
Ohio	3		3	
Total	162	14	162	14

1809.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 8, 1809—James Madison being chosen President and George Clinton vice-president:

States.	President.			Vice-President.				
	James Madison.	Geo. Clinton.	C. C. Pinckney.	Geo. Clinton.	James Madison.	James Monroe.	John Langdon.	Rufus King.
New Hampshire			7					7
Massachusetts			19					19
Rhode Island			4					4
Connecticut			9					9
Vermont	6						6	
New York	13	6		13	3	3		
New Jersey	8			8				
Pennsylvania	20			20				
Delaware			3					3
Maryland	9		2	9				2
Virginia	24			24				
North Carolina	11		3	11				3
South Carolina	10			10				
Georgia	6			6				
Kentucky	7			7				
Tennessee	5			5				
Ohio	3						3	
Total	122	6	47	113	3	3	9	47

1813.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 10, 1813—James Madison being chosen President and Elbridge Gerry vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	James Madison.	DeWitt Clinton.	Elbridge Gerry.	Jared Ingersoll.
New Hampshire		8	1	7
Massachusetts		22	2	20
Rhode Island		4		4
Connecticut		9		9
Vermont	8		8	
New York		29		29
New Jersey		8		8
Pennsylvania	25		25	
Delaware		4		4
Maryland	6	5	6	5
Virginia	25		25	
North Carolina	15		15	
South Carolina	11		11	
Georgia	8		8	
Kentucky	12		12	
Tennessee	8		8	
Ohio	7		7	
Louisiana	3		3	
Total	128	89	131	86

1817.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 12, 1817—James Monroe being chosen President and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.				
	James Monroe.	Rufus King.	D. D. Tompkins.	John E. Howard.	James Ross.	John Marshall.	Robt. G. Harper.
New Hampshire	8		8				
Massachusetts		22		22			
Rhode Island	4		4				
Connecticut		9			5	4	
Vermont	8		8				
New York	29		29				
New Jersey	8		8				
Pennsylvania	25		25				
Delaware		3					3
Maryland	8		8				
Virginia	25		25				
North Carolina	15		15				
South Carolina	11		11				
Georgia	8		8				
Kentucky	12		12				
Tennessee	8		8				
Ohio	8		8				
Louisiana	3		3				
Indiana	3		3				
Total	183	34	183	22	5	4	3

1821.

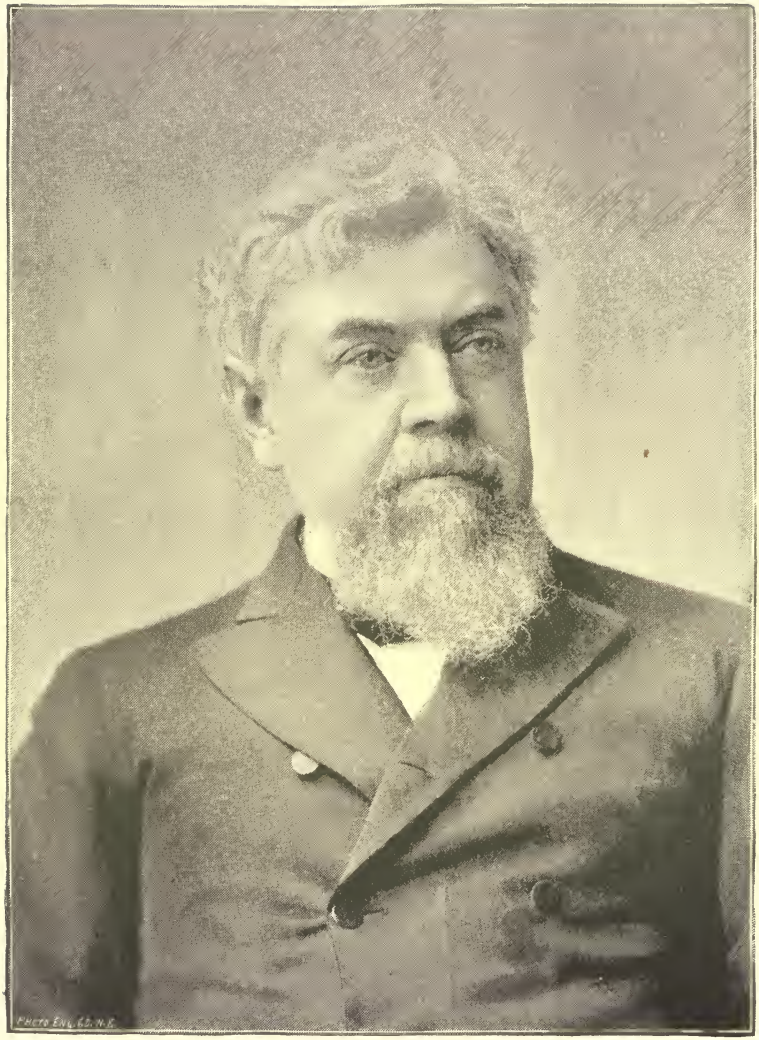
Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 14, 1821—James Monroe being chosen President and Daniel D. Tompkins vice president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.				
	James Monroe.	John Q. Adams.	D. D. Tompkins.	Richard Stockton.	Robt. G. Harper.	Richard Rush.	Daniel Rodney.
New Hampshire	7	1	7			1	
Massachusetts	15		7	8			
Rhode Island	4		4				
Connecticut	9		9				
Vermont	8		8				
New York	29		29				
New Jersey	8		8				
Pennsylvania	24		24				
Delaware	4						4
Maryland	11		10		1		
Virginia	25		25				
North Carolina	15		15				
South Carolina	11		11				
Georgia	8		8				
Kentucky	12		12				
Tennessee	7		7				
Ohio	8		8				
Louisiana	3		3				
Indiana	3		3				
Mississippi	2		2				
Illinois	3		3				
Alabama	3		3				
Maine	9		9				
Missouri	3		3				
Total	231	1	218	8	1	1	4

1825.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 9, 1825. No choice being made, the official record declares: "The president of the senate then rose and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States; that Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams and William H. Crawford were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a President now devolved on the house of representatives." He further declared that John C. Calhoun was elected vice-president. The result in the house was the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency:

States.	President.				Vice-President.					
	John Q. Adams.	W. H. Crawford.	Andrew Jackson.	Henry Clay.	John C. Calhoun.	Nathaniel Macon.	Andrew Jackson.	Nathan Sandford.	Henry Clay.	Martin Van Buren.
Maine	9				9					
New Hampshire	8				7		1			
Massachusetts	15				15					
Rhode Island	4				3					
Connecticut	8						8			
Vermont	7				7					
New York	26	5	1	4	29			7		
New Jersey			8		8					
Pennsylvania			28		28					
Delaware	1	2			1					
Maryland	3	1	7		10		1		2	
Virginia		24				24				
North Carolina			15		15					
South Carolina			11		11					
Georgia		9								9
Kentucky				14	7			7		
Tennessee			11		11					
Ohio				16				16		
Louisiana	2		3		5					
Mississippi			3		3					
Indiana			5		5					
Illinois	1		2		3					
Alabama			5		5					
Missouri				3			3			
Total	84	41	99	37	182	24	13	30	2	9



JOHN W. NOBLE.

1829.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 11, 1829—Andrew Jackson being chosen President and John C. Calhoun vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.		
	Andrew Jackson.	J. Quincy Adams.	J. C. Calhoun.	Richard Rush.	William Smith.
Maine	1	8	1	8	
New Hampshire		8		8	
Massachusetts		15		15	
Rhode Island		4		4	
Connecticut		8		8	
Vermont		7		7	
New York	20	16	20	16	
New Jersey		8		8	
Pennsylvania	28		28		
Delaware		3		3	
Maryland	5	6	5	6	
Virginia	24		24		
North Carolina	15		15		
South Carolina	11		11		
Georgia	9		2		7
Kentucky	14		14		
Tennessee	11		11		
Ohio	16		16		
Louisiana	5		5		
Indiana	5		5		
Mississippi	3		3		
Illinois	3		3		
Alabama	5		5		
Missouri	3		3		
Total	178	83	171	83	7

1833.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 13, 1833—Andrew Jackson being chosen President and Martin Van Buren vice-president:

States.	President.				Vice-President.				
	Andrew Jackson.	Henry Clay.	John Floyd.	William Wirt.	Martin Van Buren.	John Sargeant.	William Wilkins.	Amos Ellmaker.	Henry Lee.
Maine	10				10				
New Hampshire	7				7				
Massachusetts		14				14			
Rhode Island		4				4			
Connecticut		8				8			
Vermont				7				7	
New York	42				42				
New Jersey	8				8				
Pennsylvania	30						30		
Delaware		3				3			
Maryland	3	5			3	5			
Virginia	23				23				
North Carolina	15				15				
South Carolina			11						11
Georgia	11				11				
Kentucky		15				15			
Tennessee	15				15				
Ohio	21				21				
Louisiana	5				5				
Mississippi	4				4				
Indiana	9				9				
Illinois	5				5				
Alabama	7				7				
Missouri	4				4				
Total	219	49	11	7	189	49	30	7	11

1837.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 8, 1837—Martin Van Buren being chosen President and Richard M. Johnson vice-president:

States.	President.					Vice-President.			
	Martin Van Buren.	Daniel Webster.	W. H. Harrison.	Willie P. Mangum.	H. L. White.	R. M. Johnson.	Francis Granger.	John Tyler.	William Smith.
Maine	10					10			
New Hampshire	7					7			
Massachusetts		14					14		
Rhode Island	4					4			
Connecticut	8					8			
Vermont			7				7		
New York	42					42			
New Jersey			8				8		
Pennsylvania	30					30			
Delaware			3				3		
Maryland			10					10	
Virginia	23								23
North Carolina	15					15			
South Carolina				11				11	
Georgia					11			11	
Kentucky			15				15		
Tennessee					15			15	
Ohio			21				21		
Louisiana	5					5			
Mississippi	4					4			
Indiana			9				9		
Illinois	5					5			
Alabama	7					7			
Missouri	4					4			
Arkansas	3					3			
Michigan	3					3			
Total	170	14	73	11	26	147	77	47	23

1841.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 10, 1841—William Henry Harrison being chosen President and John Tyler vice-president:

States.	President		Vice-President.			
	Wm. H. Harrison.	Martin Van Buren.	John Tyler.	R. M. Johnson.	L. W. Tazewell.	James K. Polk.
Maine	10		10			
New Hampshire		7		7		
Massachusetts	14		14			
Rhode Island	4		4			
Connecticut	8		8			
Vermont	7		7			
New York	42		42			
New Jersey	8		8			
Pennsylvania	30		30			
Delaware	3		3			
Maryland	10		10			
Virginia		23		22		1
North Carolina	15		15			
South Carolina		11			11	
Georgia	11		11			
Kentucky	15		15			
Tennessee	15		15			
Ohio	21		21			
Louisiana	5		5			
Mississippi	4		4			
Indiana	9		9			
Illinois		5		5		
Alabama		7		7		
Missouri		4		4		
Arkansas		3		3		
Michigan	3		3			
Total	234	60	234	48	11	1

1845.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 12, 1845—James K. Polk being chosen President and George M. Dallas vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	James K. Polk.	Henry Clay.	George M. Dallas.	T. Frelinghuysen.
Maine	9		9	
New Hampshire	6		6	
Massachusetts		12		12
Rhode Island		4		4
Connecticut		6		6
Vermont		6		6
New York	36		36	
New Jersey		7		7
Pennsylvania	26		26	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		8		8
Virginia	17		17	
North Carolina		11		11
South Carolina	9		9	
Georgia	10		10	
Kentucky		12		12
Tennessee		13		13
Ohio		23		23
Louisiana	6		6	
Mississippi	6		6	
Indiana	12		12	
Illinois	9		9	
Alabama	9		9	
Missouri	7		7	
Arkansas	3		3	
Michigan	5		5	
Total	170	105	170	105

1849.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 14, 1849—Zachary Taylor being chosen President and Millard Fillmore vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	Zachary Taylor.	Lewis Cass.	Millard Fillmore.	William O. Butler.
Maine		9		9
New Hampshire		6		6
Massachusetts	12		12	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut	6		6	
Vermont	6		6	
New York	36		36	
New Jersey	7		7	
Pennsylvania	26		26	
Delaware	3		3	
Maryland	8		8	
Virginia		17		17
North Carolina	11		11	
South Carolina		9		9
Georgia	10		10	
Kentucky	12		12	
Tennessee	13		13	
Ohio		23		23
Louisiana	6		6	
Mississippi		6		6
Indiana		12		12
Illinois		9		9
Alabama		9		9
Missouri		7		7
Arkansas		3		3
Michigan		5		5
Florida	3		3	
Texas		4		4
Iowa		4		4
Wisconsin		4		4
Total	163	127	163	127

1853.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 9, 1853—Franklin Pierce being chosen President and William R. King vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	Franklin Pierce.	Winfield Scott.	W. R. King.	W. A. Graham.
Maine	8		8	
New Hampshire	5		5	
Massachusetts		13		13
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut	6		6	
Vermont		5		5
New York	35		35	
New Jersey	7		7	
Pennsylvania	27		27	
Delaware	3		3	
Maryland	8		8	
Virginia	15		15	
North Carolina	10		10	
South Carolina	8		8	
Georgia	10		10	
Kentucky		12		12
Tennessee		12		12
Ohio	23		23	
Louisiana	6		6	
Mississippi	7		7	
Indiana	13		13	
Illinois	11		11	
Alabama	9		9	
Missouri	9		9	
Arkansas	4		4	
Michigan	6		6	
Florida	3		3	
Texas	4		4	
Iowa	4		4	
Wisconsin	5		5	
California	4		4	
Total	254	42	254	42

1857.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 11, 1857—James Buchanan being chosen President and John C. Breckinridge vice-president:

States.	President.			Vice-President.		
	J. Buchanan.	J. C. Fremont.	M. Fillmore.	J. C. Breckinridge.	W. L. Dayton.	A. J. Donelson.
Maine		8			8	
New Hampshire		5			5	
Massachusetts		13			13	
Rhode Island		4			4	
Connecticut		6			6	
Vermont		5			5	
New York		35			35	
New Jersey	7			7		
Pennsylvania	27			27		
Delaware	3			3		
Maryland			8			8
Virginia	15			15		
North Carolina	10			10		
South Carolina	8			8		
Georgia	10			10		
Kentucky	12			12		
Tennessee	12			12		
Ohio		23			23	
Louisiana	6			6		
Mississippi	7			7		
Indiana	13			13		
Illinois	11			11		
Alabama	9			9		
Missouri	9			9		
Arkansas	4			4		
Michigan		6			6	
Florida	3			3		
Texas	4			4		
Iowa		4			4	
Wisconsin		5			5	
California	4			4		
Total	174	114	8	174	114	8



T. B. REED.

1861.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 13, 1861 — Abraham Lincoln being chosen President and Hannibal Hamlin vice-president:

States.	President.				Vice-President.			
	Abraham Lincoln.	J. C. Breckinridge.	S. A. Douglas.	John Bell	Hannibal Hamlin.	Joseph Lane.	H. V. Johnson.	Edward Everett.
Maine	8				8			
New Hampshire	5				5			
Massachusetts	13				13			
Rhode Island	4				4			
Connecticut	6				6			
Vermont	5				5			
New York	35				35			
New Jersey	4		3		4		3	
Pennsylvania	27				27			
Delaware		3				3		
Maryland		8				8		
Virginia				15				15
North Carolina		10				10		
South Carolina		8				8		
Georgia		10				10		
Kentucky				12				12
Tennessee				12				12
Ohio	23				23			
Louisiana		6				6		
Mississippi		7				7		
Indiana	13				13			
Illinois	11				11			
Alabama		9				9		
Missouri			9				9	
Arkansas		4				4		
Michigan	6				6			
Florida		3				3		
Texas		4				4		
Iowa	4				4			
Wisconsin	5				5			
California	4				4			
Minnesota	4				4			
Oregon	3				3			
Total	180	72	12	39	180	72	12	39

1865.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 8, 1865—Abraham Lincoln being chosen President and Andrew Johnson vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	Abraham Lincoln.	G. B. McClellan.	Andrew Johnson.	G. H. Pendleton.
Maine	7		7	
New Hampshire	5		5	
Massachusetts	12		12	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut	6		6	
Vermont	5		5	
New York	33		33	
New Jersey		7		7
Pennsylvania	26		26	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland	7		7	
Kentucky		11		11
Ohio	21		21	
Indiana	13		13	
Illinois	16		16	
Missouri	11		11	
Michigan	8		8	
Wisconsin	8		8	
Iowa	8		8	
California	5		5	
Minnesota	4		4	
Oregon	3		3	
Kansas	3		3	
West Virginia	5		5	
Nevada	2		2	
Total	212	21	212	21

1869.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 10, 1869—Ulysses S. Grant being chosen President and Schuyler Colfax vice-president:

States	President.		Vice-President.	
	U. S. Grant.	Horatio Seymour.	Schuyler Colfax.	F. P. Blair, Jr.
Maine	7		7	
New Hampshire	5		5	
Vermont	5		5	
Massachusetts	12		12	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut	6		6	
New York		33		33
New Jersey		7		7
Pennsylvania	26		26	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		7		7
North Carolina	9		9	
South Carolina	6		6	
Georgia		9		9
Alabama	8		8	
Louisiana		7		7
Ohio	21		21	
Kentucky		11		11
Tennessee	10		10	
Indiana	13		13	
Illinois	16		16	
Missouri	11		11	
Arkansas	5		5	
Michigan	8		8	
Florida	3		3	
Iowa	8		8	
Wisconsin	8		8	
California	5		5	
Minnesota	4		4	
Oregon		3		3
Kansas	3		3	
West Virginia	5		5	
Nevada	3		3	
Nebraska	3		3	
Total	214	80	214	80

1873.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 12, 1873—Ulysses S. Grant being chosen President and Henry Wilson vice-president:

States.	President.					Vice-President.								
	U. S. Grant.	B. G. Brown.	T. A. Hendricks.	C. J. Jenkins.	David Davis.	Henry Wilson.	B. G. Brown.	G. W. Julian.	A. H. Colquitt.	J. M. Palmer.	T. E. Bramlett.	W. S. Groesbeck.	W. B. Machen.	N. P. Banks.
Maine	7					7								
New Hampshire	5					5								
Vermont	5					5								
Massachusetts	13					13								
Rhode Island	4					4								
Connecticut	6					6								
New York	35					35								
New Jersey	9					9								
Pennsylvania	29					29								
Delaware	3					3								
Maryland			8				8							
Virginia	11					11								
North Carolina	10					10								
South Carolina	7					7								
Georgia		6		2			5		5					1
Alabama	10					10								
Ohio	22					22								
Kentucky		4	8				8				3		1	
Tennessee			12				12							
Indiana	15					15								
Illinois	21					21								
Missouri		8	6		1		6	5		3		1		
Mississippi	8					8								
Michigan	11					11								
Florida	4					4								
Texas			8				8							
Iowa	11					11								
Wisconsin	10					10								
California	6					6								
Minnesota	5					5								
Oregon	3					3								
Kansas	5					5								
West Virginia	5					5								
Nevada	3					3								
Nebraska	3					3								
Total	286	18	42	2	1	286	47	5	5	3	3	1	1	1

1877.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 14, 1877—Rutherford B. Hayes being chosen President and William A. Wheeler vice-president (after the submission of disputed questions to an electoral commission):

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	R. B. Hayes.	S. J. Tilden.	W. A. Wheeler.	T. A. Hendricks.
Maine	7		7	
New Hampshire	5		5	
Vermont	5		5	
Massachusetts	13		13	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut		6		6
New York		35		35
New Jersey		9		9
Pennsylvania	29		29	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		8		8
Virginia		11		11
North Carolina		10		10
South Carolina	7		7	
Georgia		11		11
Alabama		10		10
Ohio	22		22	
Louisiana	8		8	
Kentucky		12		12
Tennessee		12		12
Indiana		15		15
Illinois	21		21	
Missouri		15		15
Arkansas		6		6
Mississippi		8		8
Michigan	11		11	
Florida	4		4	
Texas		8		8
Iowa	11		11	
Wisconsin	10		10	
California	6		6	
Minnesota	5		5	
Oregon	3		3	
Kansas	5		5	
West Virginia		5		5
Nevada	3		3	
Nebraska	3		3	
Colorado	3		3	
Total	185	184	185	184

1881.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 9, 1881—James A. Garfield being chosen President and Chester A. Arthur vice-president:

States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	James A. Garfield.	W. S. Hancock.	C. A. Arthur.	Wm. H. English.
Maine	7		7	
New Hampshire	5		5	
Vermont	5		5	
Massachusetts	13		13	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut	6		6	
New York	35		35	
New Jersey		9		9
Pennsylvania	29		29	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		8		8
Virginia		11		11
North Carolina		10		10
South Carolina		7		7
Georgia		11		11
Alabama		10		10
Ohio	22		22	
Louisiana		8		8
Kentucky		12		12
Tennessee		12		12
Indiana	15		15	
Illinois	21		21	
Missouri		15		15
Arkansas		6		6
Mississippi		8		8
Michigan	11		11	
Florida		4		4
Texas		8		8
Iowa	11		11	
Wisconsin	10		10	
California	1	5	1	5
Minnesota	5		5	
Oregon	3		3	
Kansas	5		5	
West Virginia		5		5
Nevada		3		3
Nebraska	3		3	
Colorado	3		3	
Total	214	155	214	155

1885.

Electoral votes as counted Wednesday, February 11, 1885—Grover Cleveland being chosen President and Thomas A. Hendricks vice-president:.

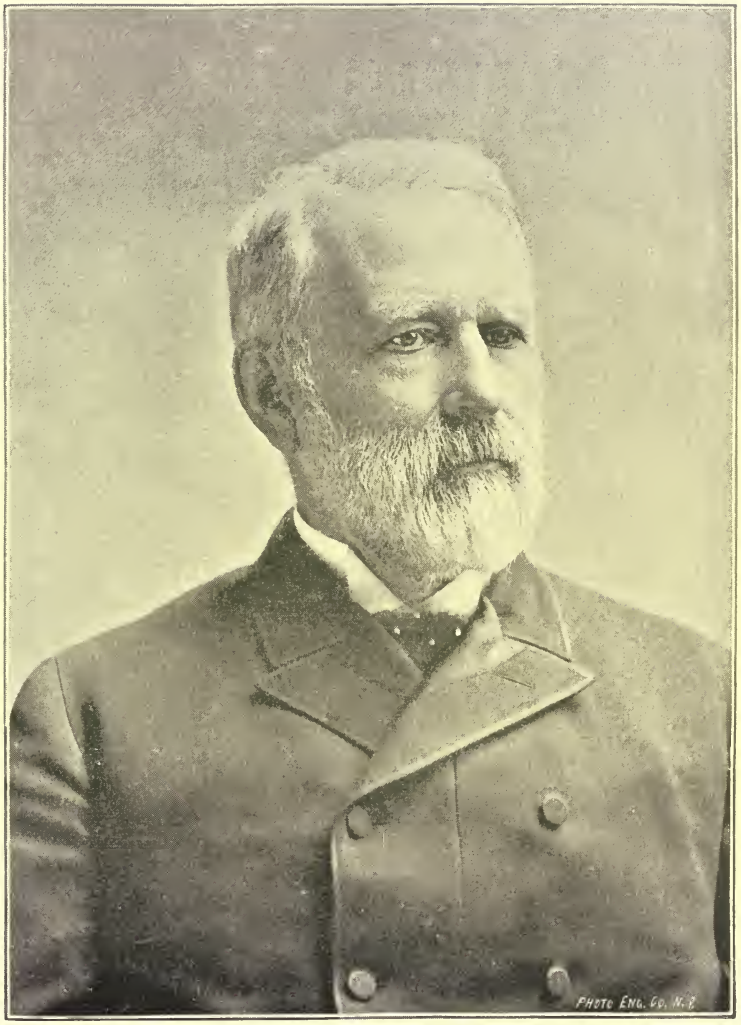
States.	President.		Vice-President.	
	James G. Blaine.	Grover Cleveland.	John A. Logan.	Thomas Hendricks.
Maine	6		6	
New Hampshire	4		4	
Vermont	4		4	
Massachusetts	14		14	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut		6		6
New York		36		36
New Jersey		9		9
Pennsylvania	30		30	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		8		8
Virginia		12		12
North Carolina		11		11
South Carolina		9		9
Georgia		12		12
Alabama		10		10
Ohio	23		23	
Louisiana		8		8
Kentucky		13		13
Tennessee		12		12
Indiana		15		15
Illinois	22		22	
Missouri		16		16
Arkansas		7		7
Mississippi		9		9
Michigan	13		13	
Florida		4		4
Texas		13		13
Iowa	13		13	
Wisconsin	11		11	
California	8		8	
Minnesota	7		7	
Oregon	3		3	
Kansas	9		9	
West Virginia		6		6
Nevada	3		3	
Nebraska	5		5	
Colorado	3		3	
Total	182	219	182	219

THE SIGNERS, PRESIDENTS, ETC.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION.

BELOW is given a list of those immortal men whose names were affixed to that magna charta of our liberties, the Declaration of Independence, with the states they represented, their places and date of birth and date of death. It will be noted that Benjamin Franklin was the oldest of those who signed, being seventy years of age, while the youngest was Edward Rutledge, who was but twenty-five. The former survived the Declaration fourteen years and the latter twenty-five years, living to see the government firmly established. The first signer that died was John Morton of Pennsylvania, in April, 1777, nine months after his signature was attached; while the last survivor was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who died on the fourteenth of November, 1832, fifty-six years, four months and ten days after the Declaration was promulgated:

Signer.	State Represented.	Nativity.	Date of Death.
Adams, John	Massachusetts	Mass., Oct. 19, 1735	July 4, 1826
Adams, Samuel	Massachusetts	Mass., Sept. 27, 1742	October 2, 1803
Bartlett, Josiah	New Hampshire	Mass., Nov., 1729	May 19, 1795
Braxton, Carter	Virginia	Va., Sept. 10, 1736	October 10, 1797
Carroll, Charles	Maryland	Md., Sept. 20, 1737	November 14, 1832
Chase, Samuel	Maryland	Md., April 17, 1726	June 19, 1811
Clark, Abraham	New Jersey	N. J., Feb. 15, 1741	September, 1794
Clymer, George	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania, 1739	January 23, 1813
Ellery, William	Rhode Island	R. I., Dec. 22, 1727	February 15, 1820
Floyd, William	New York	N. Y., Dec. 17, 1734	August 4, 1821
Franklin, Benjamin	Pennsylvania	Mass., Jan. 17, 1706	April 17, 1790
Gerry, Elbridge	Massachusetts	Mass., July 17, 1744	November 23, 1814
Gwinnett, Button	Georgia	England, 1732	May 27, 1777



BENJAMIN F. TRACY.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION—CONCLUDED.

Signer.	State Represented.	Nativity.	Date of Death.
Hall, Lyman	Georgia	Connecticut, 1737	February, 1790
Hancock, John	Massachusetts	Massachusetts, 1737	October 8, 1793
Harrison, Benjamin	Virginia	Virginia,	——— 1791
Hart, John	New Jersey	New Jersey, 1715	——— 1780
Heywood, T., Jr.	South Carolina	South Carolina, 1746	March, 1809
Hewes, Joseph	North Carolina	New Jersey, 1730	November 10, 1779
Hooper, William	North Carolina	Mass., June 17, 1742	October, 1790
Hopkins, Stephen	Rhode Island	Mass., Mar. 7, 1707	July 13, 1785
Hopkinson, Francis	New Jersey	Pennsylvania, 1737	May 9, 1790
Huntington, Samuel	Connecticut	Conn., July 3, 1732	January 5, 1796
Jefferson, Thomas	Virginia	Va., Apr. 13, 1743	July 4, 1826
Lee, Francis L.	Virginia	Va., Oct. 14, 1734	April, 1797
Lee, Richard Henry	Virginia	Va., Jan. 20, 1732	June 19, 1794
Lewis, Francis	New York	Wales, March, 1713	December 30, 1803
Livingston, Phillip	New York	N. Y., Jan. 15, 1716	June 12, 1778
Lynch, Thomas, Jr.	South Carolina	S. C., Aug. 5, 1749	At sea, 1779
McKean, Thomas	Delaware	Pa., Mar. 19, 1734	June 24, 1817
Middleton, Arthur	South Carolina	South Carolina, 1743	January 1, 1787
Morris, Lewis	New York	New York, 1726	January 22, 1798
Morris, Robert	Pennsylvania	England, 1733	March 8, 1806
Morton, John	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania, 1724	April, 1777
Nelson, Thomas, Jr.	Virginia	Va., Dec. 26, 1738	January 4, 1789
Paca, William	Maryland	Md., Oct. 31, 1740	——— 1799
Paine, Robert J.	Massachusetts	Massachusetts, 1731	May 11, 1804
Penn, John	North Carolina	Va., May 17, 1741	October 26, 1809
Read, George	Delaware	Maryland, 1734	——— 1798
Rodney, Cæsar	Delaware	Delaware, 1730	——— 1783
Ross, George	Pennsylvania	Delaware. 1730	July, 1779
Rush, Benjamin, M. D.	Pennsylvania	Pa., Dec. 24, 1745	April 19, 1813
Rutledge, Edward	South Carolina	S. C., Nov., 1749	January 23, 1800
Sherman, Roger	Connecticut	Mass., Apr. 19, 1721	July 23, 1793
Smith, James	Pennsylvania	Ireland,	July 11, 1806
Stockton, Richard	New Jersey	N. J., Oct. 1, 1730	February 28, 1781
Stone, Thomas	Maryland	Maryland, 1742	October 5, 1787
Taylor, George	Pennsylvania	Ireland, 1716	February 23, 1781
Thornton, Matthew	New Hampshire	Ireland, 1714	June 24, 1803
Walton, George	Georgia	Virginia, 1740	February 2, 1804
Whipple, William	New Hampshire	Maine, 1730	November 28, 1785
Williams, William	Connecticut	Conn., Apr. 8, 1731	August 2, 1811
Wilson, James	Pennsylvania	Scotland, 1742	August 28, 1798
Witherspoon, J.	New Jersey	" Feb. 5, 1726	November 15, 1794
Wolcott, Oliver	Connecticut	Conn., Nov. 26, 1726	December 1, 1797
Wythe, George	Virginia	Virginia, 1726	June 8, 1806

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No.	Name.	Inducted into office.	No.	Name.	Inducted into office.
1	George Washington†	1789	12	Zachary Taylor*	1849
2	John Adams	1797	13	Millard Fillmore	1850
3	Thomas Jefferson†	1801	14	Franklin Pierce	1853
4	James Madison†	1809	15	James Buchanan	1857
5	James Monroe†	1817	16	Abraham Lincoln*†	1861
6	John Quincy Adams	1825	17	Andrew Johnson	1865
7	Andrew Jackson†	1829	18	Ulysses S. Grant†	1869
8	Martin Van Buren	1837	19	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877
9	William H. Harrison*	1841	20	James A. Garfield*	1881
10	John Tyler	1841	21	Chester A. Arthur	1881
11	James K. Polk	1845	22	Grover Cleveland	1885

* Died in office. † Elected to second term.

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Term.	Name.	When qualified.	Term.	Name.	When qualified.
1	John Adams	June 3, 1789	16	Millard Fillmore§	Mar. 5, 1849
2	John Adams	Dec. 2, 1793	16	William R. King†	July 11, 1850
3	Thomas Jefferson	Mar. 4, 1797	17	William R. King*	Mar. 4, 1853
4	Aaron Burr	Mar. 4, 1801	17	David R. Atchison†	April 18, 1853
5	George Clinton	Mar. 4, 1805	17	Jesse D. Bright†	Dec. 5, 1854
6	George Clinton*	Mar. 4, 1809	18	John C. Breckinridge	Mar. 4, 1857
6	Wm. H. Crawford†	April 10, 1812	19	Hannibal Hamlin	Mar. 4, 1861
7	Elbridge Gerry*	Mar. 4, 1813	20	Andrew Johnson§	Mar. 4, 1865
7	John Galliard*	Nov. 25, 1814	20	Lafayette S. Foster.†	April 15, 1865
8	Daniel D. Tompkins.	Mar. 4, 1817	20	Benjamin F. Wade†	Mar. 2, 1867
9	Daniel D. Tompkins.	Mar. 5, 1821	21	Schuyler Colfax	Mar. 4, 1869
10	John C. Calhoun	Mar. 4, 1825	22	Henry Wilson*	Mar. 4, 1873
11	John C. Calhoun‡	Mar. 4, 1829	22	Thomas W. Ferry†	Nov. 22, 1875
11	Hugh L. White†	Dec. 28, 1832	23	William A. Wheeler	Mar. 5, 1877
12	Martin Van Buren	Mar. 4, 1833	24	Chester A. Arthur§	Mar. 4, 1881
13	Richard M. Johnson.	Mar. 4, 1837	24	David Davis†	Oct. 13, 1881
14	John Tyler§	Mar. 4, 1841	24	George F. Edmunds.†	Mar. 3, 1883
14	Sam'l L. Southard†	April 6, 1841	25	Thos. A. Hendricks.*	Mar. 4, 1885
14	Willie P. Magnum†	May 31, 1842	25	John Sherman†	Dec. 7, 1885
15	George M. Dallas	Mar. 4, 1845	26	John J. Ingalls†	Feb. 22, 1887

* Died in office. † Acting vice-president and president *pro tem* of the senate.
‡ Resigned vice-presidency. § Became President.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Congress.	Name.	Term of Office.
1	F. A. Muhlenberg	April 3, 1789, to March 3, 1791
2	Jonathan Trumbull	October 24, 1791, to March 3, 1793
3	F. A. Muhlenberg	December 2, 1793, to March 3, 1795
4 & 5	Jonathan Dayton	December 9, 1795, to March 3, 1799
6	Thomas Sedgwick	December 2, 1799, to March 3, 1801
7 to 9	Nath. Macon	December 7, 1801, to March 3, 1807
10 & 11	Joseph B. Varnum	October 26, 1807, to March 3, 1811
12 to 16	Henry Clay	November 4, 1811, to March 3, 1821
17	Philip P. Barbour	December 3, 1821, to March 3, 1823
18	Henry Clay	December 1, 1823, to March 3, 1825
19	John W. Taylor	December 5, 1825, to March 3, 1827
20 to 23	A. Stephenson	December 3, 1827, to June 3, 1834
23	John Bell	June 4, 1834, to March 3, 1835
24 & 25	James K. Polk	December 7, 1835, to March 3, 1839
26	R. M. T. Hunter	December 16, 1839, to March 3, 1841
27	John White	May 31, 1841, to March 3, 1843
28	John W. Jones	December 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845
29	John W. Davis	December 4, 1845, to March 3, 1847
30	Robert C. Winthrop	December 16, 1847, to March 3, 1849
31	Howell Cobb	December 24, 1849, to March 3, 1851
32 & 33	Lynn Boyd	December 4, 1851, to March 3, 1855
34	N. P. Banks	February 2, 1856, to March 3, 1857
35	James L. Orr	December 5, 1857, to March 3, 1859
36	William Pennington	February 1, 1860, to March 3, 1861
37	Galusha A. Grow	July 4, 1861, to March 3, 1863
38 to 40	Schuyler Colfax	December 7, 1863, to March 2, 1869
40	T. M. Pomeroy	March 2, 1869, to March 3, 1869
41 to 43	James G. Blaine	March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1875
44	Michael C. Kerr	December 6, 1875, to August 20, 1876
44 to 46	Samuel J. Randall	December 4, 1876, to March 3, 1881
47	J. Warren Keifer	December 5, 1881, to March 3, 1883
48 & 49	John G. Carlisle	December 3, 1883, to ———

CABINETS OF THE PRESIDENTS.

UNDER GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Thomas Jefferson	Sep. 26, 1789
Edmund Randolph	Jan. 2, 1794
Timothy Pickering	Dec. 10, 1795
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Alexander Hamilton	Sep. 11, 1789
Oliver Wolcott	Feb. 2, 1795
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Henry Knox	Sep. 12, 1789
Timothy Pickering	Jan. 2, 1795

SECRETARY OF WAR.	APPOINTED.
James McHenry	Jan. 27, 1796
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.*	
Samuel Osgood	Sep. 26, 1789
Timothy Pickering	Aug. 12, 1791
Jos. Habersham	Feb. 25, 1795
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Edmund Randolph	Sep. 26, 1789
William Bradford	Jan. 27, 1794
Charles Lee	Dec. 10, 1795

UNDER JOHN ADAMS.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Timothy Pickering	Mar. 4, 1797
John Marshall	May 13, 1800
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Oliver Wolcott	Mar. 4, 1797
Samuel Dexter	Jan. 1, 1801
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
James McHenry	Mar. 4, 1797
Samuel Dexter	May 13, 1800

SECRETARY OF WAR.	APPOINTED.
Rodger Griswold	Feb. 3, 1801
SECRETARY OF NAVY.†	
Benjamin Stoddart	May 21, 1798
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Joseph Habersham	Mar. 4, 1797
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Charles Lee	Mar. 4, 1797
Theophilus Parsons	Feb. 20, 1801

UNDER THOMAS JEFFERSON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
James Madison	Mar. 5, 1801
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Albert Gallatin	May 14, 1801
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Henry Dearborn	Mar. 5, 1801
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Benjamin Stoddart	Mar. 4, 1801
Robert Smith	July 15, 1801

SECRETARY OF NAVY.	APPOINTED.
J. Crowninshield	Mar. 3, 1805
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Joseph Habersham	Mar. 4, 1801
Gideon Granger	Nov. 28, 1801
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Levi Lincoln	Mar. 5, 1801
Robert Smith	Mar. 3, 1805
John Breckinridge	Aug. 7, 1805
Cæsar A. Rodney	Jan. 28, 1806

UNDER JAMES MADISON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Robert Smith	Mar. 6, 1809
James Monroe	April 2, 1811
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Albert Gallatin	Mar. 4, 1809
George W. Campbell	Feb. 9, 1814
Alexander J. Dallas	Oct. 6, 1814
William H. Crawford	Oct. 22, 1814
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
William Eustis	Mar. 7, 1809
John Armstrong	Jan. 13, 1813
James Monroe	Sep. 27, 1814
William H. Crawford	Aug. 1, 1815

SECRETARY OF NAVY.	APPOINTED.
Paul Hamilton	Mar. 7, 1809
William Jones	Jan. 12, 1813
B. W. Crowninshield	Dec. 19, 1814
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Gideon Granger	Mar. 4, 1809
R. J. Meigs	Mar. 17, 1814
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Cæsar A. Rodney	Mar. 4, 1809
William Pinckney	Dec. 11, 1811
Richard Rush	Feb. 10, 1814

* The postmaster-general was not counted a cabinet officer until in Jackson's first administration.

† A newly created department.

UNDER JAMES MONROE.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
John Quincy Adams	Mar. 5, 1817
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
W. H. Crawford	Mar. 5, 1817
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
George Graham	*ad interim.**
John C. Calhoun	Oct. 8, 1817
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
B. W. Crowninshield	Mar. 4, 1817
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Smith Thompson	Nov. 9, 1818
S. J. Southard	Sep. 16, 1823
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
R. J. Meigs	Mar. 4, 1817
John McLean	June 26, 1823
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Richard Rush	Mar. 4, 1817
William Wirt	Nov. 13, 1817

UNDER JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Henry Clay	Mar. 7, 1825
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Richard Rush	Mar. 7, 1825
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
James Barbour	Mar. 7, 1825
Peter B. Porter	Mar. 26, 1828
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Samuel L. Southard	Mar. 4, 1825
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
John McLean	Mar. 4, 1825
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
William Wirt	Mar. 4, 1825

UNDER ANDREW JACKSON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Martin Van Buren	Mar. 6, 1829
Edward Livingston	May 24, 1831
Louis McLane	May 29, 1833
John Forsyth	June 27, 1834
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Samuel D. Ingham	Mar. 6, 1829
Louis McLane	Aug. 2, 1831
William J. Duane	May 29, 1833
Roger B. Taney	Sep. 23, 1833
Levi Woodbury	June 27, 1834
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
John H. Eaton	Mar. 9, 1829
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Lewis Cass	Aug. 1, 1831
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
John Branch	Mar. 9, 1829
Levi Woodbury	May 23, 1831
Mahlon Dickerson	June 30, 1834
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
William T. Barry	Mar. 9, 1829
Amos Kendall	May 1, 1835
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
John M. Berrien	Mar. 9, 1829
Roger B. Taney	July 20, 1831
B. F. Butler	Nov. 15, 1833

UNDER MARTIN VAN BUREN.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
John Forsyth	Mar. 4, 1837
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Levi Woodbury	Mar. 4, 1837
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Joel R. Poinsett	Mar. 7, 1837
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Mahlon Dickerson	Mar. 4, 1837
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
James K. Paulding	June 25, 1838
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Amos Kendall	Mar. 4, 1837
John M. Niles	May 25, 1840
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
B. F. Butler	Mar. 4, 1837
Felix Grundy	July 5, 1838
Henry D. Gilpin	Jan. 11, 1840

UNDER WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Daniel Webster	Mar. 5, 1841
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Thomas Ewing	Mar. 5, 1841
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
John Bell	Mar. 5, 1841
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
George E. Badger	Mar. 5, 1841
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Francis Granger	Mar. 4, 1841
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
John J. Crittenden	Mar. 5, 1841

* The office was first tendered to Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, who declined.

UNDER JOHN TYLER.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Daniel Webster	April 6, 1841
H. S. Legare	May 9, 1843
Abel P. Upshur	July 24, 1843
John C. Calhoun	Mar. 6, 1844
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Thomas Ewing	April 6, 1841
Walter Forward	Sep 13, 1841
John C. Spencer	Mar. 3, 1843
George M. Bibb	June 15, 1844
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
John Bell	April 6, 1841
John C. Spencer	Oct. 12, 1841
James M. Porter	Mar. 8, 1843
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
William Wilkins	Feb. 15, 1844
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
George E. Badger	April 6, 1841
Abel P. Upshur	Sep. 13, 1841
David Henshaw	July 24, 1843
Thomas W. Gilmer	Feb. 15, 1844
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Francis Granger	April 6, 1841
Charles A. Wickliffe	Sep. 13, 1841
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
John J. Crittenden	April 6, 1841
Hugh S. Legare	Sep. 13, 1841
John Nelson	July 1, 1843

UNDER JAMES K. POLK.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
James Buchanan	Mar. 6, 1845
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Robert J. Walker	Mar. 6, 1845
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
W. L. Marcy	Mar. 6, 1845
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
George Bancroft	Mar. 10, 1845
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
John Y. Mason	Sep. 9, 1846
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Cave Johnson	Mar. 6, 1845
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
John Y. Mason	Mar. 6, 1845
Nathan Clifford	Oct. 17, 1846
Isaac Toucey	June 21, 1848

UNDER ZACHARY TAYLOR.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
John M. Clayton	Mar. 7, 1849
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
William M. Meredith	Mar. 8, 1849
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
George W. Crawford	Mar. 8, 1849
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
William B. Preston	Mar. 8, 1849
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.*	**APPOINTED.**
Thomas Ewing	Mar. 8, 1849
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Jacob Collamer	Mar. 8, 1849
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Reverdy Johnson	Mar. 8, 1849

UNDER MILLARD FILLMORE.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Daniel Webster	July 22, 1850
Edward Everett	Nov. 6, 1852
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Thomas Corwin	July 23, 1850
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Charles M. Conrad	Aug. 15, 1850
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
William A. Graham	July 22, 1850
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	**APPOINTED.**
John P. Kennedy	July 22, 1852
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
Alexander H. H. Stuart	Sep. 12, 1850
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Nathan R. Hall	July 23, 1850
Samuel D. Hubbard	Aug. 31, 1852
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
John J. Crittenden	July 22, 1850

* At the beginning of this administration the department of the interior, first called the home department, was given a position in the cabinet.

UNDER FRANKLIN PIERCE.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
W. L. Marcy	Mar. 7, 1853
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
James Guthrie	Mar. 7, 1853
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Jefferson Davis	Mar. 5, 1853
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
James C. Dobbin	Mar. 7, 1853
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	**APPOINTED.**
Robert McClelland	Mar. 7, 1853
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
James Campbell	Mar. 5, 1853
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Caleb Cushing	Mar. 7, 1853

UNDER JAMES BUCHANAN.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
Lewis Cass	Mar. 6, 1857
Jeremiah S. Black	Dec. 17, 1860
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Howell Cobb	Mar. 6, 1857
P. F. Thomas	Dec. 12, 1860
John A. Dix	Jan. 11, 1861
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
John B. Floyd	Mar. 6, 1857
Joseph Holt	Jan. 18, 1861
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	**APPOINTED.**
Isaac Tousey	Mar. 6, 1857
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
Jacob Thompson	Mar. 6, 1857
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Aaron V. Brown	Mar. 6, 1857
Joseph Holt	Mar. 14, 1859
Horatio King	Feb. 12, 1861
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Jeremiah S. Black	Mar. 6, 1857
Edwin M. Stanton	Dec. 20, 1860

UNDER ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
William H. Seward	Mar. 5, 1861
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Salmon P. Chase	Mar. 7, 1861
William Pitt Fessenden	July 1, 1864
Hugh McCulloch	Mar. 7, 1865
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Simon Cameron	Mar. 5, 1861
Edwin M. Stanton	Jan. 15, 1862
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Gideon Welles	Mar. 5, 1861
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	**APPOINTED.**
Caleb B. Smith	Mar. 5, 1861
John P. Usher	Jan. 8, 1863
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Montgomery Blair	Mar. 5, 1861
William Dennison	Sep. 24, 1864
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Edward Bates	Mar. 5, 1861
T. J. Coffey	June 22, 1864
James Speed	Dec. 2, 1863

UNDER ANDREW JOHNSON.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
William H. Seward	April 15, 1865
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Hugh McCulloch	April 15, 1865
SECRETARY OF WAR.*	
Edwin M. Stanton	April 15, 1865
U. S. Grant	Aug. 12, 1867
Lorenzo Thomas	Feb. 21, 1868
John M. Schofield	May 28, 1868
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Gideon Welles	April 15, 1865
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	**APPOINTED.**
John P. Usher	April 15, 1865
James Harlan	May 15, 1865
O. H. Browning	July 27, 1866
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
William Dennison	April 15, 1865
Alexander W. Randall	July 25, 1866
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
James Speed	April 15, 1865
Henry Stanberry	July 23, 1866
William Evarts	July 15, 1868

* The trouble connected with Mr. Stanton's term of office under President Johnson, and the appointment of Grant and Thomas as secretary *ad interim*, will be found in full in the history of Johnson's administration already given.

UNDER ULYSSES S. GRANT.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
E. B. Washburne	Mar. 5, 1869
Hamilton Fish	Mar. 11, 1869
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
George S. Boutwell	Mar. 11, 1869
William A. Richardson	Mar. 17, 1873
Benjamin H. Brisotw	June 4, 1874
Lot M. Morrill	July 7, 1876
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
John A. Rawlins	Mar. 11, 1869
William W. Belknap*	Oct. 23, 1869
Alphonso Taft	Mar. 8, 1876
J. D. Cameron	May 22, 1876
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
Adolph E. Borie	Mar. 5, 1869
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	**APPOINTED.**
George M. Robeson	June 25, 1869
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
Jacob D. Cox	Mar. 5, 1869
Columbus Delano	Nov. 1, 1870
Zach. Chandler	Oct. 19, 1875
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
John A. Cresswell	Mar. 5, 1869
Marshall Jewell	Aug. 24, 1874
James N. Tyner	July 12, 1876
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
E. R. Hoar	Mar. 5, 1869
A. T. Ackerman	June 23, 1870
George H. Williams	Dec. 14, 1871
Edwards Pierrepont	April 26, 1875
Alphonso Taft	May 22, 1876

UNDER RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
William M. Evarts	Mar. 12, 1877
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
John Sherman	Mar. 8, 1877
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
George W. McCrary	Mar. 12, 1877
Alexander Ramsey	Dec. 10, 1877
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
R. W. Thompson	Mar. 19, 1877
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	**APPOINTED.**
Nathan Goff	Jan. 6, 1881
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
Carl Schurz	Mar. 12, 1877
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
David M. Key	Mar. 12, 1877
Horace Maynard	June 2, 1880
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Charles Devens	Mar. 12, 1877

UNDER JAMES A. GARFIELD.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
James G. Blaine	Mar. 5, 1881
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
William Windom	Mar. 5, 1881
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Robert T. Lincoln	Mar. 5, 1881
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
William M. Hunt	Mar. 5, 1881
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	**APPOINTED.**
S. J. Kirkwood	Mar. 5, 1881
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Thomas L James	Mar. 5, 1881
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Wayne McVeagh	Mar. 5, 1881

* Secretary Belknap was the first member of an American cabinet ever compelled to leave that office because of malfeasance and crooked practices. On the first of March, 1876, a committee of the house of representatives came into the possession of evidence implicating him as guilty of gross malfeasance, in the sale of the right to sell goods on the western frontier and other criminal acts, to which he had confessed before the committee. On the second of the same month he tendered his resignation, which Grant promptly accepted. Articles of impeachment were at once prepared.

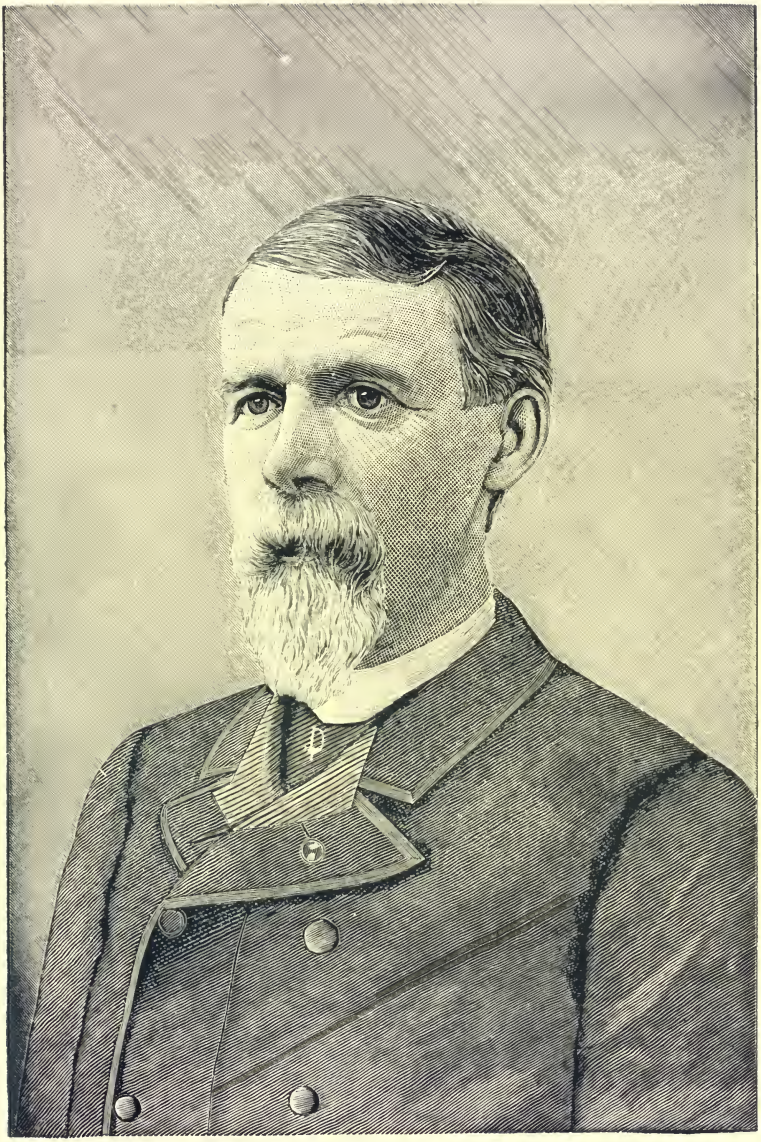
UNDER CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

SECRETARY OF STATE.	APPOINTED.
James G. Blaine	Sep. 19, 1881
F. T. Frelinghuysen	Dec. 12, 1881
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
William Windom	Sep. 19, 1881
Charles J. Folger	Oct. 27, 1881
Walter Q. Gresham	Sep. 24, 1884
Hugh McCulloch	Oct. 31, 1884
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
Robert T. Lincoln	Sep. 19, 1881
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
William M. Hunt	Sep. 19, 1881
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	**APPOINTED.**
William E. Chandler	April 1, 1882
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
S. J. Kirkwood	Sep. 19, 1881
Henry M. Teller	April 6, 1882
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	
Thomas L. James	Sep. 19, 1881
Timothy O. Howe	Dec. 20, 1881
Walter Q. Gresham	April 3, 1883
Frank Hatton	Oct. 14, 1884
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
Wayne McVeagh	Sep. 19, 1881
B. H. Brewster	Dec. 19, 1881

UNDER GROVER CLEVELAND.

SECRETARY OF STATE.*	APPOINTED.
Thomas F. Bayard	Mar. 7, 1885
SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	
Daniel Manning	Mar. 7, 1885
Charles S. Fairchild	Mar. 31, 1887
SECRETARY OF WAR.	
William C. Endicott	Mar. 7, 1885
ATTORNEY-GENERAL.	
A. H. Garland	Mar. 7, 1885
POSTMASTER-GENERAL.	**APPOINTED.**
W. F. Vilas	Mar. 7, 1885
Don M. Dickinson	Dec. 6, 1887
SECRETARY OF NAVY.	
W. C. Whitney	Mar. 7, 1885
SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	
L. Q. C. Lamar	Mar. 7, 1885
W. F. Vilas	Dec. 6, 1887

* The officers are here arranged in the order of succession as provided in the act of January 19, 1886.



R. A. ALGER.

UNITED STATES TARIFF ACTS.

IN the history of American finances, commerce and industries, given elsewhere in this volume, the several tariff measures proposed and passed at various stages of the life of the Republic are described in full, with their bearing upon the general fortunes of the country. Subjoined will be found the date of passage of each tariff act from the foundation of the government to the present time, its title and purpose, and explanations as to some of the effects resultant therefrom:

JULY 4, 1789.

An act "for laying a duty on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States." It will be noted that this act, the second passed by congress after the adoption of the Constitution, had a preamble in which occurred the following significant passage: "Whereas, it is necessary, for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported, be it enacted," etc.

AUGUST 10, 1790.

An act making further provision for the payment of the debts of the United States. This act increased the duties of the one mentioned above.

MARCH 3, 1791.

An act "repealing after the first day of June next the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead; and also upon spirits distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same." This was the first

case of indirect taxation, other than duties on imports. The duty ran from nine cents a gallon to twenty-five, according to its percentage below or above proof. There was also a yearly duty of sixty cents per gallon on the capacity of the stills employed.

MAY 2, 1792.

An act "for raising a further sum of money for the protection of the frontier, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

JUNE 5, 1794.

An act laying certain duties upon snuff and refined sugar; also upon carriages; and requiring retail dealers in wines, etc., to pay a license of five dollars per year. The duty on snuff manufactured in the United States was eight cents a pound; on refined sugar, two cents a pound.

JUNE 7, 1794.

An act laying additional duties on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States.

MARCH 3, 1797.

An act for raising a further sum of money, by additional duties on certain articles imported, and for other purposes. At this time stamp duties were imposed on certain certificates, bills of exchange, letters patent, insurance policies, promissory notes, etc.

JULY 8, 1797.

An act "laying additional duty on salt imported into the United States, and for other purposes."

MAY 7, 1800.

An act to continue in force the act last named above.

MAY 13, 1800.

An act "to lay additional duties on certain articles imported."

MARCH 27, 1804.

An act "for imposing more specific duties on the importation of certain articles, and also for levying and collecting light money on foreign ships or vessels, and for other purposes." While increasing the duty on numerous articles, this act made free from duty rags of linen, of cotton, of woolen and of hempen cloth; swine

bristles, regulus of antimony, unwrought clay, unwrought buhr-stones and the bark of the cork tree.

MARCH 4, 1808.

An act to allow the importation of old copper, saltpetre and sulphur free of duty.

JULY 1, 1812.

An act "for imposing additional duties upon all goods, wares and merchandise imported from any foreign port or place, and for other purposes." This act increased the duties one hundred per cent.; also an additional duty of ten per cent. on goods imported in foreign vessels.

FEBRUARY 25, 1813.

An act to impose a duty on the importation of iron wire.

JULY 29, 1813.

An act laying a duty on imported salt, granting a bounty on pickled fish exported and allowances to certain vessels employed in the fisheries.

FEBRUARY 5, 1816.

An act to continue in force the act of July 1, 1812, and for other purposes. This act also imposed an added duty of forty-two per cent. after June 30, 1816, until a new tariff of duties should be established by law.

FEBRUARY 9, 1816.

An act to continue in force the act of July 29, 1813.

APRIL 27, 1816.

An act to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage.

APRIL 20, 1818.

An act to increase the duties on iron in bars and bolts, iron in pigs, castings, nails and alum.

MARCH 3, 1819.

An act to regulate the duties on certain wines.

MAY 22, 1824.

An act to amend the several acts imposing duties on imports.

MAY 19, 1828.

An act in alteration of the several acts imposing duties on imports.

MAY 20, 1830.

An act to reduce the duties on coffee, tea and cocoa.

MAY 29, 1830.

An act to reduce the duty on molasses and to allow a drawback on spirits distilled from foreign materials. Also an act to reduce the duty on salt.

JULY 14, 1832.

An act to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports.

MARCH 2, 1833.

An act "to modify the act of the fourteenth of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and all other acts imposing duties on imports." This great and important measure, commonly called the Compromise act, provided: "That from and after the thirty-first day of December, 1833, in all cases where duties are imposed on foreign imports by the act of the fourteenth day of July, 1832, or by any other act, shall exceed twenty per centum on the value thereof, one-tenth part of such excess shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, 1835, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, 1837, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; from and after the thirty-first day of December, 1839, another tenth part thereof shall be deducted; and from and after the thirty-first day of December, 1841, one-half of the residue of such excess shall be deducted; and from and after the thirtieth day of June, 1842, the other half thereof shall be deducted."

SEPTEMBER 11, 1841.

An act relating to duties and drawbacks.

AUGUST 30, 1842.

An act "to provide revenue from imports, and to change and modify existing laws imposing duties on imports, and for other purposes."

JULY 30, 1846.

An act reducing the duty on imports and for other purposes.

MARCH 3, 1857.

An act reducing the duty on imports and for other purposes.

MARCH 2, 1861.

An act to provide for the payment of outstanding treasury notes, to authorize a loan, to regulate and fix the duties on imports and for other purposes.

AUGUST 5, 1861.

An act "to provide increased revenue from imports, to pay interest on the public debt and for other purposes." This act, which levied a direct tax on the states and territories, provided, also, for an income tax, believed to be the first ever levied by the United States government. The tax was three per cent. per annum on the excess of income over eight hundred dollars.

DECEMBER 24, 1861.

An act to increase the duties on tea, coffee and sugar.

JULY 14, 1862.

An act "increasing, temporarily, the duties on imports and for other purposes."

MARCH 13, 1863.

An act "to modify existing laws, imposing duties on imports and for other purposes."

JUNE 30, 1864.

An act to increase duties on imports and for other purposes.

MARCH 3, 1865.

An act "amendatory of certain acts imposing duties upon foreign importations."

JULY 28, 1866.

An act to protect the revenue and for other purposes.

MARCH 2, 1867.

An act to provide revenue from imported wool and for other purposes.

FEBRUARY 3, 1868.

An act "to provide for the exemption of cotton from internal tax." This act also provided that cotton imported from foreign countries on and after November 1, 1868, should be exempt from duty.

FEBRUARY 24, 1869.

An act regulating the duties on imported copper and copper ores.

JULY 14, 1870.

An act "to reduce internal taxes and for other purposes." This act also reduced the duties on numerous articles named, and also increased the free list.

MAY 1, 1872.

An act repealing the duty on tea and coffee.

JUNE 6, 1872.

An act "to reduce duties on imports, and to reduce internal taxes, and for other purposes."

MARCH 3, 1873.

An act to amend the act of June 6, 1872.

FEBRUARY 8, 1875.

An act to amend existing customs and internal revenue laws and for other purposes.

MARCH 3, 1875.

An act "to further protect the sinking fund, and provide for the exigencies of the government." This act increased the duties on imported molasses, sugars, etc.

JULY 1, 1879.

An act to put salts of quinine and sulphate of quinine on the free list.

MARCH 3, 1883.

An act to reduce internal revenue taxation and for other purposes.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.

WHILE the American colonies were yet a part of the British empire, it was but natural that the standard under which their militia moved, and that floated over their public places, was that of Great Britain, and, although minor modifications were at times made, the retention of the "union," with its two crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, marked all of them as essentially British. Yet all through the colonial period the real looseness of the tie between the colonies and the mother country was marked by a growing disposition to the use of individual colonial flags. The Connecticut troops in 1775 had their own standard, with the colony's motto, "*Qui transtulit sustinet.*" The standard of New York was marked by a black bearer; but probably all had the British "union" in some form, since the colonists at first claimed to be loyal subjects of the king, resisting only the usurpations of parliament and the ministry. It is not certain whether there was any flag in the American lines at Bunker Hill, and certainly none was captured by the British. One tradition is that there was a red flag bearing the legend, "Come if you dare;" another that the legend was, "An appeal to heaven;" and another that the flag was blue with a white union, containing the upright red cross and the pine tree. When hostilities had actually broken out, congress had so many pressing things to think of that it made no effort to fix upon a National standard, and the growth of our flag may be regarded rather as a matter of natural evolution than set design. At first the captains of privateers and the military commanders-general followed their own fancy in the use of a flag, or adopted that in use by their own state. The results may be divided into two classes—"pine tree flags" and "rattlesnake flags," the former belonging rather to New England, while the latter had some approach

to nationality. The former was generally white, with a green pine tree centre, and the legend, "An appeal to heaven;" this was formally adopted by the Massachusetts legislature in April, 1776. The rattlesnake flag was also white, with a rattlesnake, either cut into thirteen pieces, each marked with the initial of a colony, and the legend, "Join or die," below, or complete and coiled, with the legend, "Don't tread on me." Another variety, later than that described, had a ground of stripes, red and white, with a rattlesnake extended across the field. A less common flag consisted of a white ground, on which was depicted a mailed hand grasping thirteen arrows.

"The earliest suggestion of stars as a device for an American ensign," says the work quoted below,* "prior to their adoption in 1777, is found in the *Massachusetts Spy* for March 10, 1774, in a song written for the anniversary of the Boston massacre (March 5). In a flight of poetic fancy, the writer foretells the triumph of the American ensign:—

> "A ray of bright glory now beams from afar,
> The American ensign now sparkles a star
> Which shall shortly flame wide through the skies.

"The earliest known instance of the thirteen stripes being used upon an American banner is found upon a standard presented to the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse in 1775 by Captain Abraham Markoe, which is now in possession of that troop and displayed at its anniversary dinners. As General Washington, when *en route* to take command of the army at Cambridge, accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, was escorted by this troop of Light Horse from Philadelphia, June 21, 1775, to New York, he was doubtless familiar with the sight of this standard, and it is possible that it may have suggested to him the striped Union flag he raised at Cambridge six months later."

On Saturday, the fourteenth of June, 1777, the American congress "*Resolved*, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." This resolution appeared in the newspapers of August, but was not officially promulgated over the signature of the secretary of congress at Philadelphia until September 3, and at other places still later. "No record of the discussion, which must have preceded the adoption of the stars and stripes, has been preserved, and we do not know to

*Acknowledgment for much valuable information herein, is made to that valuable work, 'History of the Flag of the United States of America,' etc., by George Henry Preble, Rear-Admiral U. S. N. Boston. 1880.



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whom we are indebted for their beautiful and soul-inspiring devices. It does not appear from the record whether it was the device of a committee or of an individual, or who presented the resolve. It seems probable, however, it emanated from the marine committee, if not from a special one, and such is the tradition."

Many ingenious and beautiful theories have been advanced as to how the particular devices of the stars and the stripes came to be adopted, and as to what they were meant to signify. The stripes were by some supposed to have been borrowed from the Dutch, or perhaps from the designating stripes on the coats of the Continental soldiers. Others have believed that both stripes and stars were borrowed from the coat-of-arms of the Washington family, which contained both. One authority favors the supposition that they were thus borrowed, and believes that they were so used out of respect to the commander-in-chief. He thought also that the stars on the Washington shield might be of Roman origin, adding: "Virgil speaks of returning to the stars, *redire ad astra*, implying a home of peace and happiness; and the Romans worshiped the stars which bore the names of their gods. They also used scourges, producing stripes on the bodies of those they punished." From these symbolic antecedents we may, he says, "derive our star-bearing banner, the heaven-sent ensign of our union, freedom and independence, the stripes only to be used as a scourge to our enemies." Alfred B. Street, alluding to the flag as at first unfurled at the surrender of Burgoyne, makes use of these eloquent words: "The stars of the new flag represent a constellation of states rising in the west. The idea was taken from the constellation Lyra, which in the hands of Orpheus signified harmony. The blue of the field was taken from the edges of the Covenanters' banner in Scotland, significant also of the league and covenant of the united colonies against oppression, and involving the virtues of vigilance, perseverance and justice. The stars were disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the Union, the ring, like the circling serpent of the Egyptians, signifying eternity. The thirteen stripes showed with the stars the number of the united colonies, and denoted the subordination of the states to the Union, as well as equality among themselves. The whole was a blending of the various flags, previous to the Union flag—the red flag of the army and the white one of the floating batteries. The red color, which in Roman days was the signal of defiance, denotes daring, and the white, purity. What eloquence do the stars breathe when their full significance is

known! A new constellation, union, perpetuity, a covenant against oppression, justice, equality, subordination, courage and purity!"

There is no definite authority, despite this fine poetic description, to show that it was ever designed that the stars should be arranged in a circle, although in Trumbull's great painting, the "Surrender of Burgoyne," and in Peale's portrait of Washington, they are so arranged. The resolution of June 14, 1777, certainly gives no such direction. "Our Revolutionary fathers," explains Preble, "when originating a National flag, undoubtedly met with difficulty in finding a device at once simple, tasteful, inspiriting and easily manufactured. The number of states whose unity was to be symbolized was a stumbling-block. The stripes represented them; but what could be found to replace the crosses, emblematic of the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England, whose authority they renounced? The rattlesnake, which had been used for a time as a symbol of the necessity of union and defiance, rather than of union itself, was repulsive to many, from being akin to the tempter of our first parents and the cause of their expulsion from paradise, bearing also the curse of the Almighty.

"One of the best of the devices suggested for a union was a circle of thirteen mailed hands issuing from a cloud, and grasping as many links of an endless chain. An instance of this device exists in the flag or color of a Newburyport company, which was on exhibition in the National museum at Philadelphia in 1876. It had the addition of a pine tree in the centre of the surrounding links. A mailed hand grasping a bundle of thirteen arrows had been a device for privateers, but that was a signal of war and defiance rather than union. A round knot with thirteen floating ends was the beautiful device, signifying strength in union, of the standard of the Philadelphia Light Horse. A checkered union of blue and white, or blue and red squares, might have answered, but the odd number of the colonies prevented that or any similar device. . . . There remained then only the stars and the creation of a new constellation to represent the birth of the rising Republic. No other object, heavenly or terrestrial, could have been more appropriate. They were of like form and size, typifying the similarity of the several states, and grouped in a constellation representing their unity."

It would be a difficult thing to show who designed that emblem of the stars. The records of congress are silent upon the subject and no contemporary declaration concerning it can be discovered. It has been asked why the stars on the flag are five-pointed, while those on

the coin are, and always have been, six-pointed. The explanation is found in the fact that the designer of the coins followed the English custom, and that of the flag the European, the star having six points in the heraldic language of England, while in that of Holland, Germany and France it has five.

An interesting paper was read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1870, by Mr. William J. Canby, which throws some light upon the history of the flag and may elucidate some points heretofore largely in the dark. Mr. Canby claimed therein that his maternal grandmother, Mrs. John Ross, was the maker and partial designer of the first flag combining the stars and stripes. A committee of congress, he asserts, accompanied by General Washington, in June, 1776, called upon Mrs. Ross, who was an upholstress of Philadelphia, and engaged her to make the flag from a rough drawing, which, at her suggestion, was redrawn in pencil, by Washington, in her back parlor. The flag thus designed was adopted by congress, and was, according to this authority, the first star-spangled banner which ever floated on the breeze. Mrs. Ross received the employment of flag-making for the government and continued it for many years. Three of her daughters were living when the Canby paper was written and confirmed the statement as made them by their mother.

On the same day that congress passed the resolution designating the new flag for the new Nation, it also passed a measure by which John Paul Jones, the naval hero of the Revolution, was given command of the *Ranger* and soon after hoisted the new standard over his vessel at Portsmouth. He did not get to sea for some five months later, but when off proceeded to Nantes, which he reached in a month's sailing, and proceeded from thence to Quiberon bay, convoying some American vessels and placing them under the convoy and protection of the French fleet commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet, from whom, after some correspondence, Jones succeeded in obtaining the first salute ever paid by a foreign naval power to the American flag. The story is told as follows, by Jones himself, in a letter to the naval committee, under date of February 22, 1778:

"I am happy to have it in my power to congratulate on my having seen the American flag, for the first time, recognized in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France. I was off this bay on the thirteenth instant and sent my boat in the next day to know if the admiral would return my salute. He answered that he would return to me, as the senior American continental officer in Europe, the

same salute as he was authorized to return to an admiral of Holland or any other republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this, for I had demanded gun for gun. Therefore I anchored in the entrance of the bay at a distance from the French fleet, but after a very particular inquiry, on the fourteenth, finding that he really told the truth, I was induced to accept his offer, the more *as it was an acknowledgment of American independence.*

"The wind being contrary and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the *Ranger* was near enough to salute La Motte Piquet with thirteen guns, which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the *Independence* to salute until the next morning, when I sent word to the admiral that I would sail through his fleet in the brig, and salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleasant and returned the compliment also with nine guns."

Jones, also, in his letter to the American commissioner at Paris, dated Brest, May 27, 1778, mentions that in the action between the *Ranger* and the *Drake*, on the twenty-fourth of the preceding April, when the latter hoisted the English colors, "the *American stars* were displayed on board the *Ranger*." This is the first recorded action under the new flag.

Some uncertainty exists as to the exact date upon which the new flag began its career of glory and victory upon the land. One authority declares that the first military incident connected with it occurred on the second of August, 1777, when Lieutenants Bird and Brant invested Fort Stanwix, then commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort. The garrison was without a flag when the enemy appeared, but their patriotism and ingenuity soon supplied one in conformity to the pattern just adopted by the Continental congress. Shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, bits of scarlet cloth were joined for the red, and the blue ground for the stars was composed of a cloth cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout of Dutchess county, who was then in the fort. Before sunset this curious mosaic standard, as precious to the beleaguered garrison as the most beautifully wrought flag of silk and needle-work, was floating over one of the bastions. The siege was raised on the twenty-second of August, but we are not told what became of the improvised flag. The narrative of Colonel Marinus Willett gives a different version of the story. He says: "The fort had never been supplied with a flag. The necessity of having one, upon the arrival of the enemy, taxed the invention of the garrison and a

decent one was soon contrived. The white stripes were cut out of ammunition shirts, furnished by the soldiers; the blue out of the camlet cloak taken from the enemy at Peekskill, while the red stripes were made of different pieces of stuff procured from one and another of the garrison." The same official, in a statement made to Governor Trumbull under date of August 21, 1777, mentions as one of the results of his sally from the fort on the sixth, that he captured and brought off five of the enemy's colors, the whole of which, on his return to the fort, were displayed on the flag-staff under the impromptu made continental flag.

In a paper read before the New Jersey Historical society, this claim was set forth: "From traditional reports in circulation here, the first time that our National flag was used after the enactment concerning it by congress, was by General Washington, in the hurried and critical stand made by him on the banks of the Assanpink, when he repulsed Cornwallis, January 2, 1777. As this conflict was the turning point, in connection with what succeeded at Princeton, of the struggle for independence, and the glorious consequences which followed, does not this signal baptism of the stars and stripes, with the hope and confidence regenerated by it, seem providential? Freedom's vital spark was then rekindled, and our country and the whole civilized world are now illumined with its beams."

But the tradition must be in error in this case, as the occurrence recited took place a full half year before the stars and stripes were adopted. It is true that Lentze, in his great picture of Washington crossing the Delaware, has painted Colonel Munroe in the boat holding the stars and stripes, but perhaps the license of the artist was invoked in his aid.

Beyond a doubt, as Preble declares, the thirteen stars and thirteen stripes were unfurled at the battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, eight days after the official promulgation of them at Philadelphia, and at Germantown on the fourth of October following; they witnessed the operations against and the surrender of Burgoyne, after the battle of Saratoga, October 17, 1777, and the sight of this new constellation helped to cheer the patriots of the army amid their sufferings around the camp-fires at Valley Forge the ensuing winter. They waved triumphant at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, September 19, 1781; looked down upon the evacuation of New York, November 25, 1783, and shared in all the glories of the latter days of the Revolution.

In 1794, in consequence of the admission of Vermont and Kentucky

into the sisterhood of the Union, an act was passed increasing the stars and stripes on the flag from thirteen to fifteen, although the change was not to go into effect until May, 1795. The bill was approved on January 13, and declared, "that from and after the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be fifteen stars, white in a blue field." The admission of the states of Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana made another change necessary, and accordingly, on the admission of Indiana in 1816, a resolution was offered in congress, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States." In consequence a committee was appointed, and on January 2, 1817, reported a bill which was not acted upon. While the committee had the matter under consideration, Mr. Wendover, who had offered the bill, called upon Captain S. C. Reid, then in Washington, and asked him to make a design for the flag which would represent the increase of the states without destroying its distinctive character, the committee being disposed to increase both stars and stripes to twenty, the whole number of states then belonging to the Union.

Captain Reid's suggestion was that the stripes be reduced to thirteen, to represent the original states, and the stars to be increased to the number of all the states, formed into one great star, "whose brilliancy should represent their union," and thus symbolize in the flag the origin and progress of the country and its motto, "*E Pluribus Unum.*" He also proposed there should be the addition of a star for each state named.

A report to that effect was accordingly made by the committee, but no action was taken by congress at that session. In December, 1817, the question was once more brought up, and in January, 1818, another report was made to the same effect as that recited above. Accordingly, on April 4, 1818, a law was approved which declared as follows:

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted*, etc., That from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the union have twenty stars, white in a blue field.

"Section 2. *And be it further enacted*, That on the admission of every new state to the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission."

This act unfortunately neglected to fix the arrangement of stars in

the union, which has been very capricious, sometimes in straight lines, sometimes in a star, sometimes in concentric circles and sometimes scattered at random.

The main features in connection with the National banner may be thus summarized: 1777–94, thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, the latter generally in a circle; 1794–1818, fifteen stripes and fifteen stars, the latter generally in three straight lines; 1818 to 1888, thirteen stripes, and the stars to correspond with the number of states in the Union. The revenue flag, by act of March 2, 1799, and the circular of the secretary of the treasury, August 1, consisted of sixteen perpendicular red and white stripes, with the arms of the United States in blue on a white field as a union. This was changed in 1871 by subsitutting thirteen blue stars on a white ground as a union.

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

When the Confederate congress met at Montgomery in the troubled days of 1861, the subject of a flag was discussed with considerable feeling. A number of models for a new banner was presented. One, presented by some women of Charleston, was composed of a blue cross on a red field, with seven stars—similar to the flag of South Carolina. Another, suggested by a gentleman of the same city, consisted of a cross with fifteen stars. A committee of one delegate from each state was appointed to report upon a device for a National flag and a seal. Mr. Brooke of Mississippi offered a resolution to instruct the committee to report a design as similar as possible to that of the United States, making only such changes as should give them distinction. He even went so far in his eulogy of the old banner as to cause his associates in rebellion to rebuke him for utterances which savored of treason to the Confederacy. W. P. Miles of South Carolina, chairman of the committee, protested against the resolution and the utterances of the member, and declared that he "gloried more, a thousand times, in the palmetto flag of his state." Mr. Brooke withdrew his motion. The committee made an elaborate report, in which they declared that they did not share in any sentimental attachment to the stars and stripes, yet recommended a flag very similar to it. It was to consist of a red field with a white space extending horizontally through the centre and equal in width to one-third the width of the flag; the field of the union was blue, extending from the top to the bottom of

the white stripe and stopping at the lower red stripe. In the centre of the union was a circle of white stars, corresponding in number to the states of the Confederacy. It was, in fact, the old flag—red, white and blue—with three "alternate stripes, red and white," instead of thirteen such stripes. This banner was first displayed in public, over the state-house at Montgomery, on March 4, 1861.

A curious proposition, mainly valuable as suggesting a phase of the temper of the times, was made in the early days of rebellion, in behalf of a peaceful division of the flag, giving one-half to the north and one-half to the south. It was advanced by no less a personage than Professor S. B. Morse, the originator of the electro-magnetic telegraph, the president of the American Society for the Promotion of National Union. While war was yet confined to threatening and irritating words between the two sections of the country, he suggested two methods by which sectional differences might be adjusted without bloodshed, and stated them in a paper drawn up when the project of a flag for the south was under discussion in the journals of that section. His main propositions, which embodied a temporary separation, that a reunion might be afterwards secured when the north and south should find their real need of each other, can be passed by, and only his proposal as to a division of the flag be considered. "The southern section," he declared, "is now agitating the question of a device for their distinctive flag. Cannot this question of flags be so settled as to aid in a future union? I think it can. If the country can be divided, why not the flag? The stars and the stripes is the flag in which we all have a deep and self-same interest. It is hallowed by the common victories of our several wars. We all have sacred associations clustering around it in common, and, therefore, if we must be two nations, neither nation can lay exclusive claim to it without manifest injustice and offense to the other. Neither will consent to throw it aside altogether for a new and strange device, with no associations of the past to hallow it. The most obvious solution of the difficulties which spring up in this respect is to *divide* the old flag, giving half to each. It may be done, and in a manner to have a salutary *moral* effect upon both parties.

"Let the blue union be diagonally divided, from left to right, or right to left, and the thirteen stripes longitudinally, so as to make six and a half stripes in the upper and six and a half stripes in the lower portion. Referring to it as on a map, the upper portion being north and the lower portion being south, we have the upper diagonal



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division of the blue field and the upper six and a half stripes for the *northern flag*, and the lower six and a half stripes for the *southern flag*, the portion of the blue field in each flag to contain the stars to the number of states embraced in each confederacy. The reasons for such divisions are obvious: It prevents all dispute on a claim for the old flag by either confederacy. It is *distinctive;* for the two cannot be mistaken for each other, either at sea or at a distance on land. Each being a moiety of the old flag, will retain something, at least, of the sacred memories of the past for the sober reflection of each confederacy. And then, if a war with some foreign nation, or combination of nations, should unhappily occur (all wars being unhappy), under our treaty of offense and defense the two separate flags, by natural affinity, would clasp fittingly together, and the glorious old flag of the Union, in its entirety, would again be hoisted, once more embracing all the sister states. Would not this division of the old flag thus have a more salutary effect inclining to union? Will there not also be felt a sense of shame when either flag is seen by citizens of either confederacy? Will it not speak to them of the divisions which have separated members of the same household, and will not the *why* be forced from their lips? Why is the old flag divided? And when once the old time-honored banner, bequeathed to us by our honored ancestors of every state, shall be flung to the breeze in its original integrity, as the rallying-point for a common defense, will not a shout of welcome, going up from the Rio Grande to Maine, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, rekindle in patriotic hearts in both confederacies a fraternal yearning for the old Union?"

Despite the ingenious conciliation of this plea, neither north nor south was moved to the division asked for. The spirit of the one was shown in the debates at Montgomery above referred to, while that of the north was made apparent all along that bloody pathway that had Sumter for its beginning and Appomattox for its close.

THE SEAL AND ARMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

ON July 4, 1776, the very day upon which the immortal declaration for freedom was made by the congress sitting at Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a great seal for the United States of America. Du Simitiere, a French West Indian, a painter of portraits, etc., was called to their assistance, and proposed a device showing on a shield the arms of the nations from whence America was peopled, with a figure of liberty on one side and an American rifleman on the other, for supporters. Dr. Franklin proposed for the device Moses lifting his wand and dividing the Red sea, and Pharaoh and his chariot overwhelmed with the waters. For a motto he suggested the grand words of Cromwell, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God." Adams proposed "The Choice of Hercules," as engraved by Gribelin: the hero resting on a club; Virtue pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand, and persuading him to ascend; and Sloth, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground, displaying the charms both of her eloquence and person to seduce him into vice. Jefferson proposed "The Children of Israel in the Wilderness," led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; and on the other side "Hengist and Horsa," the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim descent, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed.

At the request of the other members of the committee, Mr. Jefferson attempted to combine the several ideas in one, and did so in a report that was made to congress on August 10, 1776, but that was not adopted. Other reports were made and various devices proposed, but no action was taken until, on the twentieth of June,

1782, the secretary of the United States, to whom was referred the several reports of committees on the seal, reported a device which was adopted as the great seal of the United States of America. The description thereof can be given as follows:

"Arms. Paleways, of thirteen pieces, argent and gules, a chief azure. The escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle, displayed proper, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with this motto, '*E Pluribus Unum.*'

"For the crest. Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, or, breaking through a cloud proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent on an azure field.

"Reverse. A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith, an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory proper. Over the eye these words, '*Annuit Cœptis.*' On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters, MDCCLXXVI., and underneath the following motto, '*Novus Ordo Seclorum.*'"

The interpretation of these devices was given as follows: "The escutcheon is composed of the chief and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries. The thirteen pieces paly represent the several states in the Union, all joined in one—solid, compact, entire—supporting a chief, which unites the whole and represents congress. The motto alludes to the Union. The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief, and the chief depends on that Union, and the strength resulting from it, for its support, to denote the Confederacy of the United States of America and the preservation of their union through congress. The colors of these pales and those used in the flag of the United States of America: white signifies purity and innocence; red, hardiness and valor, and blue, the color of the chief, signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The olive branch and arrows denote the power of peace and war, which is exclusively vested in congress. The crest or constellation denotes a new state taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers; the escutcheon is borne on the breast of the American eagle, without any other supporters, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue.

"Reverse. The pyramid signifies strength and duration; the eye over it and the motto allude to the many and signal interpositions of Providence in favor of the American cause. The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence; and the words under it

signify the beginning of the new American era, which commences from that date."

The mottoes, "*Annuit Cœptis*" ("God has favored the undertaking") and "*Novus Ordo Seclorum*" ("A new series of ages"), denote that a new order of things had commenced in the western hemisphere. The eye of Providence in a triangle on the reverse of the seal as adopted, and the motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*," formed a part of the device reported by the committee August 10, 1776. The crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars, breaking through a cloud proper, was on the devices and reports of 1779 and 1780. The thirteen red and white stripes on the shield were also then suggested, but placed diagonally. The state of New York had taken the eagle on the crest of its arms more than four years earlier. In the great seal, only the side containing the arms of the Union is used.

It has not been definitely ascertained from whence came the motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*." It has been suggested by Dr. Lieber that as at the time of the Revolution the Gentleman's Magazine had a popular circulation in the colonies, the motto may have been adopted from that on the title-page of that serial. The title to the first volume of the magazine for 1731, forty-five years previous to the adoption of the motto on our arms, has the device of a hand grasping a bunch of flowers, and the motto above given.

A writer in Lippincott's Magazine for February, 1868, traces the origin of the motto to a Latin poem ascribed to Virgil. He says: "Perhaps in the minds of those who first chose it to express the peculiar character of our government, it had no definite origin. It may have been manufactured for the occasion. Certainly, when it was first used, in the report of the committee of congress, August 7, 1776, as the epigraph of the public seal, it was a phrase too familiar or too plain to need explanation or authority. But whether remembered, or reinvented on that occasion, almost the exact words occur in a Latin poem called 'Moretum,' ascribed to Virgil, but which is not usually found in his collected works. It is a vivid description of an ancient Italian peasant's morning meal, with incidental suggestions of his mode of life generally. The 'Moretum' is a species of pottage made of herbs and cheese, which, with the help of his servants, he concocts before dawn; he grinds up the various materials with a pestle. Then says the poet:

'It matus in gyrum, paullatum
Singula vivres,
Dependunt propries; color est E
Pluribus Unus!'"

THE PRESIDENT'S SEAL.

At the same time that the seal of the United States was adopted, congress ordered a smaller seal for the use of the president of congress. It was a small oval, about an inch in length, the centre covered with clouds surrounding a blue sky, on which were seen thirteen stars arranged to form a six-pointed star. Over this device was the National motto. This seal was used by all the presidents of the Continental congresses. The seal of the President of the United States is now round, with an eagle upon it.

THE DEPARTMENT SEALS.

Each department of the National government has its special official seal, about the size of that of the United States, which is attached to all commissions and important documents emanating from the department to which it belongs.

Post-office Department.—Under the National government, Samuel Osgood of Massachusetts was appointed the first postmaster-general, and the rude wood-cut of a post-rider, which had been used by Franklin on his circular, became the device on the seal of the department, and it is retained to this day as such, with the words around it, "Post-office Department, United States of America."

Navy Department.—On the twenty-sixth of September, 1788, congress appointed a committee, consisting of John Witherspoon, Gouverneur Morris and Richard Henry Lee, to prepare a seal for the treasury and for the navy. On the fourth of May, 1779, they reported as a device an escutcheon, on which was a chevron with a blue field above it, and thirteen perpendicular alternate red and white bars in the chevron. Below the chevron was a reclining anchor, proper, on a white or silver field; the crest was a ship under sail; the motto, "*Sustentans et Sustentatum;*" the legend, "U. S. A. Sigil. Naval," with thirteen stars to complete the circle of the seal. This seal was used until 1798, when, in the spring of that year, a regular navy department was established, and Benjamin Stodert of Maryland was appointed the first secretary of the navy. Then the old continental naval seal was laid aside, and another, similar to the one now in use, was adopted. In place of the chevron with bars, a large space of the face of the seal is covered with a spread-eagle. The ship and the anchor are retained, but not the heraldic

posture. The motto and stars are omitted and the legend is, "Navy Department, United States of America."

War Department.—In 1778 a seal was adopted for the board of war, having for its device a group of military trophies, with the Phrygian cap, the emblem of freedom, between a spear and a musket; over this was a serpent. Beneath the trophies was the date, "MDCCLXXVIII." Around the seal were the words, "Board of War and Ordnance, United States of America." This was the origin of the present seal of the war department, which bears precisely the same device. The date is omitted. Within the curve of the serpent are the words, "Will Defend," and around the seal the legend, "United States of America. War Office."

Treasury Department.—Congress ordered a seal to be prepared for this department, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1778, at the same time that one was directed for the navy department, and the device then adopted for the continental treasury seal has been continued in use by the treasury department up to the present time. It consists of a white or silver shield divided by a chevron studded with thirteen stars. In the field above the chevron an evenly balanced pair of scales, and in the field below the chevron a key; surrounding the shield is the legend, "Thesaur.*Amer.*Septent.* Sigil.*

State Department.—The device on the seal of the state department is an eagle volant, bearing in its beak the motto, "*E Pluribus Unum*," and over its head the constellation of thirteen stars. On its breast is the American shield, the blue field of the upper portion likewise studded with thirteen stars. In the right claw of the eagle is an olive branch and in the left a bundle of arrows with the points downward. Below the eagle is a wreath of oak leaves, and around the upper part of the seal the legend, "Department of State."

Department of the Interior.—The device on the seal of this department is an eagle just ready to soar, resting on a sheaf of grain, with olive branch and arrows in its talons. Over the eagle, and around the upper edge of the seal, the legend, "Department of the Interior."

Department of Justice.—The seal of this department is an eagle resting on a prone National shield, with olive branch and arrows in its talons. Below the eagle, in a semicircle, is the motto, "*Qui pro Domina Justitia Sequitur*," and around the outer rim of the seal the legend, "Attorney-General of the United States."

LIBERTY EMBLEMS.

THE LIBERTY CAP.

THE cap seen upon our coins and used elsewhere as one of our National emblems, had a remarkably indicative origin, and has held its original meaning all through history. It is of ancient origin. The Bryges, a warlike people from the southwest shores of the Euxine, conquered the east of Asia Minor, which they called Brigia, afterwards changed to Phrygia. This people distinguished themselves from the primitive inhabitants by wearing their national cap as a sign of their independence, and it was also stamped upon their coins. The Romans, who borrowed something of all the nations which they conquered, or with which they came in contact, adopted the cap also as an emblem, and when a slave was manumitted, placed a small red cap on his head, proclaimed him as a freedman and registered him as such. When Cæsar was murdered, the conspirators raised a Phrygian cap on a spear, as a token of liberty. The goddess of liberty, on the Aventine mount, held in her hand a cap, the symbol of freedom. In France, during the troubled times of the great Revolution, a red cap was worn as a signal of equality and freedom. In England the same idea is expressed by a blue cap with a white border; and Britannia is represented as holding such a cap at the end of a spear. The American cap of liberty has been adopted from the British, and is blue, with a border or bottom on which are thirteen stars. One of the earliest recorded expressions touching this emblem on this side of the sea, was the following:

"Philadelphia, August 31, 1775. At a meeting of the committee of safety held this day, *Resolved*, That Owen Biddle provide a seal for the use of the board, about the size of a dollar, with a cap of liberty, with this motto: 'This is my right, and I will defend it.'"

THE LIBERTY-CAP CENT.

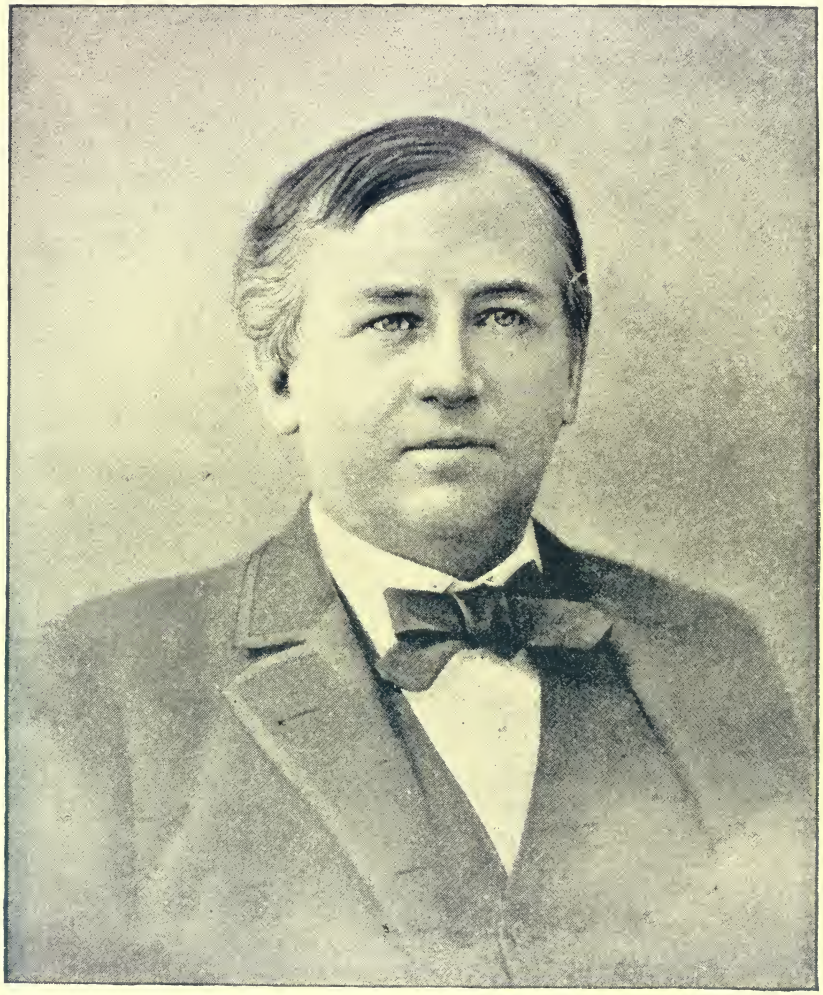
It was about three years after a mint for the coinage of money for the United States was authorized that the act went into operation, and in the interval several of the coins called "specimens," now so scarce, were struck. Among the most rare is the "liberty-cap cent," having a profile and the name of Washington on one side, and on the other a liberty-cap in the centre, with rays of light emanating from it, and the words around them, "Success to the United States."

LIBERTY TREE.

Liberty tree, in Boston, was a venerable elm similar to some now seen upon the famous Common of that city. It stood at a point which is now the corner of Washington and Essex streets, opposite the Boylston market. It received this distinguished name from the fact that under its shadows the association of the Sons of Liberty held their meetings during the summer of 1765, and adopted measures in opposition to the Stamp act. After that, meetings were frequently held there, until they were prohibited by the British authorities, in 1775. In August of that year the obnoxious tree was cut down by order of the British commander, when a soldier, who was in its branches, was killed by the fall. The tree itself had borne the inscription, "Liberty Tree," while the space under it was called "Liberty Hall." The *Essex Gazette* of August 31, 1775, says of its downfall: "They made a furious attack upon it. After a long spell of laughing and grinning, sweating, swearing and foaming, with malice diabolical, they cut down the tree because it bore the name of liberty."

THE SONS OF LIBERTY.

As early as 1735, the radical opponents of the royal governors were called "Sons of Liberty," but the name was not often heard until after the memorable speech in the house of commons (in 1765) of Colonel Barre, against the taxation of the Americans. In reply to Charles Townshend's assertion that the colonies had been cared for and nourished into strength by the indulgence of the British government, Barre entered a denial, declaring that care was exercised in sending unfit persons as governors to rule over them, "men whose



JOHN WANAMAKER.

behaviour on many occasions had caused the blood of these Sons of Liberty to recoil within them." The associated patriots in America instantly assumed the name thus happily bestowed. They were chiefly ardent young men who loved excitement, but at the same time were truly patriotic. Many persons of consideration and influence, who favored their cause, still kept aloof from them, from reasons of prudence. Their first business seemed to be the intimidation of stamp distributors, and to oppose the Stamp act in every possible way; but they finally spread over the colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia, and became the most radical leaders in the great conflict then fully under way. Famous among them were the seven described below.

THE SEVEN SONS OF LIBERTY.

The seven Sons of Liberty are: Isaac Sears, Casper Wistar, Alexander McDougall, Jacob Van Zandt, Samuel Broome, Erasmus Williams and James Varick. These were the committee that carried to the house of the New York assembly the communication of fourteen hundred people, who assembled around the liberty pole in New York city, Monday, December 17, 1769, which denounced the action of the assembly in passing obnoxious bills. The house declared the paper an infamous and scandalous libel. When the vote was taken, twenty of the pliant assembly voted that it was so and only one member voted no. That member was Philip Schuyler. Alexander McDougall was arrested as the author of the paper. He was sent to prison, and in February, 1771, was released and was never afterward molested. "I rejoice," said McDougall, when ordered to prison, "that I am the first to suffer for liberty since the commencement of our glorious struggle."

LIBERTY POLES.

The Sons of Liberty, in their aggressive campaign for the rights of the people, erected tall flag-staffs, with the cap of liberty on the top, as rallying-places in the open air. Erected first in the cities, they soon made their appearance in country places in many directions. On the king's birthday, June 4, 1766, great rejoicings were witnessed in New York on account of the repeal of the Stamp act. Governor Sir Henry Moore presided at a public dinner at the King's Arms, near the foot

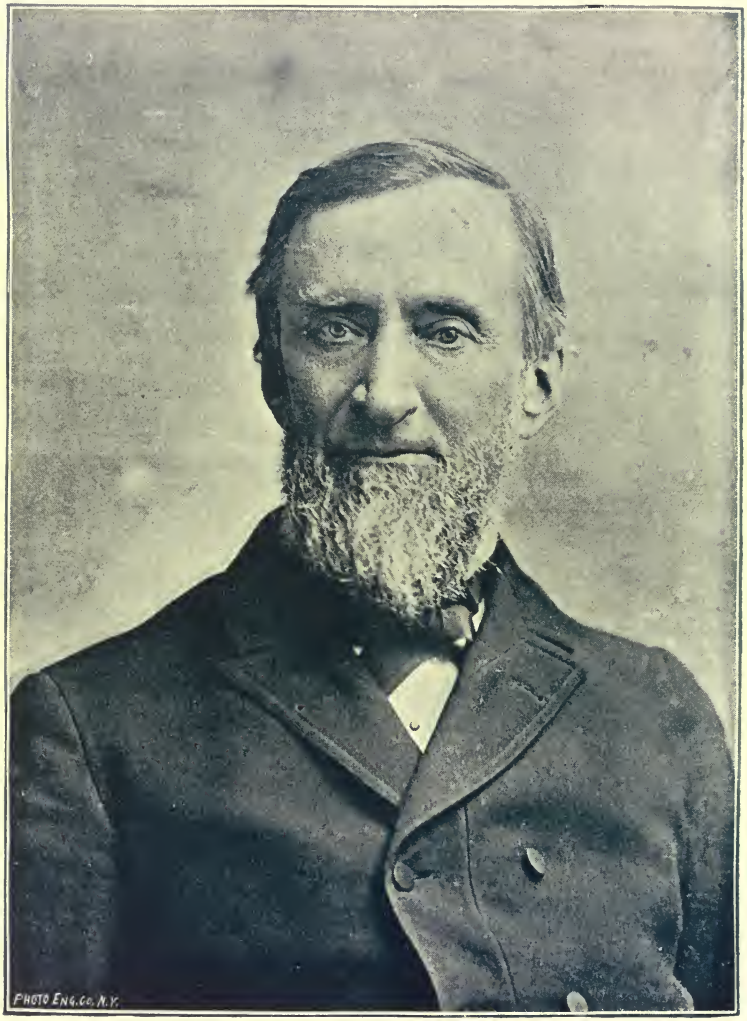
of Broadway, surrounded by those who supported the cause of the crown. On the same day the Sons of Liberty feasted at their headquarters at Montague's, on Broadway near Murry street, and, by permission of the governor, erected a mast, which afterwards they called a liberty pole, between the site of the city hall and Broadway, in front of Warren street, on which were inscribed the words, "To his Most Gracious Majesty, George III., Mr. Pitt and Liberty." British soldiers were then in the city. The doings of the Sons of Liberty so annoyed the officers of the crown that thirty-six days after the liberty pole was erected with so much harmony, it was cut down by the troops. The people reërected it the next evening in the face of the troops. A little more than a month afterwards the soldiers again prostrated it, and again the people upraised it, and from its top they flung the British banner to the breeze. The next spring the people met at the "mast" to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal (March 18), and inaugurated it by erecting a "liberty pole," which the soldiery cut down that night. The people again erected it, bound it with hoops of iron and placed a guard there. When soldiers came with loaded muskets, fired two random shots into the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty (Montague's) and attempted to drive the people away, fearful retaliation would have followed but for the repression of aggressive acts by the soldiers by order of the governor. On the king's birthday, 1767, the soldiers made an unsuccessful attempt to prostrate the liberty pole; but at midnight, June 16, 1770, armed men came from the barracks, hewed it down, sawed it in pieces and piled it in front of Montague's. The perpetrators were discovered, the bells of St. George's chapel in Beekman street were rung, and early the next morning, three thousand people stood around the stump of the pole. They then passed strong resolutions declaring their determination to maintain their liberties at all hazards. For three days intense excitement continued, and in frequent affrays with the citizens the soldiers were worsted. A severe conflict occurred on Golden hill (Cliff street, between Fulton street and Maiden lane), when several of the soldiers were disarmed. Quiet was soon restored. The people erected another pole upon ground purchased on Broadway near Warren street, and this fifth liberty pole remained untouched as a rallying-place for the Whigs until the British took possession of the city in 1776, when the notorious provost-marshal, Cunningham (who, it is said, had been whipped at its foot), had it hewed down.

THE OLD LIBERTY BELL.

This venerable relic of stirring days, that has been seen with wonder and veneration by millions of Americans, has a history that is well worth preservation. On the completion of the Pennsylvania state-house at Philadelphia, a clock had been supplied and set at the west end of the building. In 1734 measures were taken to secure a bell, and in 1750 one was ordered. A committee was appointed by the Freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, with Peter Norris as chairman, and empowered and authorized to have a bell cast. In the same year the order was given to Robert Charles of London, England, the specifications being that the bell should weigh about two thousand pounds and cost £100 sterling; it was to be made by the best workmen; to be examined carefully before being shipped, and to contain in well-shaped letters around it the inscription: "By order of the Province of Philadelphia, 1752." An order was given to place underneath this the unconsciously prophetic words from Leviticus xxv. 10: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." In selecting the text the good Quakers had in memory the arrival of William Penn and their forefathers about half a century before. In August, 1752, it arrived, but although in apparent good order, it was cracked by a stroke of the clapper, while it was being tested, on its way to the state-house. It could not be sent back, as the captain of the vessel who had brought it over could not again take it on board. At this point, two skilled artisans of Philadelphia, Messrs. Pass and Stow, undertook to recast the bell. But the second attempt resulted in a defective bell; and yet another trial was made. It was a success this time, and was placed in position in 1753; and it was its voice that was heard on that memorable July 4, 1776, telling the people that the Declaration of Independence had at last been made.

Upon the approach of the British to Philadelphia in 1777, this bell and that of Christ church were taken down and buried in the Delaware, to keep them from falling into the hands of the foe; and in this condition they remained from 1777 till the close of the Revolution, when they were put in their old places. Again, in 1781, the liberty bell was placed in the brick tower of the state-house, below the original belfry, which being of wood had become decayed. For more than fifty years the bell participated in the celebration of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when it was cracked

while ringing. An effort was made to restore its tone by sawing the crack wider, but it was unsuccessful. A new steeple and a new bell were put up in 1828. For many years the old bell remained in silent dignity in the tower, when it was taken down and placed on a platform in Independence hall. In 1887 it was loaned to the great exposition of New Orleans, and made the journey to and from that city in safety, and amid the patriotic plaudits of the people of north and south.



REDFIELD PROCTOR.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

WHEN the United States, by the treaty of 1803, acquired the Louisiana territory, its extent was vaguely defined as the territory which Spain had ceded to France in the treaty of San Ildefonso. In consequence, Spain claimed the Sabine river as her eastern boundary and the United States claimed the Rio Grande river as her western boundary, thus overlapping in a double claim the Texan territory, which lay between them. The controversy was apparently settled by the cession of the Texan territory to Spain in 1819, when Florida was ceded to the United States; but each nation was on the alert and colonization was encouraged from both sides, emigrants from the United States being principally from the south, and carrying, as a matter of course, their slaves with them.

In 1821 Mexico declared herself free from all allegiance to Spain, and two years later the first large colony of American settlers was led into Texas by Stephen F. Austin. At this time the Mexican government, in a burst of political sagacity, united Coahuila, a purely Mexican province, and Texas, largely settled by Americans, into one province, to be governed by Mexican officers. This proved a most unwise arrangement; the Texan colonists were subjected to continual annoyance by the Mexican officials and their dastardly agents, the outlaws and criminals who called themselves "Regulators." In 1830 Bustamante, the Mexican president, passed an act excluding American colonists from the Texas territory. But one step remained to the American settlers, who now numbered over twenty thousand—separation from Coahuila and from the Mexican government altogether. In 1833 Stephen Austin was sent to Mexico to effect the separation of Texas and Coahuila, but finding his efforts fruitless, he

wrote back to Texas to advise a forcible separation. In consequence of this letter, he was put under arrest by the Mexican government, and imprisoned for several months at Saltillo. All things began to look toward a revolution; but the crafty Santa Anna, seeing what the outcome of events must be, beguiled the colonists with promises of better things, and delayed their action until he had quietly gathered his troops into the state, and then offered them the alternative of peaceful submission or open war. The latter was their choice. Committees of safety were at once appointed, and with Colonel Stephen Austin, who was now released from prison, as their commander-in-chief, preparations were made for war. The first engagement took place at Gonzales, October 2, 1835. On October 9 the Texans captured Goliad; then followed the action at Concepcion, and on November 12 a provisional government was formed, Henry Smith being chosen governor and General Sam Houston succeeding Austin, who saw fit to resign his commission as commander-in-chief. General Houston's first great success was the capture of San Antonio de Bexar, with the surrender of fourteen hundred Mexicans, who were sent to Mexico, thereby freeing Texas from an armed Mexican force.

But Santa Anna, determined to punish General Houston for his success at San Antonio, gathered a force of seventy-five hundred Mexicans, and commanding it in person, started for San Antonio. Not far from San Antonio stood the Alamo, a strong fort, formerly a Spanish mission, now in command of Colonel W. B. Travis and James Bowie, with one hundred and fifty-six men, among whom was the famous David Crockett. To this Santa Anna laid siege with a force of from four to six thousand men. For eleven days he bombarded it, and the final assault was made on March 6. It was resolved by Santa Anna that the assault should be made in the early dawn. It was a horrible butchery. The struggle was made up of a series of separate and desperate combats, often hand to hand, between squads of the garrison and bodies of the invaders. There was no retreat from point to point; each group of defenders had to fight and die in the den in which it was brought to bay. Out of the entire garrison but three persons were spared—one woman, a child and a servant. The terrors of the Alamo were followed by the still more brutal butchery of Colonel Fannin and his men at Goliad, after they had surrendered to Santa Anna.

While these atrocities were being committed in the cause of freedom, the Texans had held a convention, and on the seventeenth of March,

1836, had solemnly declared "that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas do now constitute a free, sovereign and independent republic, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations." The convention also elected David G. Burnett president *ad interim* of the republic, and Lorenzo de Zavala, a patriot Mexican exile, vice-president, together with a cabinet of five members. But a still more severe and decisive struggle awaited the new-born republic before it could maintain its independence. After the massacre of the Alamo, General Houston, in order to scatter and divide the Mexican troops, had retreated with eight hundred men, little by little, to San Jacinto, Santa Anna following closely with fifteen hundred men. Here was fought, on April 21, the decisive battle of the war. In spite of the large number of their forces, the Mexicans were utterly defeated, half of their army being taken prisoners, among whom was Santa Anna himself. General Houston, who was himself wounded in this battle, resigned his command, and in the following September was elected president of the republic. In May, 1836, while Burnett was still president, commissioners had been sent to Washington to effect the recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States, and at the same time to ask consideration of a proposition from the new republic to be admitted into the Union. Calhoun had already expressed himself as in favor of both propositions. During the entire summer these questions were widely and openly discussed both in the United States and in Texas. There was little objection to recognizing the independence of Texas, providing it was in a condition to fulfill the duties of an independent state. Strangely enough, however, President Jackson urged caution even in this measure. It was not the province of the United States, he said, to pass judgment in this manner on the controversy between Mexico and Texas, and he advised that recognition be delayed at least until such time as Texas had displayed, in the most undoubted manner, its ability to insist upon its independence. But congress professed to recognize that Texas had already given sufficient evidence of her capacity to do so, and on the first of March, 1837, adopted a formal resolution of recognition. During the period of discussion as to the expediency of her annexation, Texas was maintaining but a feeble and troubled existence. She was deeply in debt and could no longer borrow. Her paper was almost worthless; her taxes were unpaid; she had no army, no navy, and not

even a handful of troops to protect the frontier. There were practically no laws, because there was no post-office to convey intelligence of what congress was doing. There were no jails, and the punishment of criminals had to be left to heaven or to Judge Lynch. "We are at the lowest round of the ladder," wrote the *Austin City Gazette* in 1840.

In their wish for annexation the Texans were almost unanimous, but on this question the voice of congress and of the country at large was divided. The north opposed annexation because it would increase the area and political strength of the slave power, and because it would eventually lead to a war with Mexico. For the former reason, the south and the southern members of congress were anxious that Texas should be made a state as soon as possible.

In 1844 the Presidential election turned on the question of annexation or no annexation, Henry Clay being the candidate of the Whig party and James K. Polk of the Democratic. It was this question also which lost Van Buren a second nomination at this time. Van Buren's friends had made strong demonstrations in favor of his renomination, and the chances are that he might have won it if he had not so openly avowed his opposition to the annexation of Texas.

So positive and unmistakable a verdict had thus been given in favor of annexation in the election of Polk, that congress could hesitate no longer. Before President Polk took his seat, a resolution which had come up at the previous session, and had then been rejected, was adopted by congress, and on the last day of his term of office, President Tyler sent a message to the Texan government, with a copy of the joint resolution of congress in favor of annexation. These were considered by a Texan convention called for the purpose of forming a state constitution, who approved the measure on July 4, 1845, thus constituting Texas one of the states of the Union.



WILLIAM WINDOM.

WASHINGTON, THE CINCINNATUS OF THE WEST.

IN all the pages of ancient history there is no character that stands out in so simple and dignified lines as that of Cincinnatus. The story is a familiar one. In one of the numerous wars between the Romans and the Aequians, the Roman general, Minucius, by a series of rash exploits, put his army into such a position that they were completely hemmed in by the enemy. Five horsemen who managed to escape carried the news of their disaster to Rome, and the senate in alarm sent messengers to Cincinnatus, a noble patriot and former consul, who had retired from affairs of state to his little farm on the banks of the Tiber, begging him to come and save the state, as its dictator. When the messengers reached Cincinnatus, they found him engaged in plowing his fields. Breathless, they told him that the supreme command of the imperiled state had been put into his hands. Without a word, the noble old Roman reached out his hand for his toga, put it about his shoulders and followed his messengers to Rome. In three days he had collected an army with which he went out against the enemy, and "hewed them hip and thigh." The battle was short, and in twenty-four hours after leaving Rome, he reëntered with a conquered army in chains at his side. He had saved his country, and turning aside with his hand the crown they would have placed upon his head, "I must needs see after my plowing," he said, and withdrew to his little farm on the Tiber.

Between the character of Cincinnatus and that of Washington there is more than a fanciful parallel. And not alone in the characters, but in the careers of these two simply great men, is there a striking likeness. Cincinnatus had been a successful general and was made

consul. Washington led his country through the darkest and most perilous hours of its existence, and was given the highest honors it was in the power of the country to offer. But Cincinnatus was glad to lay aside the power of the consulate, and retire to the simple freedom of his country home. And perhaps in all Washington's strongly marked character, no trait is more prominent than his love for his country life and his longing to get back to it. In all the hardships of his army life, borne so unflinchingly that one forgets the heroism such fortitude involved, there is nothing so touching and so pathetic as the tired man's outburst, near the close of his Presidential life, in the stress of that opposition and insult engendered by the despicable Genet. "I have never repented but once," he cried out, "the having slipped the moment of resigning my office, and that has been every moment since. I would rather be in my grave than be President; I would rather be on my farm than be emperor of the world. And yet they are charging me with wanting to be a king!"

During these last trying months of his second term as President, he thought of nothing so much, cared so much for nothing, as to get back to his dear home at Mt. Vernon. "It is almost impossible for me," he wrote, "to support the time until I may turn my back on all this strife and enter the quiet of my own home again." It would seem as though some presentiment were continually present with him, whispering that the years of his life were very few, and urging him to spend them in the peaceful life he had so earned. And when the time for his withdrawal came, and he found himself once more under the shelter of his own roof, his delight was as keenly felt and as simply expressed as that of a little child.

Yet once more did he prove that the fires of patriotism in his breast were inextinguishable. During the year following his retirement, war-clouds began to threaten again, this time coming from the direction of France. War seemed inevitable. A provisional army was raised and Washington was made its commander-in-chief. "It was with a heavy heart that he found his dream of repose once more interrupted; but his strong fidelity to duty would not permit him to hesitate. He accepted the commission, however, with the condition that he should not be called into the field until the army was in a situation to require his presence, or it should become indispensable by the urgency of circumstances." When it was arranged to raise the army, he went to Philadelphia, and spent there five laborious weeks in consulting and arranging as to its organization, equipment and

disposition. War with France was averted, though not without serious compromise to the dignity of the United States, and Washington was saved from so severe a physical tax as the conduct of another campaign would have provon. But the loyalty was there none the less, and the very spirit of unspotted patriotism that flared up in the breast of the first Cincinnatus, as he took his hand from the plow and followed his summoners to Rome.

As in the history of the old world there has never shone a loftier example of pure patriotism and simple dignity than was Cincinnatus, so in all the history of the great new world, when its eventful record shall be complete, there will never be found a more perfect type of the patriot and of the man than was George Washington.

PRESIDENTS PRIOR TO WASHINGTON.

THE highest American office prior to the adoption of the Constitution and the election of Washington as President of the United States, was that of president of the Continental congress, which first met in 1774. The holders of that office, with the date of their election by the various congresses over which they presided, were as follows:

Peyton Randolph	Virginia	September, 1774
Henry Middleton	South Carolina	October 23, 1774
John Hancock	Massachusetts	May 19, 1775
Henry Laurens	South Carolina	November 1, 1777
John Jay	New York	December 10, 1778
Samuel Huntington	Connecticut	September 28, 1779
Thomas McKean	Pennsylvania	July 10, 1781
John Hanson	Maryland	November 5, 1781
Elias Bondinot	Pennsylvania	November 5, 1782
Thomas Mifflin	Pennsylvania	October 3, 1783
Richard Henry Lee	Virginia	November 30, 1784
Nathaniel Gorham	Massachusetts	January 6, 1786
Arthur St. Clair	Pennsylvania	February 2, 1787
Cyrus Griffin	Virginia	January 22, 1788

THE CAPITOL BUILDING.

AS soon as congress settled upon the adoption of Washington's cherished idea of founding a "Federal City" on the bank of the Potomac, the work of laying out the city was assigned to the young French engineer, Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who at once selected the most commanding and beautiful spot in all the allotted territory as the site for a National capitol building. It was a most fortunate selection. The great white dome which crowns the beautiful pile is visible for miles around, and from it, as far as the eye can reach, may be seen shaggy woods, rolling hills, broad valleys and the lordly Potomac, rolling its blue waters to the sea. From this as a centre, the city is laid out, and broad avenues, intersected by rectangular streets, radiate in every direction.

The location being settled, the commissioners at once advertised for designs for the "congress hall," as they then called it, offering fifty dollars, or a gold medal, for the best plan submitted. These plans passed under the scrutiny of President Washington, who professed himself particularly pleased with the design offered by Dr. William Thornton, a West Indian, first clerk in charge of patents. Washington was led to give preference to this design because of the beauty of the central rotunda and the dome. As Thornton was not a professional architect, Stephen Hallet, a Frenchman, was employed to reduce Thornton's designs to a practical form.

On September 18, 1793, Washington laid the corner-stone of the capitol building under what is now the law library, in the rear of the main building. The outer walls were of yellow sandstone (now painted white to conform to the marble wings), quarried on a small island at the mouth of Acquia creek, where it empties into the

Potomac. The bricks were made and burned in kilns on the spot, and much of the timber was cut from the surrounding hills. The building as originally planned consisted of a main building and two small wings, the north wing being completed first. In this wing was the senate chamber, a beautiful and imposing apartment modeled after the Greek theatre, with a gallery behind the chair of the presiding officer supported by caryatides representing the states, of which there were then but sixteen.

As soon as the south wing could be completed, the house of representatives took possession of it. This hall was also modeled after the Greek theatre, was considerably larger than the senate chamber, and is now occupied by the National statuary gallery. The central rotunda was not yet begun, and the two separate wings were connected by a covered wooden passage-way, which echoed, no doubt, as sonorously to the dignified tread of senator and legislator as though it had been of marble.

The building had reached this point in its completion when, in August, 1814, the British invading force wantonly destroyed the public buildings at Washington, the capitol being the first object of their vengeance. At once, upon knowledge of this, the people in all parts of the country urged the immediate reconstruction of the buildings in accordance with the original plans. Appropriations were liberal, and the work was soon begun. The halls of the senate and the house of representatives were immediately begun, the senate chamber being finished first. This apartment has, since the addition of the two large wings or extensions, been used as the supreme court room, but it was in this hall that the majestic tones of Webster were heard as he "caught the thunder-bolts of the gods as they went smoking by and hurled them at his enemies;" it was here that the magnetism of Henry Clay's voice and presence fascinated both friend and foe; it was here that old John Randolph shook his long, bony index finger in the face of his opponent and poured forth his bitter invectives.

It was not long until the hall of the house of representatives was completed, in the south wing, and it was here that Henry Clay, speaker of the house, welcomed Lafayette as the Nation's guest, and John Quincy Adams pronounced the brave Frenchman's eulogy. Here the great parliamentary battles were fought in the stormy days of the Missouri Compromise, the United States bank and the attempt at nullification.

In 1818 the appropriation was made for building the central portion of the building comprised in the rotunda. This is the most imposing part of the entire structure. It is circular in form, and the main entrance leads directly to it through the great bronze door which was added in 1871. Standing in the rotunda, the visitor may look upward one hundred and eighty feet to the curving dome, and about the circuit of the sides are eight panels, separated by massive Roman pilasters supporting an entablature wreathed in olive. With the completion of this central portion in 1827, the edifice was reported to be completed, and the stately building, with its low dome and its ranges of columns, was the admiration of artists and architects. It was pronounced "perfect in design. perfect in proportion and perfect in all its adaptations."

As the Nation grew, the capitol building was found too circumscribed for the use of congress, and it was found necessary to call for plans for an addition to the main building. It was finally decided (following the advice of Jefferson Davis, then senator from Mississippi and member of the committee on public grounds and buildings) that these additions should be made in the form of two large wings or extensions on the north and south sides of the building, and on the fourth of July, 1851, the corner-stone was laid by Daniel Webster, with appropriate ceremonies. The extensions are built of white marble from Lee, Massachusetts, with monolithic columns from Cockeysville, Maryland, and are connected to the wings of the main building by corridors. The senate chamber occupies the centre of the north extension. It is in the form of a parallelogram, measuring, exclusive of the cloak-rooms and lobby, eighty-three feet in length and fifty-one feet in width. On its floor is room for one hundred and twenty senators, and the galleries will accommodate one thousand spectators. The house of representatives occupies the south extension and is of the same shape, but larger, seating four hundred representatives on the floor and five times as many spectators in the galleries. Each house has its gallery set apart for the diplomatic representatives of foreign powers, who, however, seldom use them. Above and back of the chairs of the presiding officer are the galleries of the press, with adjacent telegraph offices. About the main halls are the offices and committee rooms of the senate and house, elegant apartments, elaborately frescoed and handsomely furnished.

With these additions to the building, the dome which rises out of the centre of the main building was found to be insignificant, and at a

night session of congress during the exciting controversy over the Kansas and Nebraska bill, the architect of the capitol asked for an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for a new dome. It was voted that night, but by the time the old dome was removed the appropriation had been exhausted, and congress was pushed, though grudging it, to give a second hundred thousand to complete the work. The new dome is a magnificent piece of work, made of cast-iron plates bolted together in huge upright ribs like those of a vessel, rising above the balustrade of the building two hundred and eighteen feet, and weighing nine million pounds. It rests on an octagonal base rising ninety-three feet above the basement floor, and, as it leaves the top line of the building, consisting of a peristyle of thirty-six fluted iron columns, twenty-seven feet high. The apex of the dome is crowned by a magnificent bronze statue of Freedom, designed by Crawford, and standing nineteen and a quarter feet high. The attitude of the figure is one of poise and strength, yet it is full of feminine grace and softness. It faces the east and overlooks, not the city as it now lies, but the level plains to the east of the capitol where it was once supposed the city would lie.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

PROBABLY no building in the world has, in the short space of one century, been the centre of more power, more pathos, more sentiment, more historical interest—perhaps of more tragedy—than the big white house, with its plain, unpretentious exterior, that stands overlooking the broad Potomac and the low Virginia hills. Here twenty-three Presidents have lived, and two have died. From here went Lincoln, to be the martyr of a dastard's bullet; from here went Garfield in the flush of his genial, sunny life, to be brought back to suffer long weeks of manfully borne pain, and to die, at last, by the sea-side. Here died Harrison, a martyr to office, and here kindly, bluff Zachary Taylor breathed his last. Here was married in her bright young girlhood the sweet daughter of our greatest general, and here, too, in the last administration, was consummated the pretty romance of the President's life, while a whole Nation looked on with sentimental interest and approval.

But the plain, modest house gives no hint of all this. From the outside it is merely a spacious, substantial dwelling, with white walls, small, old-fashioned windows, and an utter absence of effect or pretense. Any successful merchant of a western city may live in a better. In the front and rear of the building are large porticoes, supported by plain white pillars. In point of artistic beauty and architectural fitness, the smaller portico at the rear is much the finer of the two. On the ground floor of the Executive mansion, as it is properly called, are the big east room, extending the entire depth of the building, the green room, the red room and the oval blue room. Besides these parlors, there is the long corridor back of the vestibule, running crosswise and leading past the three parlors to the conservatory beyond,

and the state and private dining-rooms. The east room, where Mrs. Adams used to dry the Executive under-garments, is used by the President for public receptions, and is the only room open at all times for the inspection of visitors. The room is too large and too plain to admit of much decorative effect. It has a thick carpet of old gold and olive shades, with massive chairs and *tête-à-têtes* upholstered with plush of the same shade, large mirrors, a table or two, and a few decorative pieces, together with the paintings of Washington and Jefferson. The other apartments of the mansion are more luxurious and home-like. The prevailing tone of the blue room is the green-blue known as robin's-egg. The parlor is oval in shape and has long been the favorite parlor of the Presidents' wives. The red room, used as a reception parlor by the ladies of the White House, is in dark reds, and with its piano, screens and magnificent carved-wood mantel is the handsomest of the three private parlors. Opening from this is the state dining-room, in tones of yellow, seating thirty-eight guests at its long table. Here hangs the fine portrait of Mrs. Hayes, presented to the government by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, perhaps by way of reminder at state dinners, of the cold water principles it commemorates.

One of the most beautiful effects on the ground floor is in the long corridor, where "the light coming through the partition of wrinkled, stained-glass mosaic, makes a marvelously rich and gorgeous effect, falling upon the silver niches where stand dwarf palmetto trees, and the silver net-work of the ceiling and the sumptuous furniture."

On the upper floor, which is reached by a private stairway at the end of the long corridor, are the private apartments of the President's family, including the library, which is directly over the blue room, and is, like that, oval in form. On this floor also are the Executive offices, reached by a public stairway which ascends from the small hall between the vestibule and the east room.

A wide hall runs from end to end of the second story, but is partitioned off in order to separate the family rooms of the President from the offices. Besides the sleeping rooms of the servants, there are but seven chambers in the Executive mansion. The hospitality of the White House must, therefore, necessarily be limited, if the President has even a moderately large household of his own. However, there is still the big state guest chamber, which stands for the intentional, if not the actual, hospitality of the Executive mansion.

The social life at the White House is, of course, largely determined by

the wish of its occupants. There are certain events that must be provided for, however. There must be two or three public receptions during a session of congress, a New Year's reception, with attendance of the senators and congressmen, of the foreign ambassadors, of the officers of the army and navy, and lastly of the pushing, powerful public. The dinner invitations of the President usually include within the season, the senators, the justices of the supreme court, the cabinet, the foreign ministers and certain distinguished men in the house and in the army and navy. There is also once or twice in the season a reception given by the President for the senators and the representatives and their families, for which cards are issued.

Of course, there is much informal social life in the White House, and that is, perhaps, the most enjoyable—a few guests to luncheon or dinner, with music and conversation in the evening, after the custom of any other well-conducted family. Formerly, there was a traditional etiquette which forbade a President to make visits or to be a guest in the house of any friend. But General Grant, with his prompt common sense, saw fit to break through this precedent, and his successors have been glad to follow his example. Now the President has all the social liberty he desires; he may make calls, dine out, attend receptions and avail himself of all his social privileges, to his own pleasure. "It is pleasing to notice," says a keen observer of men and things at the capital, "that the tendency of White House customs is toward less formality and more ease and freedom of social intercourse, rather than in the other direction. And this is remarkable at a time when our new moneyed aristocracy is aping the manners of courts and surrounding itself with liveried flunkies."

INDEPENDENCE HALL.

THE old state-house in Philadelphia was the birth-place of American liberty, in commemoration of which it now bears the name of Independence hall. It stands on Chestnut street, extending from Fifth to Sixth. The assembly of Pennsylvania, on the fourteenth of May, 1729, made an appropriation of two thousand pounds for the building of "a house for the assembly of this province to meet in." Work was begun in 1732, and the building was completed in 1735.

When the time was ripe for the young Nation "to become a man, for the child to cease to sleep with its mother," the meeting-place of the assembly was naturally the National capital, then Philadelphia, and the state-house the place in which their deliberations were held. Here, in the old east room, was signed the Declaration of Independence, which it cost us so much blood to maintain; here was framed that matchless piece of statesmanship, the Constitution, and here was gathered, from time to time, the most remarkable body of men that it has ever been the fortune of this, perhaps of any country, to furnish at one time, for the deliberation of questions of state.

Aside from its associations, there is nothing remarkable about the building, a long, low structure of the plain colonial architecture. In these days of "Gothic" and "Renaissance" and "Queen Anne," it seems unpretentious enough. Its architect was Dr. John Kearsley of that city, who had also been the architect of old Christ church, and the building, when finished, was pronounced a model of elegance and taste. The addition of a belfry was deprecated by some of the more conservative fathers—who wore broad brims, no doubt—as a touch of too great pretension and savoring of extravagance; but a kindly fate overruled these objections and the belfry was added, with its big

bell, which did indeed afterward "proclaim liberty throughout all the land."

As little change as possible has been made in the appearance of the building, save that ever-to-be-regretted one made in 1800 by some persons in temporary authority, who wished to beautify the rooms for the reception of La Fayette, when he came to revisit America as the Nation's honored guest. The centre of this æsthetic vandalism was the east room; the ancient panelings, the carvings, the old furniture, even the beautiful chandelier, a relic of colonial days, were torn down, cast aside as useless lumber, and something "prettier" substituted. In 1833, however, the old wood-work was restored as faithfully as possible, and the room now bears, in all important particulars, the aspect which it bore when, with John Adams as president of the senate, the debates of the first United States congress were conducted with "the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity and personal dignity of manner, and three gentle taps from the silver pencil-case of the president were enough to compose the most excited discussions and restore everything to repose and the most respectful attention."

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

AS the period for the third Presidential election approached, much anxiety was felt and expressed lest Washington should refuse a renomination. It was known that the press of public life was becoming distasteful to him, and that, after his first term, he had fully formed a purpose to retire—a purpose from which nothing but a stern sense of duty had dissuaded him. Now, with the stress of the European wars still upon the Nation, it was feared that the withdrawal of the powerful personality that had thus far guided the country would bring disaster. But Washington felt that the government of the United States was founded on the people of the United States, and that no one man was essential to the existence of the government; he felt, too, that he had more than earned the right to the retirement he so desired, and he therefore announced, in the calm and irrevocable words of his farewell address, his determination to retire.

Before Washington had laid aside his first purpose to retire, Mr. Madison had prepared for him, from Washington's own heads and notes, a declaration suitable for such a retirement. This he now sent to Alexander Hamilton, with the request that it be redressed and retouched so as to fit the present occasion. "My wish is," he wrote, "that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple garb." There has always been—probably there always will be—discussion as to how much of this remarkable composition is due to Washington, how much of it Madison may have contributed, and how much is the result of Hamilton's revision. It is a matchless piece of eloquence, "unaffected and simple," but calm, strong, judicial, statesmanlike. We have but

one piece of political literature worthy to stand beside it—Lincoln's address at Gettysburgh.

The manuscript, as finally given to the press, is in the handwriting of Washington, with many interlinings and corrections, showing that his revision was last and decisive. It was published on September 17, 1796, in the *Daily Advertiser*, a Philadelphia paper. Its publication produced a sensation that would have satisfied the most ambitious newspaper of the present day. It was instantaneous in hushing the abuse of Washington by the opposition party, who looked upon him as a certain candidate for renomination, and it "served for a signal like the dropping of a hat," wrote Fisher Ames, "for the party racers to start, and I expect a great deal of noise, whipping and spurring."

The following copy of the Farewell Address gives the text in full, and is authentic in all respects:

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,—The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I

was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example to our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently

want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense

value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater con-

sequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective sub-divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations,

Northern and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the

Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a govern-

ment of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks

upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could

not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace

and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature? Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the conces-

sions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by

artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion

of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any

thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States,
September 17th, 1796.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT.

OF the Mayflower Compact, drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower* in 1620, Bancroft says: "Here was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle ages had been familiar with charters and constitutions, but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges or limitations of the sovereign power in favor of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, humanity recovered its rights and instituted government on the basis of 'equal laws,' enacted by all the people for the 'general good.'" The Compact is as follows:

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT.

In the name of God, Amen: We, whose names are under written, the loyall subjects of our dread sovereigne King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith and honor of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends afore said; and, by vertue hearof, to enacte, constitute, and frame, such just and equall laws, ordenances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cap Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the raigne of our sovereigne lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftyfourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

THE MECKLENBURGH DECLARATION.

THE Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence has been something of a political Mrs. Harris, and there have not been wanting numerous Betsy Prigs to declare, "I don't believe there's no sich a person." But the fact is that the Mecklenburgh Declaration was no fabrication, no canard; it really was proclaimed, as is claimed for it, in Charlotte, North Carolina, May 20, 1775, by the citizens of Mecklenburgh county, and that it is a remarkable prelude to the National Declaration of Independence many months later. To detail the evidence in favor of the actual existence of such a declaration would be foreign to the purpose of this article, but the evidence is ample and convincing. The discredit undoubtedly arose from the fact that there were two sets of resolutions: the first, a series of twenty resolutions discussing the subject of independence, but not actually declaring it, and the second, an unequivocal avowal of a dissolution "of the political bonds that have bound us to the mother country;" that the former was preserved entire, and that the original copy of the latter was destroyed by fire, leaving only an incomplete and professedly inaccurate copy of the real declaration. These facts, on slight examination, have misled many into the belief that the only Mecklenburgh Declaration was this first set of resolutions, which was really not a declaration of independence, but only a foreshadowing of one.

The authentic history of the document begins with a letter written in April, 1774, by William Hooper, a member of the North Carolina assembly, to James Iredell, subsequently one of the judges of the United States supreme court. In this letter, Hooper writes, "With you, I anticipate the important share which the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its constitution, purged of its impurities,

and from an experience of its defects, will guard against those very evils which have wasted its vigor. Be it our endeavor to guard against every measure that may tend to prevent so desirable an object." In these words lay, no doubt, the germ of our National freedom.

In the winter of 1775 both houses of the English parliament presented a joint address to the king, declaring that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, and pledging themselves solemnly to its suppression. When the news of this reached Mecklenburgh county, which, owing to the infrequency of communication between the old world and the new, did not happen until April following, great indignation and excitement were at once felt, and a conference was held in the town of Charlotte, where already the Revolutionary idea seemed to have taken strong root. In this conference, a series of twenty resolutions was drawn up by Dr. Ephraim Brevard, founded on the parliamentary address as premises, and deducing therefrom the annulment of all laws and commissions in the colonies derived from parliament and the king as authority, and providing the forms of local government. As a result of the same conference, an order was issued in the name of Colonel Thomas Polk, requiring each militia company to select two delegates to a convention to meet at Charlotte, "to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and to adopt measures to secure, unimpaired, their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny." On the nineteenth day of May, 1775, these delegates met, and on that very day there was received, by special express, official news of the battle of Lexington. On the following day, May 20, the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence came into existence. The resolutions were as follows:

First. *Resolved*, That whoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner countenanced, the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

Second. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburgh county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties

and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Third. *Resolved,* That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-sustaining association, under the control of no other power than that of our God and the general government of congress; and to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor.

Fourth. *Resolved,* That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this country, we do hereby ordain and adopt as a rule of life all such and every of our former laws, wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein.

Fifth. *Resolved,* That it is further decreed that all, each and every military officer in this country is hereby reinstated in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations, and that every one present of this delegation shall hereafter be a civil officer, viz.: a justice of the peace, in the character of a "committee man," to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said country; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.

These five resolutions were received with applause, were approved and signed by all the delegates and were read to the expectant people from the court-house steps at Charlotte. They were then despatched by special messenger to the three representatives of North Carolina in the general congress, then in secret session in Philadelphia. These representatives were Richard Caswell, William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, who were requested to use all possible means to have said proceedings approved by the general congress; but this course they deemed inexpedient at the time, as, in their opinion, congress was not yet ready to settle upon so decisive and solemn a step. But the Declaration was undoubtedly shown to several members of congress, among them, probably, Richard Henry Lee, who afterwards, consciously or unconsciously, used several of its phrases in his "resolutions of independence," whence they afterwards passed into the National Declaration of 1776.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION—1777.*

TO all to whom these Presents shall come, we, the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our Names, send greeting.

WHEREAS, The Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did, on the fifteenth day of November, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America, agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, in the Words following, viz.:

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Article I.—The stile of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

Article II.—Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Article III.—The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security

*The circumstances attending the preparation of the Articles of Confederation, with the names of the delegates, etc., will be found on p. 623, Vol. III.

of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Article IV.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or Executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

Article V.—For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony or breach of the peace.

Article VI.—No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with, any king, prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility. No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled for the defence of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the

danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Article VII.—When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

Article VIII.—All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Article IX.—The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the Sixth Article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the

United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all dispute and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall in the presence of Congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons, which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before described shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the

acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned, provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take the oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection, or hope of reward;" provided also that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants, are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority or by that of the respective States, fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States, provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces and commissioning all officers whatever, in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office

of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or remitted; to hold and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in each State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and clothe, arm and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn

to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

Article X.—The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

Article XI.—Canada acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

Article XII.—All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, for the assembling of the United States in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Article XIII.—Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

And whereas, it has pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of

Confederation and perpetual union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we re(s)pectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

On the part & behalf of the State of New Hampshire,

JOSIAH BARTLETT, JOHN WENTWORTH, JUNR.
August 8th, 1778.

On the part and behalf of the State of Massachusetts Bay,

JOHN HANCOCK, FRANCIS DANA,
SAMUEL ADAMS, JAMES LOVELL,
ELBRIDGE GERRY, SAMUEL HOLTEN.

On the part and behalf of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,

WILLIAM ELLERY, JOHN COLLINS,
HENRY MARCHANT.

On the part and behalf of the State of Connecticut,

ROGER SHERMAN, TITUS HOSMER,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, ANDREW ADAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

On the part and behalf of the State of New York,

JAMES DUANE, WM. DUER,
FRA. LEWIS, GOUV. MORRIS.

On the part and in behalf of the State of New Jersey, Novr. 26, 1778,

JNO. WITHERSPOON, NATHL. SCUDDER.

On the part and behalf of the State of Pennsylvania,

ROBT. MORRIS, WILLIAM CLINGAN,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU, JOSEPH REED, 22nd July, 1778.
JONA. BAYARD SMITH.

On the part & behalf of the State of Delaware,
THO. M'KEAN, Feby. 12, 1779, NICHOLAS VAN DYKE,
JOHN DICKINSON, May 5, 1779.
On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland,
JOHN HANSON, March 1, 1781, DANIEL CARROLL, Mar. 1, 1781.
On the part and behalf of the State of Virginia,
RICHARD HENRY LEE, JNO. HARVIE,
JOHN BANISTER, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
THOMAS ADAMS.
On the part and behalf of the State of No. Carolina,
JOHN PENN, July 21st, 1778, JNO. WILLIAMS,
CORNS. HARVETT.
On the part & behalf of the State of South Carolina,
HENRY LAURENS, RICHD. HUTSON,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON, THOS. HEYWARD, JUNR.,
JNO. MATHEWS.
On the part & behalf of the State of Georgia,
JNO. WALTON, 24th July, 1778, EDWD. LANGWORTHY,
EDWD. TELFAIR.

CENSUS OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES—1790–1880.

Year.	Population.
1790	3,929,214
1800	5,308,483
1810	7,239,881
1820	9,633,822
1830	12,866,020
1840	17,069,453
1850	23,191,876
1860	31,443,321
1870	38,558,371
1880	50,155,789

OFFICERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

BELOW are given the names and officers of all those who held office under the Confederate government during the years of its existence from 1861–64:

President,
Jefferson Davis (Miss.),

Vice-President,
Alexander H. Stephens (Ga.).

FIRST CONFEDERATE CABINET.

Robert Toombs (Ga.),
S. R. Mallory (Fla.),
C. G. Memminger (S. C.),
Judah P. Benjamin (La.),
J. H. Reagan (Tex.),
L. P. Walker (Ala.).

SECOND CONFEDERATE CABINET.

R. M. T. Hunter (Va.),
T. Bragg (N. C.),
T. H. Watts (Ala.),
G. Trenholm (Ga.),
G. W. Randolph (Va.),
J. A. Leddon (Va.),
G. Davis (Ky.),
J. C. Breckinridge (Ky.).

MEMBERS OF PRESIDENT'S STAFF.

F. R. Lubbock,
W. P. Johnson,
Joseph C. Ives,
Burton Harrison,
James Chesnut,
G. W. Custis Lee,
J. R. Davis,
W. M. Browne,
John Taylor Wood.

LEADING GENERALS OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Robert E. Lee, Commander-in-Chief C. S. A.

Maj.-Gen. J. E. Johnston,
Maj.-Gen. A. S. Johnston,
Maj.-Gen. William J. Hardee,
Maj.-Gen. John C. Breckinridge,
Maj.-Gen. James Longstreet,
Maj.-Gen. T. J. Jackson,
Maj.-Gen. Wade Hampton,
Maj.-Gen. Braxton Bragg,
Maj.-Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard,
Maj.-Gen. John Pemberton.

THE POPULAR VOTE.

THERE is no record of the popular vote of a Presidential election prior to that of 1824. This is accounted for by the fact that there were but few of the states in which any popular election was held, and therefore the results of such elections, when held, were too insignificant for preservation. Under the Constitution, the electors may be chosen either by a popular vote or by direct appointment of the state legislature. In many of the states the latter method was employed, as necessitating less political machinery. In the election of 1824, six states, Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana, had appointed their electors in this way. But in the remaining eighteen, the electors were the result of popular elections, either by the district or general ticket system, whose results were preserved.

Before the next Presidential year, four of these six had adopted the popular election plan, and of the two remaining, Delaware and South Carolina, the former went over before 1832, leaving only South Carolina to cling to the old system of appointment by legislature. This method she retained until after the election of 1860. Afterward, when Florida was admitted, she chose the discarded legislative system of appointment for a time, and not until the election of 1880 were electors in all the states appointed by popular vote.

Year.	Candidates.	Popular Vote.	Year.	Candidates.	Popular Vote.
1824	Jackson	153,544	1860	Douglas	1,375,157
	Adams	108,740		Breckinridge	847,953
	Crawford	46,618		Bell	590,631
	Clay	47,136	1864	Lincoln	2,213,665†
1828	Jackson	647,276		McClellan	1,802,237†
	Adams, J. Q	508,064	1868	Grant	3,012,833
1832	Jackson	687,502		Seymour	2,703,249
	Clay*	530,189	1872	Grant	3,597,132
1836	Van Buren	762,678		Greeley	2,834,125
	Whig Candidates,			O'Conor	29,489
	Harrison and White	735,651		Black	5,608
1840	Harrison	1,275,016	1876	Tilden	4,300,590‡
	Van Buren	1,129,102		Hayes	4,306,298§
	Birney	7,069		Cooper	81,737
1844	Polk	1,337,243		Smith	9,522
	Clay	1,299,062	1880	Garfield	4,454,416
	Birney	62,300		Hancock	4,444,952
1848	Taylor	1,360,099		Weaver	308,578
	Cass	1,220,544		Dow	10,305
	Van Buren	291,263	1884	Cleveland	4,874,986
1852	Pierce	1,601,274		Blaine	4,851,981
	Scott	1,386,580		Butler	175,370
	Hale	155,825		St. John	150,369
1856	Buchanan	1,838,169	1888	Harrison	5,441,923
	Fremont	1,341,264		Cleveland	5,536,524
	Fillmore	874,534		Streeter	144,608
1860	Lincoln	1,866,452		Fisk	246,406

* The vote for Wirt is included in Clay's vote.

† This count does not include the army vote, which was as follows: Lincoln, 116,887; McClellan, 33,784.

‡ Republican count, 4,285,992. § Republican count, 4,033,768.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE—ITS MODUS OPERANDI.

A FULL history of the Electoral College is given elsewhere.* It only remains for this article to notice briefly, but clearly, the methods and manner of working of the same. The methods are as simple as possible. The entire Electoral College is made up of the electors in all the states, the number in each state being equal to the number of members sent to both houses of congress from that state. The electors of each state may be chosen under the Constitution, either by district election, by legislative appointment or by a general popular election. The latter method is now adopted in all the states, though until recently several of the states chose their electors by district elections, and one, South Carolina, made its appointments through its legislature. These electors must be chosen on the same day in all the states—the Tuesday following the first Monday in November. After their appointment they must meet at the capital of their respective states on the first Wednesday in December, and ballot for President and vice-president. The method of procedure is as follows: The members being convened, the oath is administered by a member of the state supreme court to all the electors, the necessary officers are chosen and then the balloting begins. First cast are the ballots for the President, next for the vice-president, then for tellers to count the vote; fourth, for one of the number of electors as messenger to convey the vote to Washington; fifth, for one of the electors to act as messenger to carry the vote to the United States district court, and last, to provide for the preparation of votes as required by law.

The messengers are chosen as follows: As many cards as there are electors are put into a box; on two of these cards are written "messenger to the United States senate," and "messenger to the United States district court;" the others are blanks. Each elector draws a card from the box, and the ones drawing the cards containing the appointment are confirmed by the rest of the body. The balloting for

*For the history of the Electoral College, see Vol. III., p. 646.

President and vice-president in no way differs from an ordinary election by ballot.

1889.

Electoral College as chosen in the election of November 6, 1888, Benjamin Harrison being chosen President and Levi P. Morton vice-president:

State.	President.		Vice-President.	
	Benjamin Harrison.	Grover Cleveland.	Levi P. Morton.	Allen G. Thurman.
Maine	6		6	
New Hampshire	4		4	
Vermont	4		4	
Massachusetts	14		14	
Rhode Island	4		4	
Connecticut		6		6
New York	36		36	
New Jersey		9		9
Pennsylvania	30		30	
Delaware		3		3
Maryland		8		8
Virginia		12		12
North Carolina		11		11
South Carolina		9		9
Georgia		12		12
Alabama		10		10
Ohio	23		23	
Louisiana		8		8
Kentucky		13		13
Tennessee		12		12
Indiana	15		15	
Illinois	22		22	
Missouri		16		16
Arkansas		7		7
Mississippi		9		9
Michigan	13		13	
Florida		4		4
Texas		13		13
Iowa	13		13	
Wisconsin	11		11	
California	8		8	
Minnesota	7		7	
Oregon	3		3	
Kansas	9		9	
West Virginia	6		6	
Nevada	3		3	
Nebraska	5		5	
Colorado	3		3	
Total	239	162	239	162

GRAVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

WASHINGTON'S GRAVE.

THE grave of Washington has so long been the Mecca of thousands of patriotic Americans, that a description of it in these pages can scarcely contain anything fresh or novel. The vault in which lies the dust of the great Washington was built, in accordance with provisions of the President's will, in Mt. Vernon, the spot of all others on earth that Washington loved best. It is a simple structure of brick, with stone trimmings and an arched roof. Over the gateway, on a marble tablet, is the single inscription, "Within this enclosure rest the remains of General George Washington." Within the vestibule of the vault lie two coffins, those of Washington and his wife. The grounds and the vault are kept in excellent repair by the Mt. Vernon association.

GRAVES OF JOHN ADAMS AND JOHN Q. ADAMS.

Beneath the quaint old Unitarian church of Quincy, Massachusetts, lie the remains of two American Presidents, father and son, John Adams and John Quincy Adams. Beside them are the bodies of their wives. The bodies lie in leaden caskets, placed in cases hewn from solid stone, in a little vault which underlies the main room of the edifice. The tombs are seldom visited and are dingy and uncared for. In the room above may be found the following inscription: "Beneath these walls are deposited the mortal remains of John Adams, son of

John and Susanna (Boyleston) Adams, second President of the United States, born 19–30 October, 1735. On the 4th of July, 1776, he pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor to the independence of his country. On the 3d of September, 1783, he affixed his signature to the definite treaty with Great Britain, which acknowledged that independence and consummated the redemption of that pledge. On the 4th of July, 1826, he was summoned to the independence of immortality and the judgment of his God. This house will bear witness to his piety, this town (his birth-place) to his munificence, history to his patriotism, posterity to the depth and composure of his mind."

On the other side of the pulpit is the tablet that bears testimony to the worth of John Quincy Adams. The inscription reads thus: "Near this place reposes all that could die of John Quincy Adams, son of John and Abigail (Smith) Adams, sixth President of the United States. Born 11th July, 1767, amidst the storms of civil commotion, he nursed the vigor which inspires a Christian. For more than half a century, whenever his country called for his labors in either hemisphere, or in any capacity, he never spared them in her cause. On the 24th of December, he signed the second treaty with Great Britain, which restored peace within her borders. On the 23d of February, 1848, he closed 16 years of eloquent defense of the lessons of his youth by dying at his post in her great National council. A son worthy of his father, a citizen shedding glory on his country, a scholar ambitious to advance mankind, this Christian sought to walk humbly in the sight of his God."

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GRAVE.

On the fly-leaf of a pocket account-book Jefferson once wrote these words: "Choose some unfrequented vale in the park, where is no sound to break the stillness but a brook, that, babbling, winds among the woods; no mark of human shape that has been there, unless the skeleton of some poor wretch who sought that place out to despair and die in. Let it be among ancient and venerable oaks; intersperse some gloomy evergreens. Appropriate one-half to the use of my family; the other to strangers, servants, etc. Let it look upon a small and distant part of Blue mountain." His wishes have been

wholly carried out. In a thick growth of woods, a few hundred yards to the right of a road leading from Charlottesville, Virginia, to Monticello, in a little enclosure "in an unfrequented vale," is the grave of Thomas Jefferson. Over the mound is an obelisk nine feet high, the lower part of which has all been chipped away, leaving a rude and meaningless shaft. On the base is cut, "Born April 2, O. S., 1743; died July 4, 1826." On another side is an inscription which time or vandal hands, or both, have obliterated. There is no name on the shaft, and that this is the grave of Thomas Jefferson, diplomat and statesman, third President of the United States, we are constrained to take the word of a hobbling old man who comes in at the gate, and who tells us that he alone inhabits the pile of ruins that is all that is left of Monticello, and that he lives "on the kindness of them that comes to see where Thomas Jefferson lies buried."

MADISON.

At Montpelier, four miles from Orange, Virginia, Madison is buried. The grave is in the centre of a large, level field, in a lot about one hundred feet square, surrounded by a brick wall. Over the gate is the inscription, "Madison, 1820." Within are four graves, and from one of them, higher than the others, rises an obelisk, with the inscription, "Madison, born March 16, 1751." By its side is a smaller shaft of white marble, raised to the memory of sweet Dolly Madison, "whom everybody loved." The other two mounds are heaped over the graves of two nephews whom Madison and his wife dearly loved, and who wished to be buried with them.

JAMES MONROE.

There is a beautiful site in Hollywood cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, which is the burial-place of James Monroe. The resting-place is in a vault of bricks and granite, and the sarcophagus containing the ashes of Monroe bears the following memento on a brass

plate, "James Monroe, born in Westmorland county, 28th April, 1758; died in the city of New York, 4th of July, 1831. By order of the General Assembly, his remains were removed to this cemetery, 5th July, 1858, as an evidence of the affection of Virginia for her good and honored son." Over this is a Gothic temple, twelve feet long and nine feet wide, resting upon four pillars on a foundation of dressed Virginia granite. The temple is painted drab, and sanded so as to simulate stone, and the heavy door is of cast-iron, wrought in such intricate pattern as nearly to prevent a view of the sarcophagus within.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson lies in a corner of the garden of the Hermitage, his famous home, just outside of Nashville. His wife, so dearly loved in life, lies at his side. Over the graves of both is a massive monument of Tennessee granite, in the form of an entablature and dome, raised on eight fluted Doric pillars. On the inside, the structure is elaborately adorned with stucco work, and it contains the monument proper, a pyramid resting on a square base, and bearing simply the dates that bounded the strong and passionate life of this most admired and most hated man of his times.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

In the little cemetery of Kinderhook, New York, is the family lot that contains the bones of Martin Van Buren. On a high granite shaft is the name of the eighth President of the United States, with the dates of his birth and death. On another face of the monument is the name of his wife, and on a third that of a son. The grave and its surroundings are evidently the objects of loving care and attention; the grass is smoothly shaven and the coming of summer covers it with beautiful flowers.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

William Henry Harrison's grave is in North Bend, Indiana. The grave itself is a simple mound on a little knoll, shaded by oaks and beeches, unmarked, unfenced, but bearing evidence of the visits of those who love it and care for it. There is no monument, and no inscription anywhere to tell the story of the life of the hero of Tippecanoe and of his untimely death.



TOMB OF PRESIDENT HARRISON.

JOHN TYLER.

Even more unmarked than the grave of Harrison is that of John Tyler, his successor. It lies in Holywood cemetery, a few yards from the grave of Monroe, and is wholly undecorated, save by the impartial hand of nature. At the head of the little mound, which scarcely rises above the level of the earth around it, is a young magnolia tree; at one side is a straggling juniper, and the mound itself is covered with a rough growth of bushes. Near by are the graves of Monroe, of William Allen, of James M. Mason and of "Little Joe," the son of Jefferson Davis, killed in Richmond during the war.

JAMES K. POLK.

At the old homestead on the corner of Vine and Union streets, Nashville, may be found the grave of James K. Polk. An iron gate, surmounted by an eagle, opens from Vine street into a broad avenue, shaded by Mulberry trees and silver-leaf poplars, which leads tc the large brick house in which President Polk lived. Back of the house is the tomb, beautified by flowers and kept with loving care. A solid marble block, twelve feet high and twelve feet square, marks the spot, and bears the simple inscription, "James K. Polk, eleventh President of the United States; born November 2, 1795; died June 15, 1849."

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Three times have the remains of Zachary Taylor been moved. The first interment was made at Washington; afterwards, by the wishes of his family, the body was moved to a family lot on the Taylor homestead, five miles out of Louisville, Kentucky; again they were removed to what was supposed to be a more suitable spot, in Cave Hill cemetery, within the city of Louisville. In 1878 the last change was made, and they were transferred to the beautiful cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky, where his grave was chosen in the corner of that burial spot that holds so many illustrious dead.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore lies buried under a magnificent Norway pine at Forest Lawn, just out of Buffalo, New York, the home of his manhood. A tall monument marks the spot and contains the simple inscription. Near by is the grave of Fillmore's daughter. Both mounds are in beautifully kept, grassy plats, and bear evidence of care and attention. Here, too, are buried many heroes of the Revolutionary war, and Stephen Champlin and Bidwell, who fell at Cedar Creek.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

The body of Franklin Pierce rests at Concord, New Hampshire, in the old cemetery on Main street, where lie the founders of Concord. The Pierce lot is one of the most ample and beautiful in the cemetery. It contains an acre of beautifully kept ground, traversed by neat paths and surrounded by a handsome iron fence. The monument is of Italian marble, and consists of a spire, with cap, die and plinth, resting on a base of granite. The shaft is surmounted by a draped cross, and the entire height of the monument is over fourteen feet.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

James Buchanan lies in Woodward Hill cemetery, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Conestoga river. The lot is carefully enclosed by a hedge of blooming roses and beautifully kept. A fine sarcophagus of Italian marble does honor to the memory of the statesman, and bears the simple inscription, "Here rest the remains of James Buchanan, fifteenth President of the United States; born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791; died at Wheatland, June 1, 1868."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

All the world knows and loves the spot that holds the ashes of the "martyr-chief." Lincoln lies in Oak Ridge cemetery in Springfield, Illinois. A magnificent memorial in marble, granite and bronze marks the spot. The structure was begun shortly after his death by Lincoln's friends, and soon became a tribute of a Nation's love and sorrow. The monument is of Quincy gray granite, and has at the base of the shaft a catacomb and a memorial hall, the former containing five crypts, side by side. The central crypt is closed, and the interior is viewed through a glass plate. In it is the sarcophagus containing the remains of Abraham Lincoln. Within the memorial hall are deposited articles used by Mr. Lincoln or associated with his life. The entire pile covers a space on the ground of one hundred and nine-

teen feet from north to south and of seventy-two feet from east to west; the top of the shaft stands ninety-eight feet above the ground. With the exception of the Garfield monument, this is the finest memorial ever erected in the United States, and is a fitting tribute to the memory of the greatest man of the nineteenth century.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

The site of Andrew Johnson's grave was selected by himself in the cemetery at Greenville, Tennessee. A large granite arch upon a broad base marks the spot and contains the inscription, "Andrew Johnson, seventeenth President of the United States of America; born December 29, 1808; died July 31, 1875. His faith in the people never wavered." The monument was erected by his sons, and is of marble on a wide base of granite. Pilasters on either side of the plinth support funereal urns. On the die is a carved scroll representing the Constitution of the United States and an open Bible, upon which rests a hand. The shaft is festooned by the American flag at the top, and is surmounted by an eagle with outstretched wings.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Just out of Albany is the beautiful Rural cemetery where so many of the illustrious dead of New York state are buried. Here lie William L. Marcy and General Philip Schuyler, General Peter Gansevoort, the defender of Fort Stanwix, and Colonel John Mills, the hero of Sackett's Harbor. Here lie Thurlow Weed and Erastus Corning, and here, too, the turf is still fresh over the grave of Chester A. Arthur. The Arthur plot is on the most westerly of the three ridges on which the cemetery is situated. It faces the setting sun and is on a gentle slope. On the central monument, a plain block of marble, is inscribed in old English letters, "Here lies the body of Ellen Lewis Herndon, wife of Chester A. Arthur, born at Culpepper, Va., Aug. 30, 1837; died at New York, Jan. 12, 1880." Near the grave of ex-President Arthur is a small, granite cenotaph, erected to

the memory of Mrs. Arthur's father, Captain Herndon, who was lost on the steamer *Central America*, in 1857. Other members of the family are interred here, as is witnessed by modest head-stones bearing family names.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

In those last sad days of struggle at Mt. McGregor, General Grant named as one of three places from which he wished a choice of burial-place to be made, "New York, because the people of that city befriended me in my need." So it was settled, and the spot at Riverside Park, where his ashes lie, is no less a shrine to the Nation than the tomb at Mt. Vernon and the one in the west where Lincoln sleeps. There could be found no more fitting spot for the burial of a Nation's hero than the one at Riverside. The tomb is on the top of a small hill gently sloping down to the blue river's brink, with its fringe of young oaks. Standing on the plateau which crowns the hill and on which the tomb is built, one may look down upon the lordly, lazy Hudson, as it rolls by two hundred feet below. To the left, across the river, rise the Palisades, and, looking upward, one can almost see in the distance the breaking line of West Point. The tomb is simplicity itself. It is a long, low structure with a curving top, made of brick and painted black. The heavy door is of iron, and shuts away from the world the immense steel casket in which lies all that is mortal of the greatest military commander the new world has ever known, the man over whom the Nation shed such tears as perhaps no other death has ever called from their eyes, and over whose bier the north and the south clasped hands in a common grief that has left no room for bitterness.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

The site where Garfield's stately monument is reared is the most commanding and beautiful in all Lake View cemetery, just within the limits of Cleveland. From the brow of the hill on which the tomb is built, one commands a view of all the beautiful grounds in this handsome burial spot, of the spires of the city and of the blue lake in the

distance. The monument itself is the costliest and most imposing one ever erected in America. It is of gray stone, and though still incomplete, is seen to consist of a round tower with a pagoda top, on a broad base, in which are the crypts. The entrance to the tower is through a magnificent portico and entrance hall, which leads into the memorial room, in which will be placed a life-size statue in marble of President Garfield. This room contains thirteen memorial windows, representing the thirteen original states; the walls are finished in Italian marble mosaics, picturing the funeral cortege of the dead President. In the top of the monument, which is reached by a winding stair-case, is a small room fitted up as a chapel and resting-place. Tower and portico rest on a broad, high base with sloping sides, in which are the five crypts, the central one containing the remains of Garfield, the others for the rest of his family. At the right of the entrance hall is a reception room, where the names of guests are recorded.

A SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN TABULAR FORM.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
985	Eric, the Red, lands on Greenland.
1000	Lief Ericsson lands on Rhode Island coast.
1492	Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.
1497	John Cabot discovers mainland of America.
1513	Ponce de Leon lands on Florida coast.
1528	Narvaez lands at Tampa bay.
1542	De Soto discovers the Mississippi.
1535	Cartier discovers St. Lawrence river.
1562	First French settlement at Port Royal.
1565	St. Augustine built by Menendez.
1576	Frobisher discovers Hudson straits.
1577	Drake enters the Pacific ocean.
1584	Sir Walter Raleigh's colony settles Virginia.
1604	Acadia settled by the French.
1606	Hudson's bay discovered.
1607	English settlement at Jamestown. (First permanent one in North America.)
1608	Quebec founded.
1616	Tobacco plant introduced into Virginia.
1619	First representative body, called Council of Burgesses, met at Jamestown.
	Introduction of slavery into colonies.
1620	Landing of Pilgrims at Plymouth.
1621	John Carver, first governor of New England.
1624	New Amsterdam settled by Dutch.
1629	Wouter Van Twiller, governor of New Amsterdam.
1630	Boston founded by Puritans.
1632	Maryland settled by Lord Baltimore.
1635	Connecticut settled.
1637	Maine and New Hampshire settled.
	Harvard college founded.
1638	First Swedish settlement in Delaware.
1639	First printing office in America, at Cambridge, by Samuel Green.
	First written constitution framed in America between Connecticut colonies.
1643	Confederation of New England colonies for mutual defense.
1647	Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Amsterdam.
1648	Cambridge platform adopted.

Year. A. D.	Events.
1649	John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut.
1651	Peter Stuyvesant takes possession Swedish colonies.
1663	Canada made a royal colony.
	Eliot's Indian Bible printed.
	North Carolina settled near Albemarle sound.
1664	New Netherlands taken by the English.
1667	New Netherlands ceded to English by peace of Breda.
1670	Conclusion of American treaty between England and Spain.
	South Carolina settled at Charlestown.
1675	King Philip's war in New England.
1677	Maine purchased by Massachusetts.
1679	La Salle explores the Louisiana territory
1681	Penn purchases Pennsylvania.
1683	Philadelphia founded.
1686	Andros sent to govern New England.
1688	General suppression of charter governments.
1689	King William's war begun.
	Destruction of Montreal.
1690	Attack on Schenectady.
	Congress of northern colonies.
	Port Royal, Nova Scotia, reduced by Sir William Phipps.
	Expedition against Canada, unsuccessful.
1692	Burning of witches at Salem, Massachusetts.
	New Hampshire purchased by Allen.
1693	William and Mary's college founded.
1697	Kidd's piracies.
1699	French colony in Louisiana territory.
1701	Yale college founded.
1702	Queen Anne's war begun.
1703	Appalachian Indians subdued.
	Maine ravaged by French and Indians.
1704	Boston *News-Letter*, first American periodical published.
1706	Carolina invaded by the French and Spanish.
1713	Queen Anne's war closed by treaty of Utrecht.
1715	Indian war in South Carolina.
1717	New Orleans settled by French.
1723	Vermont settled.
1740	Tennessee first explored.
	King George's war begun.
1742	Invasion of Florida by Indians and Spaniards.
1745	Louisburgh and Cape Breton taken from the French by the British
1748	Close of King George's war.
1749	English settlement in Nova Scotia.
1752	Hostilities between French and English settlers in Ohio valley.
1753	Washington's mission to the French.
1754	Defeat of Washington.
	Union of colonies.
1755	French and Indian war begun.
	Defeat of Braddock.
	Expulsion of French from Acadia.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1756	Fort Oswego taken by French.
1757	Fort William Henry taken by French.
1758	Repulse of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga.
	Forts Frontenac and Du Quesne taken by colonial armies.
	Final capture of Louisburgh, Cape Breton and Prince Edward islands.
1759	Invasion of Canada by English.
	Quebec taken. Death of Wolfe.
	Capture of Niagara, Crown Point, Ticonderoga.
1760	Surrender of Montreal.
1763	End of war by Peace of Paris.
1765	"American Stamp Act" resisted in Massachusetts and Virginia.
	First Colonial congress at New York.
	Declaration of Rights.
1768	Boston occupied by British troops.
1769	Daniel Boone explores Kentucky.
1772	Burning of *Gaspée*.
1773	Tax laid on tea.
	Tea destroyed at Boston.
	Boston Port bill passed by parliament.
1774	First Continental congress meets in Philadelphia.
1775	Battle of Lexington. Opening of Revolutionary war.
	Second Continental congress.
	Battle of Bunker Hill.
	Washington made commander-in-chief of the Continental army.
	Mecklenburgh Resolutions.
	Montgomery takes St. John and Montreal and falls at Quebec.
1776	British troops evacuate Boston.
	Moultrie defeats the English at Sullivan's island.
	Declaration of Independence.
	Battle of Long Island. American defeat.
	New York in possession of British.
	Battle of White Plains. American defeat.
	Battle of Trenton. British defeat.
	Washington at Morristown.
1777	Arrival of La Fayette.
	Capture of Ticonderoga by British.
	Battles of Bennington, Brandywine and Stillwater.
	Philadelphia occupied by British.
	Battle of Germantown.
	Burgoyne surrenders to Gates at Saratoga.
	Articles of Confederation adopted.
	Washington winters at Valley Forge.
1778	Benjamin Franklin sent to France.
	Alliance with France.
	Battle of Monmouth. Philadelphia regained by Americans.
	Arrival of French fleet under D'Estaing.
	Massacre at Wyoming.
	Colonel George Clark takes British posts "County of Illinois."
	Capture of Savannah (Georgia) by British.
1779	Wayne recaptures Stony Point.

Year. A. D.	Events.
1779	Paul Jones' victory off Scotland.
	Washington winters at Morristown.
1780	Fall of Charlestown.
	Gates defeated at Camden.
	Treason of Benedict Arnold. Capture of André.
1781	Battle of Cowpens.
	Battles of Guildford Court-House and Eutaw Springs.
	Siege of Yorktown.
	Surrender of Cornwallis. End of War.
1782	Treaty with Holland by John Adams, John Jay and others.
1783	Peace of Versailles.
	Disbanding of American armies.
	Departure of British troops.
	Independence of American troops acknowledged by Great Britain.
1785	John Adams first ambassador from United States to Great Britain.
1786	Shay's Insurrection.
1787	General convention at Philadelphia.
	Ordinance of 1787 for government of Northwest Territory established.
	Constitution of United States adopted.
1789	George Washington becomes first President of the United States.
1791	First United States bank established.
1792	Kentucky admitted to Union.
	United States mint established.
1793	Washington reëlected.
	Neutrality in regard to France.
	War with the Indians in the Northwest Territory.
	Eli Whitney invents the cotton-gin.
1794	Jay's treaty with England.
	Whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania.
1795	Treaty with Spain settling boundaries between United States and Spanish American territory.
1796	Washington resigns.
1797	John Adams elected second President of United States.
	Congress passes the Alien and Sedition laws.
	Difficulties with France over the Jay treaty.
1798	War measures adopted and Washington made commander-in-chief of army.
1799	Napoleon Bonaparte makes peace with the United States.
	Washington dies.
	Tennessee admitted to Union.
1800	Washington City settled upon as site of a National capital.
1801	Thomas Jefferson elected third President of United States.
	War declared against United States by Tripoli.
1803	Ohio admitted to Union.
	Purchase of Louisiana territory for fifteen millions.
	United States frigate *Philadelphia* taken by Tripolitans.
1804	Decatur recaptures the *Philadelphia*.
	Preble bombards Tripoli.
	Death of Alexander Hamilton.
1805	Thomas Jefferson reëlected President.
1807	First steamboat ascends the Hudson, built by Robert Fulton.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1807	The *Leopard* fires into the *Chesapeake*.
	President Jefferson passes the Embargo act.
	Slave trade in America forbidden.
	Aaron Burr tried for treason.
1809	James Madison elected fourth President of United States.
	Embargo act repealed. Non-intercourse act passed.
1811	Engagement between the *President* and the *Little Belt*.
	Indians on the Wabash defeated by General Harrison.
1812	War declared between the United States and Great Britain.
	Invasion of Canada under General Hull, who surrenders Detroit to the British.
	The *Constitution* captures the *Guerriere*.
	The *Wasp* captures the *Frolic*.
	The *Constitution* captures the *Java*.
	Louisiana admitted into the Union.
1813	James Madison reëlected.
	Harrison defeated by Proctor at Raisin river.
	Harrison holds Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson.
	Brilliant naval victories by Americans.
	Battle of Lake Erie.
	Battle of Thames. Tecumseh's death.
	Jackson wins victories over the Indians in Alabama.
1814	Burning of Washington by the British.
	Battle of Lundy's Lane.
	Battle of Plattsburgh.
	Treaty of Ghent.
1815	Battle of New Orleans. General Jackson defeats the British.
	War declared against Algiers.
1816	Indiana admitted to Union.
	United States bank incorporated.
1817	James Monroe elected fifth President of United States.
	Mississippi admitted to Union.
1818	Illinois admitted to Union.
	War with Seminole Indians.
1819	First ocean steamer crossed the Atlantic from Savannah to Liverpool.
	Spain ceded Florida to United States for five millions.
	Alabama admitted to Union.
1820	Maine admitted to Union.
	Struggle begins over admission of Missouri.
1821	Missouri Compromise adopted.
	Monroe reëlected.
1823	Monroe doctrine formulated.
1824	La Fayette's visit to America.
	Protective tariff extended and strengthened.
1825	Removal of Indians west of Mississippi river first recommended.
	John Quincy Adams elected sixth President of United States.
	Erie canal opened.
1828	Protective tariff increased.
1829	Andrew Jackson elected seventh President of United States.
1830	Mormons founded at Manchester, New York, by Joseph Smith.
	Treaty between the United States and the Porte.

Year. A. D.	Events.
1832	War with the Winnebagoes and other Indian tribes.
	Cholera in New York.
	Nullification in South Carolina.
	President Jackson's celebrated proclamation—vetoes National Bank bill.
1833	Andrew Jackson reëlected.
	Removal of the deposits from United States bank.
1834	President censured by senate for removing deposits.
1835	Great fire in New York.
1836	National debt paid off and surplus revenue divided among the states.
	Arkansas admitted into Union.
	Treaty with Morocco.
1837	Independence of Texas acknowledged.
	Martin Van Buren elected eighth President of United States.
	Michigan admitted into Union.
	Financial panic throughout the country.
1838	The exploring expedition sails.
1839	Trouble over the boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick.
	Antarctic continent discovered by the United States exploring expedition.
	Sub-treasury law passed by congress.
1841	William Henry Harrison elected tenth President of United States.
	Dies one month after inauguration.
	Vice-President John Tyler becomes President.
	Sub-treasury act repealed.
	Bankrupt act passed.
1842	Protective tariff increased.
	Webster-Ashburton treaty.
	Dorr insurrection.
1844	Trouble with the Mormons.
	Anti-rent riots in New York.
	Electro-magnetic telegraph first put in use.
1845	Annexation of Texas.
	James K. Polk elected eleventh President of United States.
1846	Treaty with Great Britain over Oregon boundary.
	Iowa admitted into the Union.
	War with Mexico.
	Hostilities commence on the Rio Grande.
	Battle of Palo Alto.
	Battle of Resaca de la Palma.
	Capture of Monterey.
	Tampico occupied.
	Commodore Sloat takes possession of California.
	California declares her independence.
	New tariff bill establishing *ad valorem* duties.
	Wilmot Proviso introduced into congress.
1847	Battle of Buena Vista.
	Battle of Sacramento.
	Capture of Vera Cruz.
	Battle of Cerro Gordo.
	Battles of Contreras and Churubusco.
	Battle of Molino del Rey.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1847	Battle of Chapultepec.
	Mexico surrenders.
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
	Wisconsin admitted into the Union.
	Discovery of gold in California.
	Suspension bridge finished at Niagara Falls.
1849	Zachary Taylor elected twelfth President of United States.
1850	Congress passed the Omnibus bill.
	President Taylor died.
	Vice-President Fillmore became President.
	California admitted to the Union.
	The Texas boundary settled.
	Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.
	Fugitive Slave bill passed.
	Conventions held to amend the Constitution of the United States.
1851	General Quitman of Mississippi arrested for violating the neutrality law by instigating an expedition against Cuba.
	Boundary between United States and Mexico fixed on right bank of Rio Grande del Norte, in 32° 22′ north latitude. Monument erected recording the same.
	President issued proclamation against filibustering expedition.
	Erie railway opened from New York city to Dunkirk.
	Great fires in California.
	Nicaragua route opened between New York and San Francisco.
	Kossuth arrives in America.
1852	Disputes between America and England respecting North American fisheries.
	Henry Clay died.
	Daniel Webster died.
	Difficulties with Peru.
	Resistance to the Fugitive Slave law.
1853	Franklin Pierce elected fourteenth President of United States.
	Gadsden Purchase made for twenty millions of dollars.
	Commodore Perry goes to Japan to make a treaty between Japan and the United States.
	First move made toward Pacific railway.
	Crystal Palace opened in New York.
	Yellow fever epidemic in south.
1854	Ostend Manifesto.
	Treaty with Japan concluded.
	The Kansas-Nebraska bill passed.
	Indignation meetings throughout the country over the Kansas-Nebraska bill.
	Cholera and yellow fever epidemics.
1855	Wisconsin district court pronounces the Fugitive Slave law unconstitutional.
	President Pierce issues proclamation against filibustering.
	Excitement in Kansas over Kansas-Nebraska bill.
1856	Great agitation and riots in Kansas.
	Charles Sumner assaulted by Preston Brooks.
1857	James Buchanan elected fifteenth President of United States.
	Minnesota admitted to the Union.
	Dred Scott decision given by Chief-Justice Taney.
	General financial panic.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1858	Kansas troubles continue.
	Question of slavery becomes paramount.
	Atlantic cable completed.
	First overland mail sent to California.
1859	New hall of United States senate first occupied.
	Treaty with China ratified.
	John Brown's raid for the liberation of slaves at Harper's Ferry.
	Oregon admitted to Union.
1860	Arkansas passed a law to banish free negroes from the state.
	Japanese embassy arrived.
	Maryland prohibited the manumission of slaves.
	Great Eastern arrived in New York.
	Prince of Wales visited United States.
	Great excitement over Presidential election.
	Abraham Lincoln elected sixteenth President of United States.
	Secession of the cotton states, South Carolina leading. Adopted an ordinance of secession. Eleven states seceded.
1861	*Star of the West* fired upon.
	Kansas admitted as a free state.
	Seceding states organized themselves under title of "Confederate States of America," with Jefferson Davis as President and Alexander H. Stephens as vice-president.
	Lincoln inaugurated.
	Fort Sumter fired upon by Confederates.
	President calls for seventy-five thousand men.
	Mass meeting in New York to support the government.
	Attack on Massachusetts troops in Baltimore.
	Arsenal at Harper's Ferry burned
	Rich Mountain victory.
	Bull Run defeat.
	First war loan made the government of two hundred and fifty million dollars.
	Capture of Fort Hatteras.
	Ball's Bluff defeat.
	General McClellan made commander-in-chief of northern armies.
	Forts at Port Royal taken.
	Captain Wilkes seizes Mason and Slidell.
1862	Mason and Slidell released.
	Mill Spring's defeat.
	Fort Henry taken.
	Roanoke taken by Burnside.
	Fort Donelson taken.
	Nashville taken.
	The *Cumberland* and *Congress* lost at Hampton Roads.
	Manassas evacuated by Confederates and occupied by Union troops.
	McClellan takes command of Army of Potomac.
	Newbern and Beaufort taken by Burnside.
	Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.
	McClellan besieges Yorktown.
	Shiloh defeat.
	Fort Pulaski taken.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1862	New Orleans taken.
	Yorktown occupied by McClellan.
	Norfolk taken.
	Merrimac burnt.
	Little Rock taken.
	Farragut ascends the Mississippi.
	Fair Oaks battle—Indecisive.
	Corinth taken.
	Memphis taken.
	Pope takes command of United States forces in Virginia.
	McClellan's skirmishes on Peninsula.
	Seven Days' battles on the Chickahominy.
	Tariff duties raised.
	Three hundred thousand more volunteers called for.
	President signs Emancipation and Confiscation acts.
	Halleck made commander-in-chief.
	Banks defeated at Cedar Mountain.
	McClellan retreats from Harrison's Landing.
	Second defeat at Bull Run.
	McClellan again commander-in-chief.
	Antietam victory.
	Harper's Ferry lost.
	President issues the first Emancipation Proclamation.
	Burnside made commander-in-chief.
	Fredericksburg defeat.
1863	Murfreesboro' victory.
	Second Emancipation Proclamation.
	Hooker made commander-in-chief.
	Monitors repulsed at Charlestown.
	Chancellorsville defeat.
	Vicksburg invested by General Grant.
	Maryland and Pennsylvania invaded by Lee.
	Meade supersedes Hooker.
	Gettysburgh victory.
	Vicksburg taken.
	Port Hudson taken.
	Draft riots in New York.
	Chickamauga defeat.
	Fort Sumter bombarded.
	Grant, Thomas and Sherman supersede Rosecrans in Tennessee.
	President calls for three hundred thousand more men.
	Chattanooga victory by Sherman and Thomas.
1864	Draft for five hundred thousand more men ordered.
	Kilpatrick and Dahlgren's raid on Richmond.
	Grant made commander-in-chief.
	Battle of the Wilderness.
	Battle of Spottsylvania.
	Grant before Petersburg.
	The *Kearsage* sinks the *Alabama*.
	Maryland again invaded by southern raiders.

Year. A. D.	Events.
1864	Sherman's victories at Atlanta, Georgia.
	Chambersburgh, Pennsylvania, burnt by rebels.
	Grant's mine at Petersburg exploded.
	Secretary Chase resigns. Fessenden succeeds him.
	Farragut's victory in Mobile bay.
	McClellan nominated for President by Democratic convention.
	Atlanta catured by Sherman.
	Sheridan's victory at Winchester.
	Cedar Creek defeat turned to victory by Sheridan.
	Lincoln reëlected President.
	McClellan resigns his command in army.
	Thomas repulses Hood at Nashville twice, and totally defeats him the second time.
	Fort McAllister stormed and Savannah occupied by Sherman.
	Butler and Porter repulsed at Wilmington.
1865	Congress abolishes slavery by an amendment to the Constitution.
	Lee takes command of southern armies and urges the arming of negroes.
	Wilmington captured by Schofield.
	Charlestown evacuated by southern army.
	Tariff still increased.
	Richmond and Petersburg taken by Union forces after three days' fighting.
	Grant's victory at Farmville.
	Surrender of Lee with his entire army.
	Mobile taken.
	Fort Sumter occupied.
	Assassination of President Lincoln. Death.
	Andrew Johnson sworn in as President.
	Sherman's convention with Johnston.
	Johnston's surrender.
	General Dick Taylor surrenders.
	Jefferson Davis captured.
	Proclamation opening southern ports and exceptional amnesty.
	Day of National fasting and prayer.
	Prisoners of war released on oath of allegiance.
	Debt of United States $2,757,253,000.
	Southern privateer *Shenandoah* destroys thirty vessels.
1866	Colorado bill vetoed.
	Congress passes Freedman's Bureau bill, Civil Rights bill, Pacific Railway bill, Army bill.
	Grant made general-in-chief of United States army.
	Sherman made lieutenant-general.
	Suffrage given to negroes in District of Columbia.
	Atlantic cable successfully completed.
1867	Nebraska admitted into Union.
	Tenure-of-Office bill passed.
	Military government for the South bill passed over the President's veto.
	Supplementary bill on military government of the South passed over the President's veto.
	Southern states divided into five military districts under Schofield, Sickles, Pope, Ord and Sheridan.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1867	Treaty for purchase of Russian America approved by senate.
	Jefferson Davis released on bail.
	Congress meets in special session and passes over the President's veto a bill to confirm and strengthen the military government.
	Secretary Stanton refuses to resign and is removed by senate.
	President Johnson proclaims general amnesty.
	Treaty signed for purchase of Danish islands St. Thomas and St. John for $7,500,000.
1868	Senate transfers jurisdiction over the southern states from Johnson to Grant.
	House votes to impeach President Johnson, tries him and senate refuses to impeach him.
	Chinese embassy received at Washington.
	Wyoming territory organized.
	House of representatives denounces repudiation of National debt.
1869	U. S. Grant elected eighteenth President of United States.
	Clarendon and Johnson convention in Alabama claims signed.
	Nolle prosequi ends prosecution against Jefferson Davis.
	Fifteenth Amendment passed.
	Schenck bill passed declaring that all National obligations will be paid in coin.
	Naturalization treaty with Great Britain ratified.
	Pacific railway completed.
1870	Darien canal scheme approved by congress.
	Mr. Revels, from Mississippi, first colored member of house, takes his seat.
	Fifteenth Amendment ratified.
	New tariff adopted to take effect January 1, 1871.
	Internal taxation begins to be reduced.
	President Grant's message regrets the failure of the proposal to annex San Domingo.
1871	Treaty for Alabama claims commission, etc., ratified.
	Polaris expedition sails for North Pole.
	Exposure of Tammany ring.
	Great fire in Chicago—Loss two hundred millions of dollars.
	Forest fires in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.
1872	General Amnesty bill passed.
	Alabama claims settled—Great Britain pays the United States $15,500,000.
	Great fire in Boston.
	Island of San Juan awarded to United States by emperor of Germany as arbitrator.
1873	Grant reëlected President.
	Modoc war begins.
	Credit Mobilier scandal in congress.
	General Canby and commissioners murdered by the Modocs.
	Modocs surrender.
	Railway and money panics.
	Americans of steamer *Virginius* executed by Spaniards.
1874	Women's temperance crusade.
	President Grant vetoes bill for inconvertible paper money.
	Riots between negroes and whites at Austin, Mississippi.
	Negro insurrection at Trenton, Tennessee.
	Governor Kellogg of Louisiana deposed by a rising of whites. Restored by United States forces.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1874	Senate passes bill to resume specie payment, January 1, 1879.
1875	Senate rejects new reciprocity treaty with Canada.
	Civil Rights bill (for negroes) passed.
	First American cardinal (McClosky) received at Rome.
	Inflationist defeats in Ohio and Iowa.
1876	Centennial year.
	Minister Schenk resigns on account of Emma Mine scandals.
	Lincoln monument, erected by negroes, unveiled at Washington.
	International exposition opened at Philadelphia.
	War with the Sioux Indians.
	General Custer and his command ambushed and killed.
	Hamburg (S. C.) massacre of negro militia by Butler and others.
	Secretary Belknap impeached for corruption, but acquitted.
	Colorado admitted.
	President Grant's proclamation against unlawful combinations to affect elections in south.
	Excitement over the Presidential election. Both Democratic and Republican parties claimed it. Referred to an electoral commission, who decide that the electoral vote stand one hundred and eighty-four to one hundred and eighty-five in favor of R. B. Hayes, who is declared elected the nineteenth President of the United States.
1877	United States troops evacuated South Carolina state-house. Governor Chamberlain has to yield to Hampton.
	United States troops evacuate state-house at New Orleans; Kellogg government yields to Nicholls.
	President Hayes declares for civil service reform.
	Indian war under Chief Joseph breaks out in Idaho.
	Railway riot at Pittsburgh.
	Chinese labor riots in the west.
	Nez Perce Indians under Chief Joseph surrender.
	Halifax Fisheries commission decree that the United States is to pay Great Britain $5,500,000.
1878	Gold sells at par in New York for first time since the war.
	Senate ratifies the Samoan treaty which gives United States naval vessels use of harbor of Pagopago.
	House of representatives appoints a committee to investigate election frauds of 1876.
	Yellow fever epidemic in south.
1879	Specie payments resumed.
	The *Jeannette* sails from San Francisco for Arctic regions.
	Discussion in congress over setting aside a part of the Burlingame treaty.
	Major Thornburgh and ten soldiers killed by the Indians in Colorado.
	The Apache Indians kill forty settlers in New Mexico.
1880	Indian chief, Victoria, and fifty braves killed by Mexicans.
	Kansas adopts prohibitory amendment to Constitution.
	James A. Garfield elected twentieth President of the United States.
1881	Garfield inaugurated.
	New treaty with China, regulating commerce, confirmed.
	The *Jeannette* destroyed by ice in Siberian seas.
	President Garfield shot by Guiteau.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1881	Indian chief, Sitting Bull, surrenders at Fort Buford.
	President Garfield dies and Vice-President Arthur takes the oath of office.
1882	Congress passes Apportionment bill giving house of representatives three hundred and twenty-five members.
	Outbreak of Apache Indians in Arizona.
	Congress passes bill suspending Chinese immigration for ten years.
	J. F. Slater gives one million dollars for the education of the colored people of the south.
	Guiteau hanged in Washington.
	Perfection and general introduction of the electric light.
1883	Civil Service Reform bill passed house of representatives.
	Militia ordered to Grayson to protect Neal and Croft.
	Senator Edmunds chosen president of senate *vice* David Davis, resigned.
	Ingalls' Million-dollar bill fails to pass senate.
	Great strikes among coal miners of Pennsylvania.
	Brooklyn bridge opened.
	New Tariff and Civil Service acts go into effect.
	Southern exposition held.
	Great telegraph strike declared in favor of company.
	Monument to Zachary Taylor unveiled at Louisville.
	Two-cent letter postage goes into effect.
	Civil Rights bill declared unconstitutional.
	General Sheridan made commander-in-chief of army *vice* General Sherman, retired.
	Alexander H. Stephens dies.
1884	Arrival of bodies of Commodore De Long and companions, who perished in Arctic explorations.
	British government presents United States with steamer *Alert* for Greely relief expedition.
	United States supreme court confirms Legal Tender act of 1878.
	Mexican treaty ratified by senate.
	Cincinnati riot.
	Greely relief steamers *Bear* and *Thetis* leave New York.
	Suspension of Marine bank.
	Defeat of Morrison Tariff bill.
	Senate passes bill placing General Grant on retired list.
	Panic in Wall street.
	James G. Blaine and John A. Logan nominated for President and vice-president on Republican ticket.
	America makes time from New York to Queenstown, 6 days, 14 hours, 18 minutes.
	Survivors of Arctic expedition rescued.
	Bartholdi statue formally presented to people of United States.
	President Arthur vetoes Porter bill, house passes it over the veto, senate sustains veto.
	Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks nominated for President and vice-president by Democratic convention.
	Postmaster-General Gresham resigns and becomes secretary of treasury.
	Celebration of centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore.
	Hugh McCulloch made secretary of treasury.
	Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks elected President and vice-president.
	Heavy floods in Ohio, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1884	Indians massacre fifteen whites at Mitchell's, Colorado.
	Heavy cyclones in the west.
	Wendell Phillips dies.
1885	Senate passes Grant Retirement bill.
	Natural gas explosions at Pittsburgh.
	Washington monument dedicated.
	Inauguration of President Cleveland.
	President Cleveland withdraws Nicaragua canal and Spanish treaties from senate.
	United States supreme court affirms constitutionality of Edmunds Anti-polygamy bill.
	New version of Old Testament published.
	Bartholdi statue received in New York.
	Austria refuses to receive Minister Keiley.
	Strikes in Chicago.
	Disastrous cyclones in west.
	Death of General Grant.
	Special delivery system inaugurated in post-office department.
	Vice-President Hendricks dies.
1886	Presidential Succession bill passed by senate.
	Michigan drummers' tax declared unconstitutional.
	Chinese riots in Wyoming.
	Generals Hancock and Logan die.
	House passes Fitz-John Porter Relief bill.
	Senate passes bill appropriating two hundred and fifty thousand dollars toward Grant monument.
	Strikes all over country.
	Labor Arbitration bill passed by house.
	Great floods in Arkansas.
	United States schooners seized by Canadians for violating fishery treaty.
	Tally sheet forgeries in Ohio.
	Cullom Inter-state Commerce bill passed.
	Fitz-John Porter bill passes senate.
	Canada places a fine of four hundred dollars on each of three captured American fishing vessels.
	Bartholdi statue unveiled in New York harbor.
	Judgment of three million dollars given to Choctaw nation.
	General Logan and ex-President Arthur die.
1887	Dawes bill passes.
	Inter-state Commerce bill passed.
	Garfield statue in Washington unveiled.
	President revokes order to return captured southern flags to the southern governors.
	Uprising of the Indians in west.
	Gettysburgh battle-field monuments dedicated.
	Yellow fever epidemic in Florida.
	Chicago anarchists executed.
	Kansas Prohibitory law declared valid.
	Tucker Amendment to the Edmunds Anti-Mormon bill passed by house.
	Electoral Count bill passed the house.
	Canadian Fishery Retaliation bill passed.

YEAR. A. D.	EVENTS.
1888	Strikes among railway engineers.
	New Jersey passed a High-license Local Option bill.
	Bell telephone trial decided in favor of the Bell company.
	The bond purchase circular issued by Secretary Fairchild.
	Melville W. Fuller of Chicago made chief-justice of United States supreme court.
	New York legislature passes a bill to execute criminals by electricity.
	Reunion of Federal and Confederate troops was held on field of Gettysburgh.
	Mills Tariff bill passed by the house of representatives.
	Yellow fever panic in the south.
	Senate offered its substitute for the Mills bill.
	President Cleveland signed the Chinese Exclusion bill.
	Benjamin Harrison elected twenty-third President of the United States.
	The Direct Tax bill passed the house.

"BROTHER JONATHAN" AND "UNCLE SAM."

THESE colloquial appellations, by which the United States are personified as rather shrewd specimens of the Yankee type, had their growth under circumstances that, by some lucky chance, brought them into general use in a section, and thence spread because they were convenient forms by which the people could designate familiarly the governmental powers that be. The first-named dates back to Revolutionary times. After Washington was appointed commander of the patriot army, and took command at Cambridge, he found his soldiers in want of ammunition and many other needed supplies. As this want continued for many months, Washington was compelled to face grave difficulties. On one occasion, when no way could be devised for obtaining the supplies needed, and when an attack from the enemy was daily expected, he wound up the conference of his officers with the remark, "We must consult Brother Jonathan," referring to Jonathan Trumbull, who was then the wise, popular and efficient governor of Connecticut. As in previous cases, when he had been severely tested, the governor proved a generous and helpful friend. As the army spread out over the country, the expression "We must consult Brother Jonathan," that had become a by-word to it in all cases of difficulty, became generally adopted by the people; and as time passed, and knowledge of the party referred to was lost, "Brother Jonathan" became a synonym for the Nation itself, and occupies a place upon this side of the sea like that of "John Bull" upon the other.

The name "Uncle Sam," as also applied to the United States, is said to have had its origin in the War of 1812. An inspector of army provisions at Troy, New York, named Samuel Wilson, was commonly

called by his workmen "Uncle Sam." While purchasing beef, pork and sundry articles for the government after the declaration of war with England, a contractor named Elbert Anderson had a number of barrels of such goods marked with his own initials, followed by "U. S." for United States. The latter initials were not familiar to Wilson's men, and when enquiry was made as to what they meant, the answer was, "I don't know, unless they mean 'Uncle Sam,'" referring to Wilson. A vast amount of such property passed through Wilson's hands during the war, all marked the same way, and he was rallied as to the extent of his possessions. The joke gradually spread through the army, and ere long the initials "U. S.," when applied to property of the United States, were translated "Uncle Sam," and by a natural transition came to stand for the Nation itself.

ORIGIN OF THE DOLLAR MARK.

IT is generally supposed that our dollar sign $ is a monogram of the initials U. S., and as such had its origin. This is not the case. The American dollar is taken from the Spanish dollar, on the reverse of which is a representation of the pillars of Hercules, and around each pillar is a scroll with the words *Plus Ultra*. This device, in course of time, has degenerated into the sign which at present stands for both the Spanish and the American dollar. It is thought that the scroll around the pillars represents the two serpents sent by Juno to strangle the young Hercules in his cradle.

MASON AND DIXON'S LINE.

THE southern boundary line which separates the free state of Pennsylvania from what was at one time the slave states of Maryland and Virginia, has received the special title of Mason and Dixon's line, from the fact that it was run by Charles Mason and

Jeremiah Dixon, two English mathematicians and surveyors. The line lies 39° 43′ 26″ north latitude, and the work was performed between November 15, 1763, and December 26, 1767. In the debates on slavery prior to the admission of Missouri to the Union, John Randolph used the words "Mason and Dixon's line" as figurative of the discussion between the two systems of free and slave labor. The designation was taken up and used by the press and the politicians, and continued in such use until the extinction of slavery in the great Civil war.

RULE TO FIND THE NUMBER OF ANY CONGRESS.

TO determine the years covered by a given congress, double the number of the congress, and add the product to 1789; the result will be the year in which the congress closed. Take this for example: the Thirty-fifth congress doubled, gives us 70; add 1789, and we have 1859, the year in which, on March 4, the Thirty-fifth congress closed. To find the number of a congress sitting in any given year, substract 1789 from the year. If the result is an even number, half that number will give the congress of which the year in question saw the close. If the result is an odd number, add one, and half the result will give the congress of which the year in question was the first year.

DURATION OF EACH CONGRESS.

First	1789 to 1791	Seventh	1801 to 1803
Second	1791 " 1793	Eighth	1803 " 1805
Third	1793 " 1795	Ninth	1805 " 1807
Fourth	1795 " 1797	Tenth	1807 " 1809
Fifth	1797 " 1799	Eleventh	1809 " 1811
Sixth	1799 " 1801	Twelfth	1811 " 1813

Thirteenth	1813	1815
Fourteenth	1815	1817
Fifteenth	1817	1819
Sixteenth	1819	1821
Seventeenth	1821	1823
Eighteenth	1823	1825
Nineteenth	1825	1827
Twentieth	1827	1829
Twenty-first	1829	1831
Twenty-second	1831	1833
Twenty-third	1833	1835
Twenty-fourth	1835	1837
Twenty-fifth	1837	1839
Twenty-sixth	1839	1841
Twenty-seventh	1841	1843
Twenty-eighth	1843	1845
Twenty-ninth	1845	1847
Thirtieth	1847	1849
Thirty-first	1849	1851
Thirty-second	1851	1853
Thirty-third	1853	1855
Thirty-fourth	1855	1857
Thirty-fifth	1857	1859
Thirty-sixth	1859	1861
Thirty-seventh	1861	1863
Thirty-eighth	1863	1865
Thirty-ninth	1865	1867
Fortieth	1867	1869
Forty-first	1869	1871
Forty-second	1871	1873
Forty-third	1873	1875
Forty-fourth	1875	1877
Forty-fifth	1877	1879
Forty-sixth	1879	1881
Forty-seventh	1881	1883
Forty-eighth	1883	1885
Forty-ninth	1885	1887
Fiftieth	1887	1889
Fifty-first	1889	1891

QUESTIONS.

PRESIDENTS.

1. What President was called the apostle of Liberty?
2. What President joined the southern Confederacy?
3. What President was inaugurated at Congress hall?
4. What three Presidents died on July 4?
5. What President made his most famous speech on a battle-field?
6. How many state governors have been Presidents?
7. What President was noted for his opposition to the United States bank?
8. What President took the oath of office on Sunday?
9. What President was vice-president, minister to England, secretary of state, United States senator, governor, state senator, state secretary, state attorney-general and surrogate.
10. What important proclamation did President Grant make?
11. Against what President was a vote of censure adopted in the senate?
12. Who was President during what is called "The era of good feeling?"
13. Which President was called "The American Fabius?"
14. Why was Washington called "The Cincinnatus of the West?"
15. What President was a lieutenant-general in the French army?
16. Who was President of the United States for one day by virtue of his office?
17. What Ex-President died in the capital?
18. Who is called the interregnum President?
19. Why is the President of the United States inaugurated on the fourth of March? Why not some other day?
20. At what Presidential election and what noted statesman received many thousand votes for the office of President after he was dead?

21. What two candidates for President received the same number of votes, the election being thrown upon the house of representatives, and on the thirty-sixth ballot one being elected President and the other vice-president?

22. What President's wife was honored first by congress conferring the franking privilege?

23. What President's wife was voted a seat on the floor of the senate?

24. What President tried to commit suicide?

25. Who became President of the United States, the representative of no faction, the choice of no convention and the leader of no party?

26. In what year was the President of the United States unable to get his salary, and what President was it?

27. Which of our Presidents were self-educated?

28. What two opposing candidates for President each carried nineteen states?

29. What Presidents have been elected yet failed to receive the majority of votes cast?

30. Who has had the largest majority in the popular vote?

31. Who was the first candidate who received more than 1,000,000 votes?

32. What Presidential candidate carried ten-elevenths of the Electoral college?

33. What are the duties of the President?

34. What is the highest appointive office of the President?

35. Who is the legal adviser of the President?

36. What President appointed the midnight judges?

37. What President had what was called the Kitchen Cabinet?

38. What President married another man's wife (not divorced)?

39. What President waited and drew his salary all at one time, $100,000?

40. What President was twice vice-president and twice President?

41. During what President's administration and what three of his cabinet ministers were unfaithful to their trust and were engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Republic while in office and sworn to protect it from harm?

42. What President was the first to veto a bill?

43. What is meant by the President's veto?

44. What President had the proposition once made to him to make this country a monarchy, to accept the headship of such a government with the title of a king, and assured him that the army would support him?

45. During what President's administration were two of his cabinet killed by accident, and who were they?

46. What five Presidents were born within a radius of thirty miles?

47. What President learned to read after he was married?

48. What President fought a duel?

49. What President came near being assassinated like Lincoln and Garfield?

50. What Presidents were school-teachers in early life?

AMERICAN FLAG.

1. When were the stars and stripes adopted?

2. What are the proper dimensions of the American flag? How long and how wide should it be?

3. Why is the star of the United States a five-pointed star?

4. When is a state entitled to a star on the flag?

5. When, where and by whom was the first flag made?

6. What do the colors red, white and blue represent?

7. What is the blue part of the flag called?

8. On what star or constellation is the American flag based?

9. When and where can that constellation be found?

10. Who wrote the "Star-Spangled Banner?"

11. Who wrote the song, "The Bonnie Red, White and Blue?"

12. Who wrote the song, "The American Flag?"

13. Who wrote the song, "Hail Columbia?"

14. When and who unfurled the first American flag?

15. In what year did the American flag have fifteen stripes and when was it reduced to the original number, thirteen?

16. What is the difference between the National ensign and the revenue ensign as seen on all revenue vessels, custom-houses and over the buildings appertaining to the treasury department?

17. Describe the yacht ensign.

18. Describe the navy pennant.

19. Describe the revenue pennant.

20. What are the three different jacks or unions? Describe each.

21. What state was the first to add a star to the flag and when was it?

22. What does the constellation of Lyra signify?

23. In what year were the first regulations issued prescribing a flag denoting the presence of the President?

24. What flag indicates that all intercourse is forbidden?
25. To what flag does the National ensign show submission?

POLITICAL.

1. What is known as the scrub race for the Presidency?
2. How many electors composed the first Electoral college?
3. Who was the originator of the political proverb, "Millions for Defense and not One Cent for Tribute?"
4. When and to what part of the Republican party was the name Democrat first applied?
5. When and where did the first congressional caucus meet to nominate candidates for President and vice-president?
6. When did the first National convention meet for the purpose of placing a Presidential ticket in nomination?
7. In what year did the Abolition party make its entry into politics?
8. What Presidential campaign was called the campaign of "Noise, Numbers and Nonsense?"
9. When was the first National convention of the Whig party?
10. When and where did the first National convention of the party now known as the Republican party meet, and who was placed in nomination for President?
11. Why were the members of the American party called Know-Nothings?
12. What is meant by the phrase, Waving of the Bloody Shirt?
13. What is meant by the Ohio Idea?
14. What is meant by the Rag Baby and who was its author?
15. What is the origin of the term Loco Foco?
16. Does naturalization confer the right of suffrage?
17. In what Presidential campaign were there thirteen candidates for President?
18. In what Presidential campaign was there a woman candidate for President? Who was it and how many votes did she receive?
19. When and where has the Electoral college met, and when does it now meet, to vote for President and vice-president?
20. What act of congress led to the formation of the Republican party?
21. When and who was the first cabinet officer to be impeached?
22. What are the powers of the National government?

23. In case the President and vice-president should both die, resign, be impeached, removed, or be unable to perform the duties of the office of President, who would succeed to the office of President?

24. Enumerate the six chief remote causes of the Revolution.

25. What was the direct cause of the Revolution?

FINANCIAL.

1. When was the first money coined by the government?

2. When were the first treasury notes issued by the government?

3. In what year did the government dishonor its own paper?

4. When was the act creating the first treasury department approved?

5. When was the bill approved establishing the first National bank and where was it?

6. In what year did the public debt reach its highest point previous to the War of the Rebellion, and what was the amount?

7. In what year did the inflation of our paper currency raise prices and greatly increase the consumption of foreign commodities?

8. In what year did the United States import into this country from Europe $7,000,000 of specie, at an expense of $800,000, to force state banks to a specie basis?

9. Under what President's administration did our bonds sell for less than par, 89.03 for 100?

10. When did congress legalize the issue of postage stamps for change?

11. When did the government suspend coin payment?

12. In what year was the United States mint established?

13. When were greenbacks first issued?

14. In what year was the first discussion of specie payment and by whom?

15. In what year did the public debt reach its highest point and what was the debt?

16. In what year did the government stop the coinage of the dollar known as the Daddies' Dollar?

17. In what year did the government commence the coinage of the trade dollar?

18. What was the Specie Circular?

19. What was the direct cause of the financial panic of 1857?

20. What was the amount of the loan that was not authorized by law yet the government paid it?

21. What was the cost of the Revolutionary war and how many troops did the colonies furnish from 1775 to 1783?

22. What was the cost of the War of 1812 and how many troops were engaged?

23. What was the cost of the Mexican war and how many troops were engaged?

24. What was the cost of the war between the states and what was the number of troops engaged?

25. Who was the founder of our system of National coinage?

26. When did the government suspend specie payment, in what years?

27. What is meant by refunding the National debt?

28. Why was silver demonetized in 1873?

29. When did foreign silver coins cease to be a legal tender in the United States?

30. When was the United States entirely out of debt?

TARIFF.

1. What is tariff for revenue?

2. What was the American system?

3. When was the first protective tariff bill passed?

4. When was the first tax imposed on goods imported into this country?

5. When was the first money received by the government from the collections of revenue and what was the amount?

6. What tariff act is known as the Warehouse act?

7. What was the basis of our first note circulation?

8. Who received the first money paid out by the government that was received from revenue?

9. What one article has paid the highest duty, as high at 833 per cent.?

10. What tariff act is regarded as the first protective measure for American manufactures and when was said bill passed?

11. What tariff act was openly declared protective, otherwise no one would have known it?

12. What tariff act is the basis of our present tariff system?

13. How many times was the ninth tariff act increased from 1861 to 1868?

14. What was the average duty of the tariff of 1868 and how any articles were taxed?

15. When was the first internal revenue tax imposed?

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. What vice-president took the oath of office in a foreign land (by a special act of congress) and never lived long enough to occupy the chair?

2. What vice-president was tried for treason?

3. What vice-president was indicted for murder by a grand jury in the state of New Jersey?

4. What vice-president was the grandson of an eminent divine?

5. How many vice-presidents, by election, has this country had?

6. In what election was a vice-president, but no President, elected?

7. What two vice-presidents have been called the Christian statesmen?

8. What two vice-presidents refused to vacate the chair long enough to allow a president *pro tem.* to be elected?

9. What vice-president took the oath of office as President in the city of New York?

10. Why is the vice-president inaugurated first?

11. How many vice-presidents have died in office?

12. How many vice-presidents have resigned?

13. How many vice-presidents have become Presidents by virtue of their office?

14. What three vice-presidents were signers of the Declaration of Independence?

15. What is the present salary of the vice-president?

16. Are all citizens of the United States eligible to the office of vice-president?

17. How may the vice-president be removed?

18. How old must a citizen be to be eligible to the office of vice-president?

19. How many vice-presidents and acting vice-presidents has this country had?

20. Who takes the place of the vice-president in case he is absent from the senate chamber during the session of congress?

INDUSTRIAL.

1. How does this country compare in wealth with other countries?
2. Who invented the cotton-gin?
3. Who received the first patent for an American locomotive-engine?
4. In what year were laborers first imported?
5. When, where and what was the first manufactory started in this country?
6. In what year was the first petition presented to congress for protection?
7. In what year was the first patent issued by the United States?
8. In what year and where was the first sewing thread ever made?
9. In what year and where was the first successful attempt to manufacture sugar from cane?
10. In what year did English manufacturers crowd our ports with foreign goods to break down our manufactories?
11. In what year did the United States import wheat from Russia?
12. In what year did congress institute a committee on commerce and manufactures, and how many years did it remain before being divided into different branches?
13. In what year did our government determine for the first time to make an accurate report, if possible, of the productive industry of the country, including all establishments that produced over $500 a year?
14. What was the value of the products of that year?
15. What were the causes of the panics of 1837, 1857 and 1873?
16. When and where was the first agricultural fair held in the United States?
17. When and where did the first strike take place in this country?
18. What country is the principal market for our exported productions?
19. What two influences growing out of the Civil war exerted a peculiarly stimulating effect on production and so increased our trade immediately?
20. In what year was the Embargo act passed prohibiting for ninety days the exportation of any specie, goods, wares or merchandise under penalty of forfeiture and fine?

JUDICIARY.

1. What is the basis of our common law?
2. In what year was our National judiciary established?

3. In which articles and sections of the Constitution is the judiciary power to be found?

4. Are the territorial courts a part of the judiciary?

5. What are consular courts?

6. When did the first judiciary act become a law?

7. What did the first supreme court consist of?

8. What are the judicial districts?

9. In what year did the supreme court decide against the constitutionality of the action of congress in 1862 in giving a legal tender character to the paper currency?

10. In what year was the decision reversed and congress sustained?

11. How many chief-justices have there been?

12. For how long is the chief-justice appointed?

13. In what year was the number of associate justices increased to six, then to eight, then to nine, then decreased to eight, then to seven, and then increased to eight?

14. How many district judges are there now?

15. What is the salary of the chief-justice?

16. What is the salary of the associate justices?

17. What chief-justice held his office for thirty-five years?

18. The judicial power of the United States is vested in how many courts?

19. Is the judicial department of the National government separate from the legislative and executive?

20. When and how often does the supreme court meet?

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Who was the first martyr to American liberty?

2. Name the cities which have been the capitals of the United States.

3. Name the rebellions which have occurred in our history.

4. Name the seven most important United States laws pertaining to slavery?

5. What foreigner has visited this country as the Nation's guest?

6. Have women ever been allowed to vote for President of the United States?

7. Who was the first proposer of secession in the United States congress?

8. Who was the originator of the phrase, "Mason and Dixon's line?"

9. What is meant by Mason and Dixon's line?

10. What invention has foolishly been said to have caused the Rebellion?

11. What was the turning-point of the War of the Rebellion?

12. What American general of the Civil war is said never to have lost a battle?

13. What hall has been called the "Cradle of Liberty?"

14. Where was the birthplace of liberty?

15. What places in the United States government have no representative government?

16. What is particularly remarkable about the code laws adopted by Rhode Island as a colony?

17. During what campaign in our Civil war were wooden mortars used?

18. The grave of what Revolutionary general could not be found when congress attempted to place a monument over it?

19. What single senator from a southern state did not go with his state when it withdrew from the Union?

20. What was the Dred Scott decision and by whom was it rendered?

21. Who was Dred Scott?

22. What is meant by state sovereignty?

23. What was the capital of the United States first called?

24. When and by whom was the name changed to Washington city?

25. Who named the eastern states "New England?"

26. When was the first state admitted to the Union?

27. What was the last slave state admitted to the Union?

28. What act of congress was declared unconstitutional thirty-four years after it became a law?

29. What is meant by the sub-treasury system?

30. What is the Monroe doctrine?

31. What building is known as Federal hall?

32. What distinguished foreigner laid the corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument?

33. Washington city, in its general plan, has been called a combination of what three cities?

34. By what other names is Washington city known?

35. Why is the executive mansion called the White House?

36. What is the White House made of?

37. From what building is the White House modeled after and where is the building situated?

38. What does it cost the government annually to maintain the White House exclusive of the President's salary?

39. How many have been tried, convicted and hung for treason?

40. When and where did the first Continental congress meet?

41. Who was president of the first Continental congress?

42. At what session of the Continental congress was the Declaration of Independence adopted?

43. When and where did the first Provincial congress meet?

44. Who was president of the first Provincial congress?

45. Who were called the Seven Sons of Liberty?

46. When was the first election held for President of the United States?

47. When was the first law in relation to slave trade passed?

48. Have the Indians, as a whole or in part, any representation in congress?

49. What signer of the Declaration of Independence signed a duplicate copy for the state of New York fifty years after signing the original one?

50. Who was the last survivor of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, and how many years did he live after signing it?

ANSWERS.

PRESIDENTS

1. Thomas Jefferson.
2. John Tyler.
3. John Adams was inaugurated at Congress hall, in Philadelphia, March 4, 1797.
4. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and James Monroe.
5. Abraham Lincoln, at Gettysburg (page 913, Vol. II).
6. Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, James K. Polk, R. B. Hayes and Grover Cleveland. Andrew Johnson was a military governor, and A. Jackson and W. H. Harrison were territorial governors. Seven state governors, one military governor and two territorial governors.
7. Andrew Jackson.
8. Rutherford B. Hayes.
9. Martin Van Buren.
10. A general amnesty to all connected with the Civil war.
11. Andrew Jackson.
12. James Monroe.
13. George Washington.
14. Because, like Cincinnatus, the Roman counsel, they found him at his plow clad in tunic. Such was virtually the case of George Washington when a high officer of the government found Washington and offered him the command of the army.
15. George Washington.
16. David R. Atchison.
17. John Quincy Adams.
18. David R. Atchison.
19. Because the fourth of March falls on Sunday the least number of times in a century.

20. Daniel Webster. Georgia cast 5,324 votes and Massachusetts cast 1,200 votes.

21. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

22. President Madison's wife (Mrs. Dorothy Payne Madison).

23. President Madison's wife (Mrs. Dorothy Payne Madison).

24. James Buchanan.

25. George Washington.

26. In 1842. President Tyler (see page 166, Vol. III).

27. Andrew Johnson.

28. James A. Garfield and Winfield Scott Hancock.

29. Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

30. Grover Cleveland received 4,874,986 votes (see page 75, Vol. III).

31. William Henry Harrison, in 1840, received 1,275,017 votes.

32. James Monroe had 231 electoral votes to J. Q. Adams, 1 electoral vote.

33. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into active service of the United States. He shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed, etc., and shall commission all the officers of the United States (see Section 2, Article II., of the Constitution.)

34. The chief-justice of the United States.

35. The members of his cabinet who are called secretaries. They are his constitutional advisers, the secretary of state coming first

36. John Adams (see page 186, Vol. III).

37. Andrew Jackson.

38. Andrew Jackson.

39. Martin Van Buren.

40. Thomas Jefferson.

41. James Buchanan's administration. There were three: The secretary of the treasury, Howell Cobb of Georgia; the secretary of war, John B. Floyd of Virginia; and the secretary of the interior, Jacob Thompson of Mississippi.

42. George Washington was the first President to veto any bill, viz., "An act for the apportionment of representatives among the several states according to the first enumeration."

43. Article I. of the National Constitution authorizes the President of the United States to return any act presented to him for his approval to the house in which it may have originated, with his objections in writing. This is called a veto. If the house shall thereafter

pass the bill by a vote of two-thirds of its members, it becomes a law without the signature of the President.

44. George Washington.

45. During President Taylor's administration. Abel P. Upshur, secretary of state, and T. W. Gilmer, secretary of the navy, were killed by the explosion of a gun on board the ship of war, *Princeton*, February 28, 1845.

46. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, James Madison and John Tyler.

47. Andrew Johnson.

48. Andrew Jackson.

49. Andrew Jackson.

50. John Adams, John Q. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur and Grover Cleveland.

AMERICAN FLAG.

1. June 14, 1777.

2. The length of the Nation's ensign is twenty-four feet; width fourteen feet; the standard of the army is fixed at six feet six inches long by four feet four inches wide.

3. Because a six or eight-pointed star looks like a round wheel at a distance, while a five-pointed star always looks the same. It is also said, because there were five nationalities largely represented at the time of forming the Republic—Holland, France, Germany, England and Scotland.

4. An act approved April 4, 1818, says, that on the admission of every new state into the Union one star shall be added to the union of the flag, and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission.

5. In Philadelphia, at the residence of Mrs. Ross, in Arch street; the house is now standing.

6. Red represents a signal of defiance, hardiness and valor. Red denotes daring, a signal of defiance, tells of the blood shed by them, the thirteen states, for their country, the red stripes to be used as a scourge to our enemies, as they used stripes on the bodies of those they punish. The thirteen red stripes represent the number of united colonies of the states as well as the equality among themselves. White represents

purity, peace and innocence, and blue represents and involves the virtues of vigilance, perseverance and justice, and tells of the heavens and their protection of the home of peace and happiness, the home for all, the land of the free. The colors are the same as those of the Trinity: the Father is represented by red, the Holy Ghost by white, and the Son by blue (see American Flag).

7. The field or union, or, if alone, it is called the union or jack.

8. On the constellation of Lyra, which has thirteen stars in its constellation, and because Lyra was a time-honored emblem of union and harmony, and because it leads the stars and whirls along the immense orbit of the revolving world.

9. It can be seen in July in the zenith; it is situated in the Northern Hemisphere to the south of the constellation Draco, having Cygnus on one side and Hercules on the other.

10. Francis Keys, a resident of Georgetown, District of Columbia, wrote the "Star Spangled Banner" on board the ship *Minden*, between midnight and dawn, on September 14, 1814. The rude substance of the song was written on the back of a letter which Keys happened to have in his pocket. On the night after his return to Baltimore he wrote it out in full.

11. David T. Shaw of Philadelphia. The music and words were arranged by T. A. Becket of Philadelphia, written in the fall of 1843.

12. The song, "American Flag," was written by Joseph Rodman Drake of New York, and was the last song written by Drake and was written between the twentieth and twenty-fifth of May, 1819.

13. The song, "Hail Columbia," was written by the Honorable Joseph Hopkinson, LL.D., of Philadelphia. He was the son of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration. He died in Philadelphia, June 15, 1842, seventy-two years old. The song was written in the summer of 1798, when war with France was thought to be inevitable. The tune is the "President's March," which was composed by Philip Roth, a German music teacher living at 25 Crown street, Philadelphia.

14. The new striped Union flag was hoisted for the first time on the second of January, 1776, over the camp at Cambridge. The flag of America was hoisted for the first time on board the naval ship *Alfred*, by J. Paul Jones, but on the fourteenth day of June, 1777, Paul Jones was appointed to the command of the *Ranger*, and soon after he hoisted the new flag of thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. Beyond a doubt the first flag made by Mrs. Ross was unfurled at the battle of

Brandywine, September 11, 1777. On the twenty-first of February, 1866, the Honorable B. F. Butler of Massachusetts introduced to the officers of the United States senate, Mr. D. W. C. Farrington, agent of the United States Bunting company, Lowell, Massachusetts, who presented to them for the use of the senate a flag manufactured by that company. It is believed to be the first real American flag ever raised over the capitol of the United States. Heretofore all our flags have been made from English bunting, and every effort made to substitute a domestic texture capable of resisting the wind and the air has signally failed. Since then, the American bunting has proved to be better in color and in quality than the English product. The new American flag was hoisted over the capitol, February 24, 1866.

15. Early in 1794, in consequence of the admission of Vermont, March 4, 1791, and Kentucky, June 1, 1792, into the sisterhood of the Union, an act was passed June 13, 1794, increasing the stars and stripes on our flag to fifteen, but not to take effect until May, 1795. The number of stripes was reduced to the original number, thirteen stripes, on April 14, 1818.

16. The National ensign is the regular stars and stripes. In 1799 the revenue ensign consisted of sixteen perpendicular stripes alternate red and white, the union of the ensign bearing the arms of the United States in dark blue on a white field; there has been no change since.

17. The American yacht ensign is like the National ensign, excepting the field or union, which is blue, with a foul anchor encircled by thirteen stars in white, in lieu of a star for each state.

18. The navy pennant is as follows—thirteen white stars in a blue field.

19. In 1871 thirteen blue stars in a white field were substituted for the eagle in the union of the pennant, which is the revenue pennant.

20. The jacks or unions are as follows: The jack of the National ensign is a blue field with white stars, corresponding to the number of states. The jack of the revenue ensign is a white field with the arms of the United States in dark blue. The jack of the yacht ensign is a blue field with a foul anchor encircled by thirteen white stars.

21. The state of Vermont was admitted to the Union March 4, 1791, and was entitled to a star on the flag, July 5, 1791.

22. The constellation of Lyra, and signifies harmony.

23. In 1865, April 18.

24. The quarantine flag, a plain, yellow flag.

25. The church pennant, a white pennant without swallow-tails, charged with a blue Latin cross.

POLITICAL.

1. The election of 1824.

2. Sixty-nine, from ten states, met February, 1789, and elected George Washington as President.

3. Charles C. Pinckney, in 1800.

4. The name was applied, in 1798, to the members and to that part of the party who were friendly to France.

5. At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1800.

6. In September, 1812, in New York city.

7. In 1840.

8. Harrison and Taylor, in 1840, the log-cabin and hard-cider campaign.

9. May 4, 1844, at Baltimore.

10. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 17, 1856, when J. C. Fremont was nominated for President and William Dayton for vice-president.

11. Because all members of the secret oath-bound societies, that were a part of its machinery, responded to all questions as to its character or purpose the simple answer, "I don't know" (see page 56, Vol. III).

12. The "Waving of the Bloody Shirt" was adopted generally to characterize all Republican efforts to make capital out of southern issues (see page 68, Vol. III).

13. The famous "Ohio Idea," which was, that such portions of the National debt as were not specifically pledged in coin must be paid in greenbacks (see page 68, Vol. III).

14. Greenbacks. The famous Ohio idea altogether was known in the colloquial language of politics as "The Rag Baby." Its author was George H. Pendleton of Ohio (see page 68, Vol. III).

15. It was during the long contest over the United States bank that the term "Loco Foco" came into use. It was originally applied to the radical wing of the Democratic party that assumed the name of Equal Rights party on October 29, 1835, at a meeting called at Tammany hall. The regular or Tammany Democrats attempted to seize control of it, entering by the back-stairs while the Equal Rights men came up the front. Both parties tumultuously elected chairmen. The Tammany men found their opponents too strong, turned out the gas and retired. The Equal Rights men instantly produced candles and loco foco matches, relighted the hall temporarily, and concluded their work (see page 36, Vol. III).

16. Yes.

17. In 1796, when John Adams was elected President.

18. In 1884 Belva Lockwood was a candidate for President.

19. The Electoral college meets on the second Wednesday of February following the election. They meet at the capital of their respective states and vote, by ballot, for President and vice-president. They make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and vice-president, which lists they sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate (see Article XII., amendment to the Constitution, page 579).

20. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

21. On April 4, 1876, articles of impeachment were formally presented to the senate against William W. Belknap, secretary of war under President Grant. The case closed July 26, and on August 1 the senate took a vote. The result was an acquittal. This was the first and only attempt to impeach a cabinet officer.

22. The powers of the National government are threefold, viz., legislative, judicial and executive (see the Constitution of the United States).

23. The first in succession would be the secretary of state; the second, secretary of the treasury; third, the secretary of war; fourth, the attorney-general; fifth, the postmaster-general; sixth, the secretary of the navy; seventh, secretary of the interior, who shall act as President until the disability shall be removed, or until the end of the term for which the President was elected, or until his successor is elected and qualifies (Vol. I., page 281).

24. (1) The navigation, (2) writs of assistance (page 294, Vol. I), (3) the Stamp act, (4) the Boston massacre, (5) the Boston tea party, (6) the Port bill trade restrictions (page 361, Vol. I).

25. The direct cause of the Revolution was taxation without representation.

FINANCIAL.

1. In 1793 about 1,300 copper cents. In 1787 congress contracted with James Jarvis for three hundred tons of copper cents, which were coined at a mint in New Haven, Connecticut.

2. In 1812, June 30 (see page 90, Vol. III).

3. In January, 1862 (see page 114, Vol. III).

4. September 2, 1789 (see page 77, Vol. III).

5. February 25, 1791, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Bank of America (see page 81, Vol. III.)

6. In 1815, $127,000,000 (see page 92, Vol. III).

7. In 1816 (see page 94, Vol. III).

8. In 1818 (see page 96, Vol. III).

9. James Buchanan, February 8, 1861 (see page 109, Vol. III).

10. In July, 1862 (see page 111, Vol. III).

11. In 1861 (see page 114, Vol. III).

12. In 1792, on April 2 (see page 84, Vol. III).

13. On February 25, 1862 (see page 114, Vol. III).

14. In December, 1873, by John Sherman (see page 121, Vol. III).

15. On August 31, 1865, $2,756,431,571 (see page 113, Vol. III).

16. On May 1, 1806 (see page 89, Vol. III).

17. On April 2, 1792 (see page 84, Vol. III).

18. The order of the government to its land agents to take in exchange for land nothing but gold and silver (see page 101, Vol. III).

19. Building railroads when they did not pay (see page 176, Vol. III).

20. $191,608.81, and its redemption was completed June 8, 1790 (see page 78, Vol. III).

21. $135,196,703, and the colonies furnished 395,064 troops.

22. $107,159,003, and the number of troops engaged is estimated at 471,622.

23. $100,000,000, and the number of troops engaged is estimated at 101,282.

24. $6,189,929,908.56, and the number of Federal troops was 2,859,132.

25. Gouverneur Morris.

26. In August, 1814; in May, 1837; in October, 1857; and December, 1861.

27. Selling new bonds at a lower rate to raise money to pay off the old debt.

28. To prevent workingmen from having to take silver for their wages.

29. On October 15, 1792, excepting the Spanish dollar.

30. In 1835, during Andrew Jackson's administration (see page 101, Vol. III).

TARIFF.

1. A list of duties which pays no attention to protection.
2. The use of money coming from protective tariff for internal improvements.
3. In 1824 (see page 155, Vol. III).
4. July 4, 1789 (see page 76 and 77, Vol. III).
5. On September 29, 1789. Thirteen hundred dollars were collected (see page 78, Vol. III).
6. The Seventh Tariff act, passed April 14, 1846 (see page 106, Vol. III).
7. The starting of the first United States bank, the outgrowth of the refunding system, and indirectly the public credit became the basis of our note circulation (see page 82, Vol. III).
8. George Washington received the first money—one thousand dollars—on account of his salary as President (see page 78, Vol. III).
9. Chalk. See Tariff act of 1861 (see page 117, Vol. III).
10. The Fourth Tariff act, passed May 19, 1828 (see page 97, Vol. III).
11. The First Tariff act (see page 77, Vol. III).
12. The Ninth Tariff act of March 2, 1861 (see page 117, Vol. III).
13. The Ninth Tariff act was increased and changed thirteen different times (see page 110 to 116, Vol. III).
14. 2,317 articles were taxed, at an average duty of about 48 per cent. (see page 117, Vol. III).
15. In 1862 (see page 113, Vol. III).

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. W. R. King.
2. Aaron Burr.
3. Aaron Burr.
4. Aaron Burr, grandson of Edwards.
5. Twenty-one.
6. The election of 1824, the scrub race for the Presidency. J. C. Calhoun was elected vice-president. The election for President was thrown into the house of representatives and John Q. Adams was elected.
7. Schuyler Colfax and Henry Wilson.

8. Chester A. Arthur and Thomas A. Hendricks.

9. Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office as President in the city of New York.

10. Because the legislative department being first, it is organized first at the beginning of each administration. The executive second; then the President is inaugurated and congress is ready to receive any commission from the new President.

11. Five, viz.: George Clinton died April 18, 1812; Elbridge Gerry died November 23, 1813; William R. King died April 18, 1853; Henry Wilson died November 22 1875; and Thomas Hendricks, November 24, 1885.

12. One. John C. Calhoun resigned December 28, 1832.

13. Four. John Tyler, April 4, 1841; Millard Fillmore, July 9, 1850; Andrew Johnson, April 15, 1865, and Chester A. Arthur, September 20, 1881 (see page 1165, Vol. II).

14. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Elbridge Gerry.

15. Ten thousand dollars per year.

16. No; only native born citizens. Naturalized citizens are barred from the vice-presidency and Presidency.

17. By impeachment.

18. Thirty-five years old.

19. Thirty-four in all—twenty-one vice-presidents and fourteen acting vice-presidents, or presidents of the senate *pro tem.*

20. The president *pro tem.*, or temporary president.

INDUSTRIAL.

1. It stands second and Great Britain first.

2. Eli Whitney.

3. William Howard of Baltimore.

4. In 1608 (see page 131, Vol. III).

5. About 1608, about one mile from Jamestown, a glass manufactory was started (see page 131, Vol. III).

6. March, 1789 (see page 132, Vol. III).

7. On July 31, 1790.

8. In 1794, at Pawtucket (see page 139, Vol. III).

9. A few miles above New Orleans, in 1796 (see page 139, Vol. III).

10. In 1815 (see page 145, Vol. III).

11. In 1836 (see page 174, Vol. III).

12. In 1795, and remained for twenty-four years (see page 139, Vol. III).

13. In 1850 (see page 168, Vol. III).

14. $1,019,106,616 (see page 168, Vol. III).

15. An over production of manufactured goods; an increase of railroads beyond the needs of the country; speculation in oil lands, mining stocks and other means by which sudden riches were to be achieved, and an inflated paper currency made to equal the demands of war times. As in this case, remarkable excess of imports over exports preceding the panic will be noted. In 1871 we exported fifty millions more than we imported, and in 1872 we imported sixty-eight millions more than we exported (see page 176, Vol. III).

16. In 1809, at Georgetown, by the Columbiana Agricultural society.

17. The first strike in America of which record can be found occurred among factory girls at Dover, New Hampshire, in 1827. Some oppressive exactions aroused the girls; they struck and paraded the town with a band and American flag. The mill authorities quickly came to terms.

18. Great Britain, and Germany is our next best customer (see page 177, Vol. III).

19. One was the imposition of a heavy tariff on imports which promoted manufacturing, and the other was the invention, manufacture and extensive use of labor-saving machinery for both agricultural and manufacturing purposes (see page 176, Vol. III).

20. April 4, 1812 (see page 144, Vol. III).

JUDICIARY

1. English common law has been the basis of the jurisprudence of this country (see page 180, Vol. III).

2. In 1787, June 4. Started by Oliver Ellsworth.

3. Article III, Sections 1, 2 and 3, and Eleventh amendment, Article XI (see page 182, Vol. III).

4. The territorial courts are not a part of the judiciary.

5. Courts held by American consuls, such as Egypt and China, which have sometimes even acted as courts of probate (see page 184, Vol. III).

6. September 24, 1789 (see page 185, Vol. III).

7. A chief-justice and five associate justices (see page 185, Vol. III).

8. The states which have been divided by congress into judicial districts, of which there are now fifty-seven in all (see page 187, Vol. III).

9. In December, 1869 (see page 192, Vol. III).

10. In 1870 (see page 192, Vol. III).

11. Ten in all (see page 193, Vol. III).

12. The chief-justice and judges of both the supreme and inferior courts hold their office during good behavior (see page 182, Vol. III).

13. In 1807 to six, in 1837 to eight, in 1863 to nine, in 1865 to eight, in 1867 to seven, and in 1870 to eight (see page 195, Vol. III).

14. Nine (see page 195, Vol. III).

15. Ten thousand five hundred dollars per year.

16. Ten thousand dollars per year.

17. John Marshall was chief-justice for thirty-five years.

18. In one supreme court and in such inferior courts as congress may from time to time ordain and establish (see Constitution of United States).

19. The Constitution provides that the supreme court shall be a co-ordinate branch of the National government, yet independent of and distinct from both the legislative and executive departments (see Constitution of United States).

20. The supreme court meets annually at the National capital, commencing on the day when congress meets, the first Wednesday in December of each year (see Constitution of United States).

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Christopher Snyder, aged eleven years, February 22, 1770.

2. Philadelphia, York, Lancaster, Baltimore, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, New York and Washington.

3. Bacon's, Clayborne's, Shay's, Dorr's, Whiskey insurrection and the Civil war.

4. Ordinance of 1787, Fugitive Slave bill of 1793, the Missouri Compromise act of 1820, the Fugitive Slave bill of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1857, the Dred Scott decision of 1857, and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

5. Marquis de Lafayette.

6. Yes, single women who were free-holders voted in the state of New Jersey as late as 1800.

7. Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts in 1811.

8. John Randolph of Roanoke, in 1820.

9. The line separating Pennsylvania from the slave states of Maryland and Virginia. The last monument is now standing, and photographs of same are for sale.

10. The cotton-gin.

11. The battle of Gettysburgh and the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863.

12. General George H. Thomas.

13. Faneuil hall, Boston.

14. At the house of Mrs. Clymer, corner Seventh and High streets, now Market street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

15. The District of Columbia, the Indian Territory and Alaska.

16. It was the first legal declaration of liberty of conscience ever adopted in Europe or America.

17. At the siege of Vicksburg.

18. Nathanael Greene.

19. Andrew Johnson.

20. The Dred Scott decision was rendered by Roger B. Taney, chief-justice, in 1856, and the decision was that any person whose ancestors were imported into this country and held as slaves had no right to sue in any court in the United States; in other words, he denied the right of citizenship to a person who had been a slave or was the descendant of a slave.

21. Dred Scott was a young negro slave of Dr. Emerson's, a surgeon in the United States army, living in Missouri. When the latter was ordered to Rock Island, Illinois, in 1834, he took Scott with him. There Scott married the female slave of another master, with the consent of their respective masters. They had two children born in that free-labor territory. The mother was bought by Scott's master, and parents and children were taken back to Missouri, and there sold. Scott sued for his freedom on the plea of his involuntary residence in a free-labor territory and state for several years. The case was tried in St. Louis and decided in Scott's favor; the supreme court of the state reversed the decision and the case was carried to the supreme court of the United States.

22. That each state is its own master and stays in the Union because it chooses to do so.

23. Federal City.

24. On the fifteenth day of April, 1791, by the three United States commissioners, George Thomas Johnson, Honorable Daniel Carroll of

Maryland, and Dr. David Stuart of Virginia, at the laying of the first corner-stone of the territory, at Jones' Point, changed the name to Washington City, in honor of General Washington.

25. John Smith of Virginia fame, about the year 1614.

26. Vermont, in 1791.

27. Texas, in 1845.

18. Missouri Compromise.

29. A plan by which the revenues of the government were not put nto b anks, but kept by revenue officers under bonds.

30. The Monroe doctrine was that, "we owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the European powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and that America is for Americans."

31. The building in New York where Washington took the oath of office—the old City Hall, afterwards called Federal Hall.

32. General Marquis de Lafayette.

33. Versailles, ancient Babylon and modern Philadelphia.

34. The City of Magnificent Distances, the Rome of America and the Queen City of the World.

35. Tradition is that it is called the White House out of respect for Martha Washington, whose early home on the Pamunkey river, in Virginia, was known by that name; its color was always white.

36. Virginia freestone painted white.

37. After the palace of the Duke of Linster, Dublin.

38. Eighty-nine thousand dollars.

39. One William B. Mumford, a citizen of New Orleans, was executed June 7, 1862. He was arrested and tried by a military commission, sentence approved and assigned by B. F. Butler.

40. In Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.

41. Peyton Randolph.

42. At the second, which convened May 10, 1775.

43. At Salem, Massachusetts, October 7, 1774.

44. John Hancock.

45. Isaac Seers, Casper Wister, Alexander McDougal, Jacob Van Zandt, Samuel Broom, Erasmus Williams and James Varick.

46. After the ratification of the Constitution, congress appointed the first Wednesday of January, 1789, as a day for holding an election, and the first Wednesday of February following for the meeting of the

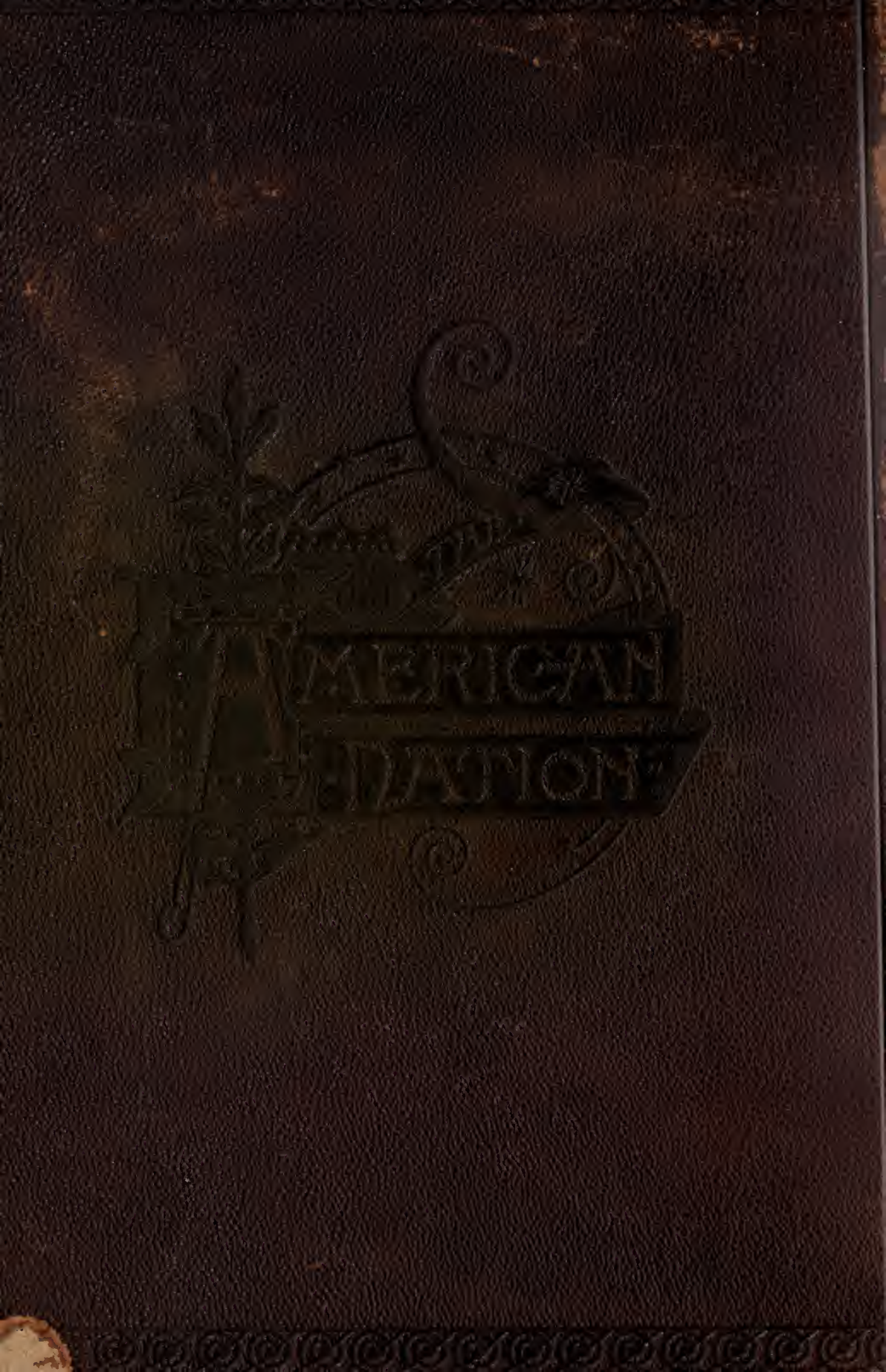
Electoral college, but a quorum was not obtained till first part of April.

47. At the meeting of the Seventh congress in 1803.

48. Yes; but they do not accept or send any representative.

49. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, on July 4, 1826.

50. Charles Carroll. He lived fifty-six years after signing the Declaration. He died November 12, 1832.


MERICAN
NATION